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THE VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY

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No. 4

LETTERS FROM JAVA.

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

XII.

We have finished seeing all that was to be seen here.

From Djogjakoerta we went over to Borobudur and stayed a night there. We first visited a small temple at a place called Mundung. It was falling to pieces, but the government has set it up again. Inside it were three immense figures of the Buddha in different attitudes. Its shape and proportions were very fascinating.

Once on a time numberless men joined together to make these images and their shrine. What a turmoil of activity,—planning, preparing and carrying out,—that meant, and with it what an exuberance of life. On the day that these gigantic stones were raised into their place on the hill-top, a vast human endeavour surged and swayed amidst this verdant woodland, beneath this radiant, sun-lit sky. That, however, was not in the days of the circulation of news through the world, so that the grand manifestation of human will that occurred in this little island was not announced over the seas in other countries,—as so commonly happens now-a-days, for instance, when a Victoria Memorial is being put up on the Calcutta Maidan.

The building of this temple must have taken ever so long, far beyond the span of any individual life. The intense feeling of worship of which it was the outcome, must therefore have remained extensively true likewise, over a prolonged period of time,—the every-day joys and sorrows of the life of

the people being permeated and filled with the admiration, the discussion, and anecdotes true and false about it. Then again, after the temple had been completed, there went on the daily lighting of lamps of worship, the bringing of offerings by successive flocks of devotees, the thronging of men and women for special festivals,—till at length the accumulating dust of ages smothered both the feeling and its expression.

Then what was so vitally true in its time, lost its meaning. And the temple now is as are the boulders left standing after the water-course has run dry. When the flow of life that played around them, changed its course, the stones continued to bear the impress of the living current of old, but they ceased to speak; with the cessation of the movement of life, its message was lost. We came along in a motor car to see this temple, but where was the light to see it by? The vision on which this creation of man's art depended for its self-expression, has vanished with the ages.

As for Borobudur, I have often seen pictures of it before, but was never impressed with it as a whole. I had hoped it would be different when I stood before it, but even then I found myself no better pleased. It is so cut up into galleries, one above the other, and its pinnacle is so disproportionately small that in spite of its size, it lacks in dignity. It looks like a mountain with a diminutive stone cap. It was perhaps intended as a mere repository for the stone figures,—hundreds of Buddhas and sculptured pictures representing the Jataka stories,—like a huge tray with these sculptures heaped thereon. For, when taken up one by one, they are extraordinarily good. I specially liked the Jataka pictures,—crowds of figures depicting the multifarious play of the daily life of the times, but nowhere tainted with obscenity or vulgarity. In other temples I have seen images of gods and goddesses, or scenes from the sacred epics. But here we have life in its work-a-day aspect, be it of king or beggar.

This regard for the lives of ordinary folk, and of animals as well, is a marked feature of Buddhist influence. The great message of the Jataka stories is, that the Buddha attained his final enlightenment through a succession of ordinary lives;

that is to say, the highest Dharma is ever manifest amidst the clash of good and evil that persists throughout the progress of Life. The power of good is seen to rise victorious, albeit only to a small extent, even in the meanest of living creatures, till at last it wins supreme expression in the sacrifice of self in Love. In every plane, in every form of life, the power of this Infinite Love is steadily undoing the knots that cramp it on every side, thereby clearing a path for Life's progress towards liberation. The animal is not free because it is self-centred, but the Spirit that is evolving through all living creatures, is constantly aiming its blows to relax the tension of this attraction towards self. And in every such blow is seen the working of the Buddha.

I remember having seen in my childhood a cow with its tender eyes, coming up and licking a washerman's donkey tied to a peg,—and how wonder-stricken I was at the sight! The Jātaka writer would have had no hesitation in asserting that the Buddha in one of his births was such a cow, for this loving-kindness of the cow was but a term in the series that ends in liberation. In each one of the petty instances with which the Jātakas are concerned, they have recognised the greatness of the ultimate consummation. That is how the trivial has been transmuted into the sublime. It is a similar simple and unaffected reverence that has requisitioned all the vastness of these temple walls as a background for the pictures of every-day life. Thanks to Buddhism, the whole course of the life on earth has been invested with glory, as the field in which the Dharma seeks self-expression.

Two Dutch savants had been deputed to expound the details to us. I was immensely pleased with the simplicity and warm-heartedness which accompanied their scholarship. Most of all was I struck with their devotedness, for they have dedicated their lives to make these dumb figures speak. It is to their love of knowledge for its own sake that their strenuous labours are due, for the history and culture of India, the study of which they have made their life's work, are not matters that directly concern them. Nevertheless, by dint of their devotion, their attainments have not remained narrow, but embrace the

whole field of research. And we must accept them as our *gurus* if we would understand India in its completeness.

XIII.

When, at the end of the chapter of Java, we came on to Batavia, we thought we were at last in sight of the ferry that would take us across to the homeland. But just as our mind had poised its wings ready to fly homewards, a telegram came to say that I was wanted at Bangkok, whose hospitality was awaiting us. So again our course was changed. I felt like a hack horse of which the driver suddenly takes a fresh turning, when the stable is nearly reached, after a hard day's work. For I must confess that I am tired. I know people (I need not name them) who, if the opportunity but came, are ready to play the tourist to perfection all their lives, but whom fate has tied down to their household duties in a particular part of Cornwallis Street. And here am I, who find comfort in letting my mind range through the skies only when my body is at rest in its corner, doomed to flit from port to port. So I am off, not homewards, but Siamwards.

The government steamer in which we were to have proceeded to Singapore was overcrowded. So we have taken our passages in a smaller boat, which cast off yesterday morning. Suniti remained behind for a day, as he has to deliver a lecture on Indian civilisation. He has made quite a reputation amongst the learned men here for there is nothing spurious in his scholarship. He always knows what he talks about.

Our boat will go round by two other islands, so that the two-day's journey will take three. When Viswakarma was engaged in making the world, his bag of earth must have sprung a hole here, so that bits of it got scattered all over this sea. All these islands are now under Dutch rule. The one we are now anchored at, is called Bileon. It has but few inhabitants, but many tin mines, with their managers and miners. I am struck with wonder, as I sit looking on, to think how exhaustively these Westerners are exploiting the Earth. It is not so very long ago that different flocks of them sallied forth in their sailing

ships into unknown waters. And, as they sailed around, they saw the earth, got to know it and took its measure. The history of these enterprises bristles with difficulties and dangers. I sometimes try to imagine the feelings of trepidation mixed with hopeful anticipation with which they must have furled their sails when first sighting these islands in these distant seas. The vegetation, the animals and the men were alike unknown. And to-day, how thoroughly studied *and possessed*.

We of the East have had to acknowledge defeat at their hands. Why? Chiefly because we are static and they are dynamic. We are variously bound to our social order they are mobile with their individual liberty. That is how a wandering life comes so easy to them. And they have gathered knowledge and possessions because of their wanderings. For the same reason their desire to know and to acquire is so keen,—a desire that has become dull in us owing to the quietude of our settled lives. We neither know nor care about those who dwell, or that which happens, in our immediate neighbourhood, for we are so thoroughly walled round by our homes. Those who lack the urge of knowledge, are deficient in the force of life. The forcefulness that has enabled the Dutch people to make these islands their own in every way, also impels them to master its antiquities with the same thoroughness of disciplined endeavour, though both the islands and their antiquities were foreign to their own lives or culture. We are often indifferent to subjects of knowledge that are intimately related to ourselves; their curiosity is unbounded even in respect of the remotely related.

They are thus winning the world, outwardly and inwardly, not only by force of their arms, but also by the power of their inquiring intellect. But we are wholly and solely householders; that is to say, we have been reduced to mere appurtenances of our household, held down to it with a thousand burdens. With the burden of our livelihood has become intertwined the burden of our social observances. So clogged and hampered are we with the compulsion of unmeaning rites, that our more important duties become impossible of proper fulfilment. Our strength is so exhausted by our social ceremonials,—from birth ceremony, through the whole series, to death ceremony,—exerting their

sway over both this world and the next, that we are bereft of the energy to take any step forward. What wonder that the children born and bred in this atmosphere should be defeated at every turn by the others?

We have begun to understand this, and perhaps for that reason our leaders have taken to preaching the ideal of renunciation. But in the same breath they ask us to hark back to our past culture as being the Sanatan Dharma, the only everlasting truth; forgetting that our old Dharma is based on the performance of the duties of the household, not on its renunciation. Those who do not actively invoke the Sanatan Dharma, nevertheless see no harm in adhering to it. You may break up the old foundations, say they, but how will you replace them? Every social system has evolved traditions that help to keep its members on the straight path, for there are but few who are able to reason out each step of their lives. But it is not easy to substitute one set of traditions for another. We may learn science from the West, but can we make her social system our own? . . .

On our boat was the owner of one of these tin mines. He had been at it, he said, for the last 16 years. There is nothing here except tin mines, yet he had made this place his home. In Batavia there were Sindhi shop-keepers. The custom with them is to go home once in every two years. When I asked them why they did not bring over their wives and children and set up house there, they replied that would never do, for the wife is bound up with the family life, which would be broken up if she were taken away. I hardly think such an argument would have been advanced in the age of the Ramayana! To return to our Western owner of the tin mine, he had spent his boyhood in a boarding-school, and when of age had set out to seek his fortune. Ever since he married, he had relied on his own efforts alone, making no claims on his father's purse, having no yearnings for his uncles and aunts of various degrees. It is because of such people that tin is being mined in this out-of-the-way place. They are homeless, and therefore able to make their homes all over the world. In the same way they can keep their telescopes fixed on the happenings in the planet

Mars, night after night, year in and year out, because their thirst for knowledge is also not home-bound. How can our Sanatan home-dwellers hope to hold their own against these people?—for the very props of these homes have been undermined and are falling under the force of their onrush, which it is impossible to stem.

So long as we were content to sit quiet, it was not so unbearable, this accumulating burden of unmeaning things heaped mountain-high on our backs,—it was even possible to make use of it as a cushion on which to recline. But when we attempt to rise and shoulder it, in order to move forward, then indeed does our backbone bend under the strain. Mobile peoples have always to be circumspect as to what they will carry and what cast away, and thereby is sharpened into keenness their power of discrimination. But our Sanatan householders, seated on their threshold, have not managed to get rid of any one of the three-hundred-and-sixty-five items of foolishness that cumber every page of the calendar which they so religiously follow.

Filled to the brim and loaded to breaking point as they are with all this rubbish, to them comes the mandate from the Congress platform that they must keep step and pace with their opponents, the mobile freemen,—for Swaraj must be achieved in double-quick time. They have not the language wherewith to word their reply, but the sore hearts within their crushed-in frames are nevertheless full with the unuttered plaint: “We are only too willing to march ahead at the bidding of our political leaders, if but our social leaders will deign to relieve us of our burden.” Whereupon the Social Leader stands aghast—“What! Is not that your *Sanátan* burden?”

THE PLACE OF IRAN IN ASIATIC CULTURE.

By DR. I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA.

Asia has dominated the religious history of the world during the whole period of recorded history. In religious outlook the whole of Asia has formed a clear cut unit. The one prominent characteristic which has moulded the history of Asia during the past seven or eight thousand years has been the search for "the Universal and Ultimate" as distinct from "the Personal and Particular". This search is the keynote of the cultural history of humanity on the continent of Asia.

In the main we can make out three principal types of this Asiatic culture: (1) The Chinese, (2) The Aryan, and (3) The Semitic. Each of them has been influenced by the other two, more or less, throughout history, and there have moreover been extra-Asiatic influences working upon all of them from Europe, from Africa, and possibly also from other lands.

The Semitic and the Chinese types seem to have been where they were since the very beginning of history, and to have been there always. We have hardly any trace of a record that these people had come from somewhere else. Unlike these, however, the Aryans did not occupy in the beginning the lands they dominated in historical times. They drove in like a wedge from the north, and they displaced the aboriginal inhabitants of Iran and of India—the Elamites and the Dravidians. These latter may have been branches of the same culture and have had connections with the pre-Semitic (i.e. Sumerian) culture of Mesopotamia. The advent of the Aryans caused the Dravidians to embark on a career of colonisation in the Eastern Ocean and we are finding traces of their influence—both linguistic and cultural—in far-off Australia, while some have even maintained that they reached America as well, across the Pacific. In any case, recent discoveries have tended to bring out more and more the fact that even in the earliest days the movements of mankind were world-wide and

that the cultural contact of the most distantly separated nations was possible even then.

The Aryan wedge, thus driven into the very centre of Asia, became eventually the dominant factor in Asiatic culture, producing as it did the two dominating figures of Zarathustra and Buddha, and through these two the Aryan culture influenced the West as well as the East.

It would be outside the scope of this paper to say much about the Chinese type, for we deal specially with Iran here; and China, though it did touch Iran on the East, was still far off, and as such did not exert much of an influence on Iran in the earlier days. The influence of China began to be felt in Iran from the Parthian days and continued through the Sasanian period in ever increasing measure. And in later Islamic times the Mongolian influence was at one time clearly the dominant factor in Iran.

In the earlier days, it was the Semitic factor that predominated in Iran. And this factor has in fact been the main non-Aryan influence in Iran throughout her long history. When the Aryans arrived in Iran, and reached the fertile plains of the Tigris and the Euphrates, they found Babylon already firmly established. Historical records tend to show that the Aryans first came into touch with the Semites of Babylon about the time of the Kassite Dynasty. And from that time onward we see a steady process of the welding together of the two types, and the Iranian nation as we subsequently find in the Achaemenian days, is not purely Aryan in its outlook, but rather Arya-Semitic. So we see that the western Aryans had developed a type differing considerably from the eastern Aryans. In spite of the geographical difficulties of contact with the Chinese type to the north and the east of India, the influence of the latter was strong enough to keep the Indian closer to the original Aryan ideals than the Iranian.

The Aryan Ideal as represented in the best culture of India and of Iran, may be summed up in the one word DUTY. Man was regarded as part of a big scheme of God, in which each individual had a definite place; and his happiness lay in helping God's plan to the best of his powers in the position where

he found himself. This led by an easy step to the typical Aryan social polity of the four (originally three*) classes each with well defined duties, occupying a definite place in the forward march of humanity.

The Semitic ideal, on the other hand, might be summed up in the word BROTHERHOOD. The nomad Semitic races had not achieved a settled life such as would allow the development of the social polity of the Aryans. To them all men were equal in the eyes of God. They felt no need of a division of duties. Each head of a family was both priest and ruler and, in their simple state of living, agriculture and arts and crafts had no need to be represented by special classes. The vast spaces through which they wandered, the hardships and the pleasures which they all shared in common, the similarity of their work and their responsibilities, led naturally to the growth of this Brotherhood Ideal which has marked to this day the Semitic progress and the Semitic religions.

And in Iran we see the ideal of Duty added to the ideal of Brotherhood. This meant that to the ancient Ideal of *noblesse oblige* there was added an instinctive feeling of *philanthropy*, of the love of mankind. This made the Iranian more active in relieving distress and in removing evil and injustice from the world. His religion embodied both the sublime ideal of Duty, as implied in the word **Asha** (Vedic *Rta*), and the ideal of Brotherhood, as practised in giving succour to the poor. The holiest chant of Zoroastrianism, the **Ahuna Vairya**, emphasises this double ideal. And the Iranian, while upholding high his duty has always been distinguished for his active charity.

To this Iranian race came the Great Teacher, Zarathustra. His advent is dated by Western scholars as somewhere between 100 B.C. and 600 B.C., but this date is merely taken from the *Sháhnámeh* and the Fakhri tradition which Firdausi copied. The *Sháhnámeh* mixes up the later rulers of the legendary dynasty of the Kayanians with the later Achaemenians without any warrant whatever. Consequently there is no justification in counting backwards from the time of Sikandar Rumi's

*The fourth class—the **dása-varna** was originally composed of Non-Aryans.

(Alexander the Great's) conquest upto the time of Vishtaspa, the son of Lohraspa, at whose court Zoroaster preached his faith.* And it seems unthinkable that Vishtaspa should have been Hystaspes the son of Darius and yet that the latter should not even hint at the great religious revolution that occurred in Iran at that period. The mention of Zarathustra as living in the days of the Kayanians may be accepted, and because a great many names from that line including that of the founder Kava Us (Kāvya Ushanas)† are purely Vedic, we may be justified in putting the Prophet as contemporary with the Vedas. The internal evidence of the Gathas, specially linguistic, also points to the Vedic age as being that of Zarathustra.

The Prophet gave a definite turn to Iranian thought and, through all the ages that have since passed, his influence has never ceased to be felt. His main emphasis was upon four points: (1) the worship of the One Supreme God, AHURA (Asura Varuna of the Vedas), (2) the doctrine of the TWIN-SPIRITS, both emanations of Ahura (*mazdadāt*), whose interplay causes all manifestation, (3) the law of ACTION and REACTION, in other words the law of Karma, and (4) Religion through SERVICE. These four have been the cardinal doctrines of Zoroastrianism through all ages, and these four constitute the very essence of Zarathustra's message to humanity.

It is not certain whether the Medes were Zoroastrian by faith. But in what Herodotus records of the belief of the Magi (who were a power in the Median Empire) we clearly see the influence of Zoroastrian faith and customs. But when we come to the Achaemenians we find the principles of Zoroastrianism clearly mentioned in their various inscriptions. Notably in the great Behistun inscription, where Darius reiterates his belief, the passage reads almost like a direct translation from the Avesta texts.

The Achaemenians had very liberal ideas. Cyrus and Darius openly worshipped in the temples of Babylon and Egypt

*I have dealt with this question in my recent lectures on **Some Aspects of the History of Zoroastrianism.**

†It is indeed remarkable that in the Veda he is the Teacher of the Asuras (Ahuras).

and helped the rebuilding of ancient shrines.† There was indeed a political reason for this tolerance, but for that reason the faiths of Babylon, Egypt and Greece also worked their influence on that of Iran. As a result, the Zoroastrian of that day was remarkably tolerant and broad minded.*

The Achaemenians were justly renowned for their administration and for the marvellous organisation of their vast empire,—an empire which extended much further than any other in the past, and was unbroken from end to end,—And they were the first among the ancient rulers to recognise the principle of "Swaraj within the Empire". Each people, and each separate province was granted full autonomy in its own internal affairs. The annual tribute was adjusted with a great deal of forethought, equitably distributed according to the productivity of each province and levied in kind in terms of its chief product. The military levy was also similarly adjusted on strictly equitable principles. Above all the Achaemenian Empire enunciated for the first time in the history of Imperialism that a conquered people may be treated with justice and equity, and allowed perfect freedom of conscience.

The Achaemenian period was indeed a period of great glory. In arts and architecture the monuments left bear witness to the very high standard attained. Doubtless there was a corresponding development of literature also, for though we have no poetical or prose works of the period coming down to us, still the fine series of inscriptions show a well developed and vigorous style which implies the existence of a considerable literature. The ideals of life that inspired the Achaemenians are found clearly mentioned in the great inscriptions of Darius and these seem in places to be practically quotations from the Zoroastrian scriptures. As long as these were living ideals inspiring the rulers and the nation, Iran continued to prosper and held a high position in the world. Even in the days of the later Achaemenians, even after Solamis and Plataea, the Greeks held Iran in respect and some awe. If there were

†Cyrus, 'the anointed of God', is gratefully remembered by the Jews on this account.

*One may refer, e.g., to passages in the Avesta literature which remember the great dead of all lands, of Iran as well as of lands beyond Iran.

disputes between Greek States it was the King of Kings who was called upon to arbitrate, for then they were sure of justice and equitable dealing.

But though outwardly Iran was great, and though in foreign lands the position of Iran was as honoured as before, still the inner fabric had begun to decay. The ancient ideals which had inspired Kurush and Darius—Truth, Justice, Service of Mankind—had ceased to be living factors in the lives of the rulers or of the people. True religion was replaced by pomp and ceremonial, and by the worship of Mithra and Anahita. This latter rapidly degenerated into fearful orgies of unbridled lust. The vitality of the nation was sapped and, at the merest touch of Alexander, the whole fabric of the empire crumbled to dust.

The Greek conquest had far reaching effects on the fate of Iran. In the first place it led to the influx of a very valuable and powerful influence in the life of the nation. Though Greece and Iran had been in close touch with each other for several centuries already, still after Alexander's time, the contact became even more intimate, and the tolerance of the Greeks in matters of religion and thought brought about a blending of the finest elements of the religions of Iran and of Greece, which a few centuries later blossomed forth as the wonderful cult of Mithra—the *Sol invictus*—the cult which preached service of humanity and self-control, and became the most serious and most nearly successful rival of Christianity. Just after the Greek conquest, Buddhist missionaries from India went in large numbers all over Western Asia and brought the Iranians more intimately in touch with the gospel of the Enlightened One. This had its effects later on in Sasanian times, when Mani preached. Christianity was also one of the influences that worked in Iran towards the end of the Graeco-Parthian period.

The Buddhist influences working in Iran came in the earlier days direct from India, but later on when the Parthian monarchy was established with its capital at Hecatompylus on the borders of the steppes of Turkistan, Buddhistic influences worked through the nomads of that region. This Buddhism

was not in its pure form, being much distorted by admixture with the popular superstitions of the nomads, and very likely the demonology of later Zoroastrianism may be traced to this aspect of Buddhism.

One remarkable effect of the adversity thus encountered by Zoroastrianism was that it became purified and purged of certain undesirable doctrines that had crept in. The ancient faith was kept alive in Persepolis and the region around it, where a family of Prince-Priests were the custodians of the ancient lore. The tolerance of the ruling powers also enabled the Zoroastrian families in other parts of Iran and Western Asia to follow their religion undisturbed. In Asia Minor, at several centres, the worship of Ahuramazda was deeply tinged by other local creeds and ultimately Mithraism was born out of this when the Romans under Pompey first came to Asia Minor. Another stream of Zoroastrian thought went south-westwards through Arabia into Egypt, influencing greatly the beginnings of the Gnostic schools. The Gnostics always held Zoroaster and his doctrines in the profoundest respect, and it was this Gnostic tradition about Zoroaster that Europe knew until Anquetil du Perron translated the Avesta into French. This same stream, passing through Syria and Arabia, laid the foundation of a special secret school of mystics in Arabia, of which the Prophet Muhammad was aware. The well-known tradition of the close association of Solman-i Fars, the whilom Dastur from Iran, with the Prophet of Arabia, points in the same direction. This bore fruit later on in Islamic Iran in the wonderful poetry of the Sufis.

The history of the Parthians is very complicated and scanty, because they have left hardly any historical records beyond coins. The shifting of the capital to Ctesiphon is culturally an event of prime importance. For, from now on, the Semitic influence grows ever stronger in Iran. The difference in essential characteristics between the Aryan and the Semite have been already noted at the outset. The result of shifting the political centre to Ctesiphon was to emphasise the Semitic side, and in many respects it made easier the ultimate triumph of Semitic Islam. In fact, except during the days

of the first two Sasanian monarchs, when owing to the enthusiasm of the Zoroastrian revival, the Aryan influence steadily declined at the capital. Part—indeed the greater part—of the enthusiasm for the revival of Zoroastrianism was certainly due to the fact that the house of Sasan had its home in the Aryan province of Pars.

The history of the five centuries succeeding Alexander's conquest was more or less unimportant from the point of view of Zoroastrianism, but the period was big with influences, both outgoing and incoming, which showed themselves more and more during the Sasanian period. The first two Sasanians, Ardashir and Shapor I, were men of extraordinary power, comparable in many respects with Kurush and Darius, and their guiding impulse was certainly religious. They had the good fortune of being ably seconded and helped by Dasturs of great piety and learning, men who were truly God-inspired, and who had fully realised their mission in life. It was during the reign of these two first Sasanians that the work of translating the re-edited Avesta into Pahlavi was undertaken. The text seems to have been already put together by the later Parthian (Assaid) monarchs, though the final shape was given to the whole collection in the days of Ardeshir and Shapor I.

In this work of re-editing the ancient texts the Dastur of Sasanian days had peculiar difficulties. In the first place the language was a long forgotten dialect of Eastern Iran, and as such considerably different from their own Pahlavi. Of course they had a more or less unbroken priestly tradition, and a living religion on which to base their interpretations. Still great changes had come over the religion as well as over the traditions in the course of ages. The large number of influences that had been working upon Iran from all sides, especially during the immediately preceding five centuries when Zoroastrianism was under an eclipse, had succeeded in changing very considerably the mental outlook of the nation. So we find that Sasanian Zoroastrianism, though ushered in with great enthusiasm and fervour, sat more or less like a misfitting garment on the people. It was not because of any shortcoming in the

message of Zarathustra. It was because the custodians of the faith, being more or less in the background during the five centuries of comparative neglect, had lost their grip over the feelings of the people. The nation—at any rate the flower of the nation—was no longer a homogeneous Aryan stock, thinking and feeling as one.

The crumbling of the Achaemenian power had produced a heterogeneous mass of men of varied and often antagonistic ways of life and feeling. To weld these together was beyond the power of the Sasanian Dasturs. They were indeed holy and learned men, but they failed to grasp that what was good for small communities of Zoroastrians, was not necessarily suited to the needs of a nation composed of many different peoples. So we find that comparatively early in Sasanian times, Zoroastrianism began to show signs of falling into decadence. It could no longer inspire the nation as a whole, and its custodians failed to rise to the occasion. Instead of looking over a wider horizon and trying to enlist the sympathies of the whole nation, they became narrow-minded bigots and tyrannical oppressors of those who differed from them. The later social history of the Sasanian period is the chronicle of a priest-ridden people, who submitted as long as there was no other help, with hearts effectively turned away from the ancient faith. Religion was reduced to a mass of ceremonial, and became a complex code of penances and purifications for all sorts of possible and impossible "sins". The true message of Zarathustra was smothered under the weight of priestcraft and ritual. A good deal of this was due to superstitions taken over by the masses from sources as widely differing as Babylon and Egypt, Syria and Tibet. All these had come, and come to stay. What Iran failed to produce at that moment was a great Teacher to fuse them into an organic whole.

Instead we find fierce persecutions in turn of the heterodox sects the Christians, the Manichaeans, the Mazdahites. True the Christians had become a source of grave political danger to Iran owing to the foolish declaration of Constantine that he was the temporal head of all Christians. True, also, that Mani and Mazdah were Bolsheviks of an advanced type

and, in an empire based on Aryan notions of polity, their doctrines meant the subversion of all that Aryanism stood for. But the rapidity with which the doctrines preached by these last two spread, is a clear indication of the rapidity with which the Zoroastrian priesthood was losing its grip over the nation. Persecutions and massacres did stem the tide for a time, but the hour of the eclipse of Aryan institutions in Iran was nearing. It needed but a Semitic prophet to preach the latest Gospel of the Semitic race, and the already more than half-Semiticised world of Iran listened to it with eagerness.

There is no miracle at all in the utter crumbling away of the Sasanian power at the first touch of Islam. Outwardly great, the Sasanian power shewed but its last flicker under Norhirwan (Khusro I), decay being visible everywhere immediately after his death. The task of Islam was easier than that of Alexander, and the Islamic conquest of Iran was more complete than ever the Greek conquest had been.

The central doctrine of Brotherhood, put into actual practice by the Arabs who conquered Iran, went a long way in welding together the heterogeneous mass which had made up Sasanian Iran. Their tolerance, their ardent enthusiasm for their faith and the simplicity of their life, were also great factors in this welding. The Gospel of the Prophet was meant for the sons of the desert, and so it lacked the elements of deeper metaphysical speculation. This was supplied by the cultural stream which had flowed through Arabia, one of whose exponents was Solman-i-Fars a disciple and friend of the Prophet. This in fulness of time blossomed forth as the poetry of Sufism which again brought the essential Persian touch into Islam.

The main glory of Islam was in the taking of the torch of science and learning from the powerless hands of India and Iran, to hand it over to the new nations of the West. This task was nobly accomplished, and for this the world owes an eternal debt of gratitude to Islam. In this work Persia also contributed her share, carrying on her tradition as a nation of thinkers, without a break.

As ages passed by, Islam also fell into decay and became narrow and bigoted. Our modern conceptions of that faith are

partly got through Christian sources and partly through our observation of the Islamic peoples around us in the world. But now the Islamic peoples are again becoming wide awake. The thunder of the Great War has awakened the somnolent East, and Islamic lands have found fresh vigour. Whatever was deadening, and out of sympathy with the rising fervour of the people, has been discarded, and strong men have come forth to lead their people—Mustapha Kamal in Turkey, Amanullah in Afghanistan, Reza Shah Pahlavi in Iran.

In Iran after the Islamic conquest, as long as the Arab rule lasted, the new faith was observed more or less in its pristine purity as taught by the Prophet. This was no doubt due to the fact that Omar, the conquerer of Iran was a trusted disciple and close friend of the Prophet himself. The Semitic rulers, however, were never very much liked by the Aryan Iranians as a whole. Their Aryan pride was sorely wounded at the idea of domination by the Arabs, "brought up on Camel's milk." The first tussle between Aryan and Semite occurred over the question of 'Ali's succession and it culminated in the battle of Kerbala and the subsequent division of the Islamic world into Shia and Sunni. With the fall of the Abbaside Khalifa the hated Arab domination practically ceased, and Aryan Iran—this time Islamic—came back into power. Though the ruling dynasties were often foreign, still the political centre shifted from the Semitic country (Baghdad) to Iran proper (Ispahan).

From then onwards, Iranian Islam flourished along its own special lines—it was Islam aryanised, the Islam of the Sufi. Arts and architecture, literature and science flourished in Iran as in no other Islamic land. In fact, the most valued treasures of Islamic culture have been Iranian. And, throughout her Islamic days, Iran has carried forward her finest Aryan traditions.

The Sufis all along voiced the freedom of the human soul and the right of every human being to approach his God along his own way. But owing to the fear of persecution, their "infidel" statements had to be exceedingly guarded. The new spirit in Persia began to be perceived about the middle of the

last century when the Bab began to preach his new gospel of brotherhood. The new doctrine was taken up eagerly by the people, but the priesthood and the princes were up in arms against it. A bloody persecution followed, which, however, only strengthened the movement, though the Bab himself, and many of the noblest of his band, paid the price for it with their lives. Moreover this persecution of the Babis did one other service to Persia, it marked the beginning of the end of its priestly domination.

To-day Persia is free from priestly tyranny and is searching for a new formulation of the Ancient Wisdom to suit modern needs. With the downfall of priesthood come also the downfall of the Kajars the last of whom were unworthy men, ready to barter away their country's liberties for personal gain. The Great War gave Persia her opportunity and the Bolshevik regime in Russia removed all danger from her most formidable foe. A strong man arose—Reza Shah Pahlavi—who is the embodiment of modern Iran.

A new life is pulsing through Persia to-day, Her sons and daughters are filled with one overwhelming passion—the love of Iran. They want her to be great, they want her to lead the world of thought, as she did in the long forgotten past. Iran looks back to the Sasanian glories, to the splendours of Achaemenian days, to the glorious message of Zarathustra. Islamic Iran is realising that the message of the Greatest son of Iran and that of the prophet of Arabia are not different. The forms are different, but the “love of the heart is one”.

Iran to-day yearns passionately to hear anew the message of Zarathustra—the message which in the past inspired and led her to heights of glory rarely attained by nations on earth. She is yearning for the remaining followers of Zarathustra to come back to her and to serve her. They are the custodians of her most glorious heritage. Already we Parsis have sent part of the message in an inspiring rendering of the Gathas by one of her most gifted sons—Poure Davoud. Iran is begining to realise that she has yet some work to fulfil in the world. This time it is not to be an empire made up of conquered lands, but an empire of the mind, an empire in

which the twin-sisters of Aryan culture, Iran and Hind, shall give once again to the world the great message of the Aryan sages.

Thus has Ishqi sung :

O East, arise, and teach anew the West,
What mean Humanity and Righteousness.
Let's hope and pray, when East is wide awake,
And strong again, her new-found strength she'll use
To bring our sore tired Earth the gift of Peace,
Of Goodwill and of Brotherhood of men,
Henceforth no people should in bondage be;
All Nations are from God: His workers must be free.

[*From lectures delivered by the author at Santiniketan.*]

OF ATMAN AND OF NON-ATMAN.

By PANDIT VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

In the domain of Indian philosophical thought there are two diametrically opposite views, one holding the existence, and the other the non-existence, of the *Atman* (Soul). And here, I think, mainly lies the difference between the orthodox or Brahminic and the Buddhist philosopher,—the whole system of their philosophies being respectively based thereon. It is not the object of the present paper to discuss the arguments advanced by them in support or in refutation of the existence of *átman*. We are only concerned with the fact that the centre of the philosophical systems of the Brahmins or the other *Atmavádins* is avowedly the *átman*, while the same is emphatically denied by the Buddhist philosophers. The question before us is: At what destination did they arrive? It is quite clear that they started from different points in their march. But did they ever meet? Let us make an attempt to find an answer to this question.

The philosophic thought of India is seen to have begun to grow on the fundamental conception of self, *átman*; for it was with the consciousness of this that the first seer or philosopher was preoccupied. It was asserted by our philosophers that he who knows the One knows all; he who knows all knows the One,—knowledge thus being possible in two ways, knowing all by knowing the one, and knowing the one by knowing all. It is doubtless more convenient to know the many by knowing the One; for the many are quantitatively innumerable, and how many things can man come across in life? Therefore the seeker after truth sought for the knowing which included all knowledge. And this seeking led him to his own self, the *átman*.

But the question remains *why* this desire to know the self, this *átman*? The answer is, that such is the nature of man. He desires a thing in proportion to his joy in it, and we find that nothing is as dear to him as his self. Because he is dear to

himself, other things become dear to him through their relation to himself. One of the early seers explained it to his wife thus :

Verily it is not for the desire for the husband that a husband is dear, but it is for the desire for the self that a husband is dear. Verily it is not for the desire for the wife that a wife is dear, but it is for the desire for the self that a wife is dear. Verily it is not for the desire for the son that a son is dear, but it is for the desire for the self that a son is dear..... (Br. Up. II. 4.5).

So man desires the self *ātman*, naturally, because he holds it dearest, the highest source of joy (*ānanda*). He therefore does not desire simply the *ātman*, but also *ānanda* (joy) to accompany it,—he desires the union of *ātman* and *ānanda*. And *ātman* plus *ānanda* being thus the ultimate reality for man, he cannot but hope for their *permanence*.

In this way from the doctrines of our first seers the three basic ideas of our later philosophy took rise, *ātman* (self), *ānanda* (joy) or *sukha* (pleasure), and *nitya* (permanence). If we change their order a little we may say *nitya*, *sukha* (*ānanda*), and *ātman*. This reminds us of the three fundamental principles of a later school of philosophers, the Buddhists; *anitya* (impermanance), *dukha* (sorrow) and *anātman* (not-self), just the opposites of the former, but which, as we shall see, lead to the same termination.

For man the foremost of all desires is the desire for his eternal existence. His prayer is heard in the words of the seer : *Lead me from death to immortality*. This desire for immortality has found expression among others in the following reply given by Maitreyi to her husband Yājñavalkya : *What should I do with that by which I cannot become immortal!* In these words is implied the question : How can man, who is evidently mortal, become immortal? The answer naturally occurs that though our earthly existence cannot be prolonged for ever, it may not be impossible for us to win immortality after our physical death. So, at first, man imagined that in paradise he might retain some kind of body which would be everlasting. But this did not satisfy his reason, and at last he came to realise

that death could overcome only one's physical body, but it had nothing to do with one's *self*. Thereupon he said that it is the body that dies when it is deserted by the self (*jīva*). The self does not die." And by every possible means he sought that self, eventually realized it, and only then had complete satisfaction. Those who achieved this said that a man in this state of realisation solely has his desire for the self, his activity in the self, his union with the self, and therein his enjoyment.

The early Buddhist thinkers, however, started from the opposite point of view. Their attention was as naturally drawn to the essential facts of our daily life, which are a series of sufferings. Birth causes suffering; the various ills of life cause suffering; old age is a continual suffering; and through suffering we reach death. Contact with objects we dislike is suffering; separation from objects we love is suffering; the unattainment of what we desire is suffering. There can be no doubt that our wish is to avoid all these. Like every thing else suffering must also have its original cause. But there must also be a truth which points to us the path to the cessation of suffering. The most important question in this connection is: What is the root of all sufferings? Metaphorically it is named by the Buddha "the Builder of the House" (*gahakāraka*) and in plain language desire or lust (*kāma*, *tāṇhā*=*trishṇā*). Consequently cessation of sufferings entirely depends on the cessation of *kāma* (desire). This extinction of *kāma* is variously called *naiskāmya* (*nekkhamma*) freedom from lust, *virāga* absence of desire, or *trishṇakshaya* destruction of lust, all meaning *nirvāna* which is the same as *amrita* (immortality), and as such the sole object of life. But how is this to be attained? Evidently by rooting out the cause of *kāma* itself. And what this cause is, we shall see as we proceed.

That *kāma* is in the beginning of all, that it produces the evil causing various sufferings, and that *naiskāmya* (freedom from desire) leads to *nirvana* or *amrita* (immortality) is a view accepted also by the Brahmanic or Orthodox teachers, as their literature from the Vedas downwards deals with the different means of attaining *naiskāmya*. Every word of the following passage of the Rigveda (X. 129 3) is full of significance :

In the beginning there was **kāma** (desire), which was the first seed of mind. Sages seeking in (their) hearts with wisdom, found the bond of the existent in the non-existent.

The seers further say :

When all desires which are in his heart cease completely, then does the mortal become immortal, then here (in this very life) he realizes Brahman. (Br. up. IV, 4, 7 and Kath. Up. 6, 14).

In order to avoid prolixity we may simply refer to the Bhagavad-gita which is full of this idea, and from which we quote the following lines :

He only attains Peace within whom all desires merge as rivers merge in the ocean, which is ever full and ever unmoved,—but it can never be attained by the one who cherishes desires.

The man who having abandoned all desired goes onwards without attachment and free from the idea that “it is I” and “this is mine,” attains peace.

As the root of all evils and sufferings, *kāma* is regarded as a great enemy and described as the embodiment of death itself (*māra* or *mrityu*). And the Buddha could not attain to Buddhahood until he was able to conquer and kill that enemy, *kāma* or *māra* (desire or death), completely. As it is the fundamental principle in Buddhism, this conquering of desire or death (*kāma* or *māra vijaya*) by the Buddha has rightly been given a prominent place in the beautiful life story of the Blessed One in Buddhist literature. But the same story, in a different shape, is also told in the dialogue between Yama and Nachiketas in the beginning of the *Kathopanishad*. The great poet Kalidasa depicted the same thing in his *Kumāra-sambhava*, showing that until *kāma*, the embodiment of desire, had been reduced to ashes, Pārvati could not realise the joy of attaining Siva, the personification of the highest bliss, the conqueror of death (*mrityunjaya*). The real, blissful union of Sakuntala with Dushyanta in the *Abhijñāna Sakuntalā*, in the last act of the work, took place in the hermitage of the sage Maricha when their hearts had become completely free from *kāma*.

Now, is there any possibility of getting rid of this desire in a world where our mind is overwhelmingly attracted by the multifarious objects that are before us? Certainly there is a way, a two-fold way, subjective and objective. We shall deal with the former after we have discussed the latter. The objective way is variously described by the different schools of thought, as we shall see presently. It is a truism to say that our mind turns back from an undesirable object or from all that leads to it. Man naturally desires a state of non-suffering, or eternal bliss, and therefore also the means of its attainment, though these in themselves may not be agreeable. That worldly things are not permanent is evident. Taking their stand on this, the Indian philosophers, Buddhists and non-Buddhists alike, emphatically asserted that the objects around us are of no worth to those persons who are desirous of having eternal happiness or complete cessation of sufferings. For nothing permanent can result from what is not permanent.

Firstly, therefore, when man deeply meditates upon the nature of impermanence of things (*anitya-bhāvana*), his attachment to them naturally weakens, and his mind is gradually freed from the desire for them. This is one way to the cessation of desire.

Others held a more radical doctrine. According to them desire is roused only when an object is thought to be real, but when it is clearly understood that it is non-existent, then desire vanishes: According to the *Máyāvādins* the world is mere illusion. The *Vijñānvādins* would tell us that the external world has no reality at all, being the mere transformation of the internal *vijñāna*. And the *Mādhyamikas* would advise us to believe that it is mere *sūnya* (void) meaning thereby that in fact it is not what it appears to be. For, as it comes into being only owing to the cause and conditions (*hētu-pratyaya*) it has not its own independent character or nature (*Swáyatta*). If, then, it has not an independent character of its own, how can it borrow it from others? Therefore it follows that it can have no essential nature of its own (*nirātmaka* or *niḥsvabhāva*), and as such it cannot be in reality what it appears to be. Consequently to the wise who know the truth, the external world cannot

produce a feeling of attachment, but, on the contrary, it strengthens his realization of nirvana (*sangakshayas cha nirváná-váptikaranam*). The Bhaktimárgins teach us completely to dedicate all fruits of actions (*karma phalárpana*) to the Supreme Being, and Srikrishna's teaching in the Bhagavad-gita lays the emphasis on the doing of one's own duties without any thought of ulterior gain, thus overcoming man's greatest enemy, *káma*, desire. The Mimámsakas, who are mainly concerned with the various rites and ceremonies prescribed in the Vedic texts would nevertheless warn us against performing *kámya karmans* (ceremonies performed from interested motives), advising us to keep up only the indispensable and occasional (*nitya* and *naimittika*) ceremonies. The Tantravadins, on the other hand, suggest quite a different way, saying that it is with desire (*rága*) itself that the wise can remove desire. They tell us :

Just as one takes out water from the ear with water itself, or a thorn with a thorn itself, so the wise remove desire with desire itself. Just as a washerman makes a cloth clean by removing its dirt with some dirty matter, so a wise man makes himself pure with that which is impure. Or as a looking glass becomes clean when rubbed with dust, so will things which are offensive serve for the annihilation of offence when enjoined by the wise. A lump of iron when thrown into the water surely goes down, but when it is turned into a vessel not only does it float, but enables others to do so. In the same way when the mind is strengthened by wisdom it remains free even while enjoying the things that we desire, and at the same time helps others to freedom. An object of desire when enjoyed by the unwise becomes a fetter to him, but to the wise enjoyment does not militate against liberation. Poison when taken in accordance with proper method acts like life-giving ambrosia; but even good food, if taken improperly, acts like poison.

To come now to the subjective way, that may be divided into two branches, according to the belief in the existence and non-existence of *átman*. In the first division are the Atmavádins (those who admit the existence of *átman*). According to those of them with whom we are concerned here, the *átman* is void of all qualities (*nirguna*). It is without actions (*nishkriya*) and

without stain (*niranjana*). It is one and without a second (*ekam eva advitīyam*) and all-pervading (*vibhu*). In reality there is nothing in the world except the *ātman*. Now, it is only when there are two things, real or imaginary, that there is the possibility of fear. When there are both a tiger and a man the latter has cause to be frightened. Thus runs an Upanisadic story (Br. Up. I 4-1-2) :

In the beginning there was the *ātman*, alone. Looking round him he saw nothing but his self. He was afraid, for any one who is lonely is afraid. But when he questioned himself: *As there is nothing but myself, why should I fear?* his fear passed away. What should he have feared? Verily fear arises from a second only (*dvitīyād vai bhayam bhavati*).

Similarly, when a man thoroughly realizes that there is nothing excepting his self (*ātman*), the nature of which has been described above, what can he desire? There is absolutely no object for his desire. So we are told (Br. Up. IV. 4. 12) : *If a man understands the self (ātman) saying 'I am He' (ayam asmi) what could he wish or desire for the sake of which he should pursue the body.* It is further said (Isa Up. 6, 7) : *When he beholds all beings in the self and the self in all beings; and thus understands that all beings are nothing but the self, he is free not only from desire, but also from all sorrows and troubles.*

Let us now come to the subjective way suggested by the Anātmavādins. They say that the source of desire which is the root cause of miseries is one's notion of 'I' and 'mine' (*ahamkāra*) and (*mamakāra*) or in other words, self (*ātman*) and that which belongs to the self (*ātmīya*). This view of *ahamkāra* and *mamakāra*, or *ātman* and *ātmīya*, is called *satkayadrishti*, which means, in short, the belief in *ātman* and *ātmīya*, *I* and *mine*, and is otherwise known as *ātma-vāda*. This *satkāyadrishti* is regarded as a great mountain with high peaks, twenty in number, covering all directions, which can be rent asunder only with the thunderbolt of the knowledge that there is no self or *ātman* (*nairātmya bōdha*). It then disappears just like darkness before a lighted lamp.

The truth, according to these teachers of Anātmavāda (non-belief in *I* and *mine*) is found on the complete perishing of the

notion of 'I' and 'mine', within and without, that follows on the disappearance of the belief in things external and internal. And one can arrive at this only when one is free from *satkāyadrishṭi*. As to how the *satkāyadrishṭi* leads to various sufferings, they tell us that the cause of suffering is *ahamkāra* (the notion of I) and it increases owing to the delusion of *ātman* in believing what is not *ātman*, to be *ātman* (*ātmamōha*). When a man sees that there is the *ātman*, he identifies his body with it saying, 'it is I', and thence arises his love for it. From this love he feels a thirst for comfort, and that thirst prevents him from realising the lack of real comfort. He imagines the thing that he desires to be good, and loves to think that 'it is mine,' and adopts means for its attainment. When there is the notion of the self there arises also the notion of the other-than-self, and owing to the distinction of the self from the others-than-self, there spring the notions of attachment and hatred, and all evils arise from being firmly related to these two. It is for this that the Yogins deny the existence of self.

When the notion of *ātman* disappears, necessarily that of *ātmīya* also disappears, as the parts of a chariot are also burnt when the chariot itself is burnt. In this way when a Yogin is no longer obsessed by *ātman* or *ātmīya*, i.e. when his notion of these two ceases, he becomes free from both the ideas 'I' and 'mine' (*nirmama* and *nirahamkāra*). And on such complete cessation there is no room for any attachment or holding on (*upādāna*) of which *kāma* is one and the first form. And the extinction of *upādāna* is followed by that of birth which is full of sorrows.

Thus we see that though the *ātmavādins* and *non-ātmavādins* started from opposite ends, they met together, reaching the same goal by different ways.

[From a paper written for the All India Oriental Conference.]

HE MOR CHITTA.

By RABINDRANATH.

O heart of mine, awake in this holy place of pilgrimage,
In this land of India, on the shore of vast humanity.

Here do I stand with arms outstretched to salute man divine,
And sing his praise in many a gladsome pæan.
'These hills that are rapt in deep meditation,
'These plains that clasp their rosaries of rivers,—
Here will you find earth that is ever sacred,
In this land of India, on the shore of vast humanity.

We know not whence, and at whose call, these myriad streams of men
Have come rushing forth impetuously to lose themselves in this sea.
Aryan and non-Aryan, Dravidian and Chinese,
Scythian, Hun, Pathan and Moghul, all, all have merged into one body.
Now the West has opened her doors, and they are all bringing their offerings,
They will give and take, unite and be united, they will not turn away.
In this land of India, on the shore of vast humanity.

Come Aryan, non-Aryan, Hindu, Mussulman, come.
Come ye Parsees, O Christians, come ye one and all.
Come Brahmins, let your hearts be hallowed by holding all men by the hand.
Come all ye who are shunned and isolated, wipe out all dishonour.
Come to the crowning of the Mother, fill the sacred bowl
With water that is sanctified by the touch of all
In this land of India, on the shore of vast humanity.

—*Translated by* Indira Debi Chaudhurani.

THE SPIRITUAL GENIUS OF INDIA

By NOLINI-KANTO GUPTA.

What is it that we precisely mean when we say that *India is spiritual*? For, that is how we are accustomed to express India's special genius—her backbone, as Vivekananda puts it—the fundamental note of her culture and nature, which distinguishes her from the rest of the world. What then are the distinguishing marks of spirituality? How does a spiritual collectivity live and move—*kim āśīta vrajēta kim*? And do we find its characteristic gait and feature exclusively or even chiefly in India?

Was not Europe also in her theocratic and medieval ages as largely spiritual and as fundamentally religious as India? Churches and cathedrals and monasteries grew like mushrooms in every nook and corner, in all the countries of Europe; it was the clergy who, with their almost unbounded influence and power, moulded and guided the life and aspiration of the people; devotion to God and love of prayer and pilgrimage were as much in the nature of the average European of those times, as they are in any Indian of to-day; every family considered it a duty and an honour to rear up one child at least to be consecrated to the service of God and the Church. The internal as well as the external life of the men of medieval Europe was steeped through and through in a religious atmosphere.

The whole world, in fact, was more or less religious in the early stages of its evolution; for it is characteristic of the primitive nature of man to be god-fearing and addicted to religious rite and ceremony. And Europe too, when she entered on a new cycle of life and began to reconstruct herself after the ruin of the Graeco-Latin culture, started with the religion of the Christ and experimented with it during a long period of time. But that is what was—*Troja fuit*. Europe has outgrown her nonage and for a century and a half, since the mighty upheaval of the French Revolution, she has been rapidly

shaking off the last vestiges of her medievalism. To-day she stands clean shorn of all superstition, which she only euphemistically calls religion or spirituality. Not Theology but Science, not Revelation but Reason, not Magic but Logic, not Fiction but Fact governs her thoughts and guides her activities. Only India, thinks she, in part under the stress of her own conservative nature, in part under compelling circumstances, still clings to her things of the past, darkens that have been discarded by the modern illumination. Indian spirituality is nothing but consolidated medievalism; it has its companion shibboleth in the cry, "Back to the village" or "Back to the bullock-cart"! One of the main reasons, according to her, if not the one reason why India has to-day no place in the comity of nations, why she is not in the vanguard of civilisation, is precisely this persistent survival of a spirit subversive of all that is modern and progressive.

It is not my purpose here to take up the cause of spirituality and defend it against materialism. Taking it for granted that real spirituality embodies a truth and power by far higher and mightier than anything materialism can offer, and that man's supreme ideal lies there, let us throw a comparing glance on the two types of spirituality,—the one that India knows and the other that Europe knew in the Middle Ages.

To say that Europe was once as religious and spiritual as India herself is not precisely incorrect, but it is to view the matter from too general a standpoint, almost, we may say, *grosso modo*. In order to arrive at an accurate and precise estimation, and to find out the most significant truths, we have to look a little more closely, observe differences in shade and stress, make certain distinctions. For the things that the ordinary mind indiscriminately designates as religion, spirituality and the like, do not always fall in the same category. These names are often applied to distinct realities, each with its particular *dharma*, norm and form, wide apart from each other, although to the common eye they may appear to be of the same mould and substance.

Thus Religion and Spirituality, two fundamental categories that form one realm when held up in opposition to Materialism,

are, when considered by themselves, really very different things and may be even contradictory to and destructive of each other. What then is Religion? and what, on the other hand, is Spirituality? Religion starts from and usually ends with a mental and emotional approach to realities beyond the mind; Spirituality goes straight forward to direct vision and communion with the Beyond. Religion, as it is usually practised, is a special art, one—the highest it may be, still only one—among many other pursuits that man looks to for his enjoyment and fulfilment; but spirituality is nothing if it does not swallow up the entire man, take in his each and every pre-occupation and new-create it into an inevitable expression of its own master truth. Religion gives us a moral discipline for the internal consciousness, and for the external life, a code of conduct based upon a system of rules and rites and ceremonies; spirituality aims at a revolution in the consciousness and in the being.

Keeping this difference in view, we may at once point out that Europe, when she is non-materialist, is primarily religious and only secondarily spiritual, but India is always primarily spiritual and only secondarily religious. The vein of real spirituality in European culture runs underground and follows narrow and circuitous by-paths; rarely does it appear on the top in sudden and momentary flashes and even then only to dive back again into its subterranean hiding-place; upon the collective life and culture it acts more as an indirect influence, an auxiliary leaven, than as a direct and dynamic Force. In India there is an abundance, a superfluity even, of religious paraphernalia, but it is the note of spirituality that rings clear and high above all lesser tones and wields a power vivid and manifest. We could say in terms of modern Biology that spirituality tends to be a *recessive* character in European culture, while in India it is *dominant*.

But when we say that India is spiritual, we do not mean that all or most Indians, or even a very large minority among them, are adepts in spirituality, or that the attachment to life, the passion for earthly possessions, the sway of the six *ripus* are in any way less prevalent in the Indian character. On the contrary, it may well seem to the casual on-looker whose eyes are occupied

with the surface actualities of the situation, that the Indian nature, as it is to-day, shut out from this world's larger spaces, cut off from its deeper channels, and movements of greater magnitude, has been given over more and more to petty worldlinesses that hardly fill the same space even in the life of peoples who are notorious for their worldly and unspiritual temperament.

It is not so much a question of concrete realisation, of attainment and achievement arrived at by the Indian people in their work-a-day life, but primarily and above all a question of ultimate valuation, of what they hold as the supreme ideal, of what they cherish in their heart of hearts, and of the extent to which that standard has obtained general currency among them. It is not a *fact* with which we are concerned, but the *force* behind the fact, and the special nature and purpose of that force. It is the power that we discover in the general atmosphere, or that emerges in the stress and rhythm of the cultural life of the people, in the level of its inner consciousness, in the expression of its highest and most wide-spread aspirations, in the particular stamp of its soul.

The psychological atmosphere in India is of a luminous tenuity. Here, it appears, the veil between this world and the other has so thinned away that the two meet and interpenetrate easily and freely; immersed in one, you can at the same time bathe in the other. Owing to the cumulative effect of the *sādhana* of her saints and sages who appeared in countless number down countless ages, or, perhaps, owing to the grace of a descent into her consciousness, or some immanence there, of the breath and light of a Superior World, India has developed and possesses, already prepared, a magnetic field, a luminous zone of spiritual consciousness; and to enter into it the Indian has only to turn aside, to go round a corner, to take one step forward. However thick and hard the crust of the Ignorance may lie upon the Indian soul, once that soul awakes and is upon the Path, it finds itself on familiar ground; it is in a domain which it has the impression of having frequented often and anon and for long.

But in Europe the division between this world and the other, in the inner consciousness of the people, is more impervious; a thick wall divides the two and to pass from the one to the other

demands a violent break, a total revolution; and even when the Rubicon is crossed, one feels oneself in unfamiliar surroundings, moving in a shadowy world, and with the uncertain and faltering steps of a child.

The average European has a strong basis of the earth-nature in him; he is heavily enclosed in his physical sheath and firmly placed upon the material world. Therefore he keeps a very stable terrestrial equilibrium and is not easily ousted from his earthly footing; his is not a nature easily upset from its poise, or disturbed by the currents and forces that play about him. But the Indian, both physically and psychically, has a more delicate frame and his footing upon earth is less secure. The balance in his consciousness between the different forces—especially between those of this world and the other—is delicately held; and the adjustment that obtains at a given moment is liable to be disturbed by the least change, either in the inner consciousness, or in the outer conditions.

In other words, when we speak of the spirituality of the Indian people, it is to the *disposition* of their psychic elements that we refer, to the tone and temper of the soul they possess and to a constant nearness of latent spiritual possibilities, that may at any time materialise, and the consequent possibilities of a spiritual impulse, that may at any time awaken.

Other peoples have other and more concrete virtues to be proud of; but the Indian has his soul as his most characteristic possession.

That is not to say that other peoples of the world are soulless, and that India alone may claim to possess the treasure. But no other people has lived so much in and from the soul, none other has sacrificed so much for the sake of this one thing needful. The soul-consciousness in other nations lies veiled behind the more pressing activities and immediate occupations of the external nature; at the most, what is characteristic in them is the soul, not in its pure and fundamental *being*, but expressed, and therefore encased and limited, within some particular mode of *becoming*. In India, on the other hand, the external activities and operations have never altogether swamped or clouded this soul-consciousness; they have been either subjugated to it

as minor auxiliaries or totally sacrificed as obstacles. The Indian's soul is not imbedded in some far-off region of his unconscious nature; he has succeeded in raising it up and bringing it forward to the level of his waking consciousness,—as the golden-tusked Divine Boar lifted the Earth out of the dark depths of the primeval deluge to the light of the Day.

The French, for example, have developed as a people a special characteristic and mental turn that has set its pervading impress upon their culture and civilisation, upon their creations and activities; that which distinguishes them is a fine, clear and subtle rational, logical, artistic and literary mind. France, it has often been said, is the head of modern Europe. The Indians are not in the same way a predominantly intellectual race, in spite of the mighty giants of intellect India has always produced, and still produces. Nor are they a literary race, although a rich and grandiose literature, unrivalled in its own great qualities, is their patrimony. It was the few, a small minority, almost a closed circle, that formed in India the *élite* whose interest and achievement lay in this field; the characteristic power, the main life-current of the nation, did not flow this way, but followed a different channel. Among the ancients the Greeks, and among the moderns the French alone, can rightfully claim as their special genius, as the hall-mark of their corporate life, a high intellectual and literary culture. It is to this treasure,—a serene and yet vigorous and organised rational mind, coupled with a wonderful felicity of expression in speech,—that one turns when one thinks of the special gift that modern France and ancient Greece have brought to the heritage of mankind.

Again, the Japanese, as a people, have developed to a consummate degree the sense of beauty, especially as applied to life and living. No other people, not even the old-world Greeks, possessed almost to a man, as do these children of the Rising Sun, so fine and infallible an aesthetic sensibility,—not static or abstract, but of the dynamic kind,—uniformly successful in making out of their work a-day life, even to its smallest accessories, a flawless object of art. It is a wonder to see in Japan how, even an unlettered peasant, away in his rustic environment,

chooses with unerring taste the site of his house, builds it to the best advantage, arranges everything about it in a faultless rhythm. The whole motion of the life of a Japanese is almost Art incarnate.

Or take again the example of the British people. The practical, successful life instinct, one might even call it the business instinct, of the Anglo-Saxon races is, in its general diffusion, something that borders on the miraculous. Even their Shakespeare is reputed to have been very largely endowed with this national virtue. It is a faculty which has very little to do with calculation, or with much or close thinking, or with any laborious or subtle mental operation,—a quick or active mind is perhaps the last thing with which the British people can be accredited; this instinct of theirs is something spontaneous, almost aboriginal, moving with the sureness, the ruthlessness of nature's unconscious movements,—it is a *tact*, native to the force that is life. It is this attribute which the Englishman draws from the collective genius of his race that marks him out from among all others; this is his *forte*, it is this which has created his nation and made it great and strong.

All other nations have this one, or that other, line of self-expression, special to each; but it is India's characteristic not to have had any such single and definite *modus vivendi*—what was single and definite in her case was a mode not of *living* but of *being*. India looked above all to the very self in things, and in all her life-expressions it was the soul *per se* which mattered to her,—even as the great Yajnavalkya said to his wife Maitreyi, *âtmanastu kāmāya sarvām priyam bhavati*. The expressions of the self had no intrinsic value of their own and mattered only so far as they symbolised or embodied or pointed to the secret reality of the Atman. And perhaps it was on this account that India's creative activities, even in external life, were once upon a time so rich and varied, so stupendous and full of marvel. Because she was attached and limited to no one dominating power of life, she could create infinite forms, so many channels of power for the soul whose realisation was her end and aim.

There was no department of life or culture in which it could be said of India that she was not great, or even, in a way,

supreme. From hard practical politics touching our earth, to the nebulous regions of abstract metaphysics, everywhere India expressed the power of her genius equally well. And yet none of these, neither severally nor collectively, constituted her specific genius; none showed the full height to which she could raise herself, none compassed the veritable amplitude of her innermost reality. It is when we come to the domain of the Spirit, of God-realisation that we find the real nature and stature and genius of the Indian people; it is here that India lives and moves as in her own home of Truth. The greatest and the most popular names in Indian history are not names of warriors or statesmen, nor of poets who were only poets, nor of mere intellectual philosophers, however great they might be, but of Rishis, who saw and lived the Truth and communed with the gods, of Avataras who brought down and incarnated here below something of the supreme realities beyond.

The most significant fact in the history of India is the unbroken continuity of the line of her spiritual masters who never ceased to appear even in the midst of her most dark and distressing ages. Even in a decadent and fast disintegrating India, when the whole of her external life was a mass of ruins, when her political and economical and even her cultural life was brought to stagnation and very near to decomposition, this undying Fire in her secret heart was ever alight and called in the inevitable rebirth and rejuvenation. Ramakrishna, with Vivekananda as his emanation in life-dynamic and material, symbolises this great secret of India's evolution. The promise that the Divine held out in the Gita to Bharata's descendant finds a ready fulfilment in India, in Bharata's land, more perhaps than anywhere else in the world; for in India has the Divine taken birth over and over again to save the pure in heart, to destroy the evil-doer and to establish the Right Law of life.

Other peoples may be the arms and the feet and the head of Humanity, but India is its heart, its soul—for she cherishes always within her the Truth that lives for ever, the flaming God-head, the Immortal awake in mortality, as say the Vedas, *amrito martyeshu ritávā*.

THE BAÜLS AND THEIR CULT OF MAN

By KSHITIMOHAN SEN.

Báül means madcap, from *báyu* (Skt. *Váyu*) in its sense of nerve-current, and has become the appellation of a set of people who do not conform to established social usage. Some try to derive the name Báül from *báyu* in its other meaning of air-current, on the supposition that in the cult of the Báüls, realisation is dependant on the rousing of the spiritual forces by regulated breathing exercises. I am unable to accept this, because from the *Shiva-Samhitá* and other books we find that it is wisdom gained by meditation and concentration that is clearly laid down to be the means of realisation. Moreover the former derivation is supported by the following verse of Narahari :

That is why, brother, I became a madcap Báül.
No master I obey, nor injunctions, canons or customs,—
Now no men-made distinctions have any hold on me,—
And I revel only in the gladness of my own welling love.
In love there's no separation, but commingling always,
So I rejoice in song and dance with each and all.

Here the term Báül and its meaning occur together. These lines also introduce us to the main tenets of the cult. The freedom, however, that the Báüls seek from all forms of outward compulsion, goes even further, for among such are recognised as well the compulsions exerted by our desires and antipathies. Therefore, according to this cult, in order to gain real freedom, one has first to die to the life of the world whilst still in the flesh,—for only then can one be rid of all extraneous claims. Those of the Báüls who have Islamic leanings call such “death in life” *fana*, a term used by the Sufis to denote union with the Supreme Being. True love, according to the Báüls, is incompatible with any kind of compulsion. Unless the bonds of necessity are overcome, liberation is out of the question. Love represents the wealth of life which is in excess of need. The

idea appears to be the same as that under which the *ucchista* (surplus) is exalted in the Atharva Veda (XI, 9). It should also be noted that Kabir, Nanak and other upper Indian devotees, use the work *báur* in the same sense of madcap, and in their verses there are likewise numerous references to this idea of "death in life."

The Báül cult is followed by householders as well as homeless wanderers, neither of whom acknowledge class or caste, special deities, temples or sacred places. Though they congregate on the occasion of religious festivals, mainly of the Vaishnavas, held in special centres they never enter any temple. They do not set up any images of divinities, or religious symbols, in their own places of worship or mystic realisation. True, they sometimes maintain with care and reverence, spots sacred to some esteemed master or devotee, but they perform no worship there. Devotees from the lowest strata of the Hindu and Moslem communities are welcomed into their ranks,—hence the Báüls are looked down upon by both. It is possible that their own contempt for temples had its origin in the denial of admittance therein to their low class brethren. Anyhow they have no use for *Thákor-thôkor* (deity or divinity) say they. What need have we of other temples,—is not this body of ours the temple where the Supreme Spirit has His abode? The human body, despised by most other religions, is thus for them the holy of holies, wherein the Divine is intimately enshrined as the *Man of the Heart*. And in this wise is the dignity of Man upheld by them.

Kabir, Nanak, Ravidas, Dadu and his followers, have also called man's body the temple of God,—the microcosm in which the cosmic abode of the all-pervading Supreme Being is represented.

Kabir says :

In this body is the Garden of Paradise ; herein are comprised the seven seas and the myriad stars ; here is the Creator manifest. (I—101). In this are the temples of the gods and all pilgrimages (I-85).

Dadu says :

This body is my scripture ; herein the All-Merciful has written for me His message.

Rajjab (Dadu's Chief Moslem disciple) says :

Within the devotee is the paper on which the scriptures are written in letters of Life. But few care to read them ; they turn a deaf ear to the message of the heart.

Most Indian sects adopt some distinct way of keeping the hairs of head and face as a sign of their sect or order. Therefore, so as to avoid being dragged into any such distinctions, the Báúls allow hair and beard and moustache to grow freely. Thus do we remain simple, they say. The similar practice of the Sikhs in this matter is to be noted. Neither do the Báúls believe that lack of clothing or bareness of body conduce to religious merit. According to them the whole body should be kept decently covered. Hence their long robe, for which if they cannot afford a new piece of cloth, they gather rags and make it of patches. In this they are different from the ascetic *sanyásins*, but resemble rather the Buddhist monks.

The Báúls do not believe in aloofness from, or renunciation of, any person or thing ; their central idea is *yoga*, attachment to and communion with the divine and its manifestations, as the means of realisation. We fail to recognise the temple of God in the bodily life of man, they explain, because its lamp is not alight. The true vision must be attained in which this temple will become manifest in each and every human body, whereupon mutual communion and worship will spontaneously arise. Truth cannot be communicated to those on whom you look down. You must be able to see the divine light that shines within them, for it is your own lack of vision that makes all seem dark.

Kabir says the same thing :

In every abode the light doth shine : it is you who are blind that cannot see. When by dint of looking and looking you at length can discern it, the v.ils of this world will be torn asunder (II-33). It is because the devotee is not in communion that he says the goal is far away (II-34).

Many such similarities are to be observed between the sayings the Báúls and those of the Upper Indian devotees of the Middle Ages, but unlike the case of the followers of the latter, the Báúls did not become crystallised into any particular order

or religious organisation. So, in the Báüls of Bengal, there is to be found a freedom and independence of mind and spirit that resists all attempt at definition. Their songs have given expression to the very heart of rural Bengal. With no claims to erudition or prestige of tradition, the spiritual heights attained by these social outcastes are yet rare even in the highest of religious orders. Their songs are unique in courage and felicity of expression. But under modern conditions, they are becoming extinct or at best holding on to external features bereft of their original speciality. It would be a great pity if no record of their achievements should be kept before their culture is lost to the world.

Though the Báüls count amongst their following a variety of sects and castes, both Hindu and Moslem, chiefly coming from the lower social ranks, they refuse to give any other account of themselves to the questioner than that they are Báüls. They acknowledge none of the social or religious formalities, but delight in the everchanging play of life, which cannot be expressed in mere words, but of which something may be captured in song, through the ineffable medium of rhythm and tune.

Their songs are passed on from Master to disciple, the latter when competent adding others of his own, but, as already mentioned, they are never recorded in book form. Their replies to questions are usually given by singing appropriate selections from these songs. If asked the reason why, they say: "We are like birds. We do not walk on our legs, but fly with our wings."

There was a Brahmin of Bikrampur, known as Chhaku Thákur, who was the disciple of a Báül of the Namasudrá caste (accounted one of the lowest) and hence had lost his place in his own community. When admonished to be careful about what he uttered, so as to avoid popular odium, he answered with the song :

Let them relieve their minds by saying what they will,

I pursue my own simple way, fearing none at all.

The Mango seed will continue to produce Mango trees,
not Jambolans.

This seed of mine will produce the real *me*,—all glory to
my Master !

Love being the main principle according to the Báüls, a Vaishnava once asked a Báül devotee whether he was aware of the different kinds of love as classified in the Vaishnava scriptures. "What should an illiterate ignoramus like me know of the scriptures?"—was the reply. The Vaishnava then offered to read and explain the text, which he proceeded to do, while the Báül listened with such patience as he could muster. When asked for his opinion, after the reading was over, he sang :

A goldsmith, methinks, has come into the flower garden.
He would appraise the lotus, forsooth,
By rubbing it on his touchstone!

Recruits from the higher castes are rare amongst the Báüls. When any such do happen to come, they are reduced to the level of the rest. Are the lower planks of a boat of any lesser importance than the upper?—say they.

Once, in Vikrampur, I was seated on the river bank by the side of a Báül. "Father," I asked him, "why is it that you keep no historical record of yourselves for the use of posterity?" "We follow the simple way," he replied, "and so leave no trace behind us." The tide had then ebbed, and there was but little water in the river bed. Only a few boatmen were to be seen pushing their boats along the mud. The Báül continued : "Do the boats that sail over the flooded river leave any mark? What should these boatmen of the muddy track, urged on by their need, know of the simple way? The true endeavour is to keep oneself simply afloat in the stream of devotion that flows through the lives of devotees,—to mingle one's own devotion with theirs. There are many classes of men amongst the Báüls, but they are all Báüls,—they have no other achievement or history. All the streams that fall into the Ganges become the Ganges. So must we lose ourselves in the common stream, else will it cease to be living."

On another Báül being asked why they did not follow the scriptures, "Are we dogs," he replied, "that we should lick up the leavings of others? Brave men rejoice in the out-put of their own energy, they create their own festivals. Those cowards who have not the power to rejoice in themselves, have to rely on what

others have left. Afraid lest the world should lack festivals in the future, they save up the scraps left over by their predecessors for later use. They are content with glorifying their forefathers because they know not how to create for themselves."

If you would know that Man
Simple must be your endeavour.
To the region of the simple must you fare.
Pursuers of the path of man's own handiwork,
Who follow the crowd, gleaning their false leavings,—
What news can they get of the Real?

It is hardly to be wondered at that people who think thus should have no use for history!

We have already noticed that, like all the followers of the simple way, the Báüls have no faith in specially sacred spots or places of pilgrimage, but that they nevertheless congregate on the occasion of religious festivals. If asked why, the Báül says :

We would be within hail of the other Boatmen, to hear their calls,
That we may make sure our boat rightly floats on the *sahaj* stream.

Not what men have said or done in the past, but the living human touch is what they find helpful. Here is a song giving their ideas about pilgrimage :

I would not go, my heart, to Mecca or Medina,
For behold, I ever abide by the side of my Friend !
Mad would I become, had I dwelt afar, not knowing Him.
There's no worship in Mosque or Temple or special holy day.
At every step I have my Mecca and Kashi, sacred is every moment.

If a Báül is asked the age of his cult,—whether it comes before or after this one or that,—he says : "Only the artificial religions of the world are limited by time. Our *Sahaj* (simple, natural) religion is timeless, it has neither beginning nor end, it is of all time." The religion of the Upanishads and Puranas, even that if the Vedas, is according to them artificial. In this there appears to be an element of profound truth.

Báüls who have a smattering of the scriptures say that in the first three Vedas, traces of this *Sahaj* religion are to be found, while as for the Atharva Veda, it is full of it. They claim further, that the followers of the *Sahaj* cult of the Báüls are specially referred to in the Vedas under the name *Nivartiya* or *Nivyádiya*, being described as those who conform to no accepted doctrines, but to whom, having known the truth in its purity, all directions are free. Not bound by prescribed rites or ceremonies, but, in active communion with all by virtue of their wealth of the natural, they are ever mobile. I have, as a matter of fact, found in the Atharva Veda many references to the *Vrátyas* (which may be translated as *non-conformists*) in these identical terms. I give a few examples :

The *Vrátya* is ever mobile. He made even Prajapati
mobile (I, 15, 1).

The *Vrátya* was active in all directions (I, 15, 2)

The *Vrátya* went forth in all directions, and with
him went all else (I, 15, 6).

Full of *rasa* (emotion), mobile and independent, the
Vrátya entered the world, and there remained
as a sea of flowing *rasa* (I, 15, 7).

The *Vrátya* went amongst men, and with him went
the leaders and the assemblies, the braves and
the armies.

The Atharva is also full of enigmatic verses similar to the sayings of the Báüls :

The wise one who has known Brahma, he alone knows the whole of language. Ordinary men use only a part of it (IX, 15, 27).

There is a truth inherent in the phenomenal world, in ignorance of which the heart knows not bliss. In search of this truth do the waters ever flow (X, 7, 37).

Man is a wondrous temple. When it was made, the Gods came and took shelter therein (XI, 10, 18).

The Báüls say : In the body is the essence of the world : in the world the essence of the cosmos. In the *Mahi Sūkta* of

the Atharva (12, 1) and also in several other *suktas* (5, 1; 7, 1; 8, 9; 9, 14; 9, 15; etc.), we have wonderful expressions of the mystery of creation in similar cryptic terms, which may serve to throw light on many of the Báül sayings.

The Báüls claim that from the eternal *Sahaj* religion the Vedas have but culled some of its truths. But they repudiate the suggestion that it is they who are indebted for their inspiration to these scriptures; for, as they say, what have ignoramuses like them to do with scriptures? They further assert that Vasistha, Nárada and other well known Vedic seers, all pursued the mystic path of this *Sahaj* religion that permeates the world, and has yielded some of its truths to each and every religious sect. When, for instance, Nityánanda joined the ranks of Chaitanya's followers, he brought into Vaishnavism many of the *Sahaj* truths, for he belonged to that cult. His son, Birbhadra, was a Báül. The Báüls freely make use of texts from the first portion of the *Chaitanya Charitámrita*, the authoritative Vaishnava work by Krishnadas, an initiate of Nityananda's branch; for, say they, though his attempt was to compose an orthodox treatise, many *Sahaj* truths crept in, such as are not to expected from a mere Vaishnava.

The Vaishnavas, the wandering sects of whom have a superficial resemblance to the Báüls, have not been able to attain to their catholicity of spirit, their power of making every religion their own, and therefore despise them as lacking in proper restraint and self-respect. The latter, in turn, look down on the former as people to be pitied. "Had these Vaishnavas the understanding, they would have known better," say the Báüls. "Chandidas, Vidyapati and others were good Vaishnava poets simply because they had glimpses of *Sahaj* ideas,—but are their followers competent to understand their message? They took the idea of Rádhá from us, but have dragged her down to the level of their low desires. Devoid of the realisation of the simple, their minds, obsessed with the complexities of their literature, fail to do justice to the wealth they have inherited. At best they make an attempt at simplicity and naturalness in their songs and festivals, but in their lives, their temples, their religious observances, they are unable to get free of the shackles of their

scriptures. They have made a jumble of love and desire, the workings of the spirit and the inclinations of the senses. They have not the courage to realise that Jagannath, the Lord of the World, is everywhere, and that His class-destroying festival is for ever being held. So they cannot live up to the height of the words they use."

Having no faith in scriptures, the followers of the *Sahaj* cult believe only in living religious experiences. Truth, according to them, has two aspects, inert and living. Confined to itself truth has no value for man. It becomes priceless when embodied in a living personality. The conversion of the inert into living truth by the devotee, they compare to the conversion into milk by the cow of its fodder, or the conversion by the tree of dead matter into fruit. He who has this power of making truth living, is the *Guru* or Master. Such *Gurus* they hold in special reverence, for the eternal and all pervading truth can only be brought to man's door by passing through his life.

The *Guru* is the past, the disciple the future, and the initiation the present, according to the Báuils. Past, present and future are thus synthesised in the communion of Master and disciple. The Master as well as the disciple have likewise two aspects. The one is spiritual (*chinmaya*) the other earthy or worldly (*mrinmaya*). The true initiation takes place when their spiritual aspects come into mutual communion. The mere physical proximity of their worldly aspects produces no result. The woman devotee, Khema, says :

If for years and years you hold on to the earthy part (of your *Guru*) leaving out the spirit, you will gain neither faith, nor reverence, nor wisdom.

In the Indian religious cults only one *Guru* is ordinarily presupposed. The Tantrics acknowledge two, who give respectively intellectual and spiritual initiation. But in the *Sahaj* view such limitation of the number of *Gurus* results in narrowness of realisation. Dádu indicates this in a verse of salutation :

Dádu first salutes the colourless Supreme Person,
Next, as the means of understanding Him, he
salutes his *Guru* as divine.

And then he transcends the bounds of salutation,
by offering reverence to all devotees.

In the *Chaitanya Charitāmṛita* the salutations are to *gurus* in the plural. The author, Krishnadas, makes his initial obeisance to his six *gurus*. This Sahaj idea finds expression in the Tantras :

As the bee in quest of honey flits from flower to flower,
So do thou gather wisdom by going from *guru* to *guru*.

The Bāül puts it thus :

By what path comest thou, O *Guru*, the mystery I cannot solve,
So it passeth my understanding where to leave my obeisance.

According to the Bāüls, initiation is a life-long process, to be gained little by little, from all kinds of *gurus*. On the occasion of one of their festivals a friend of mine happened to ask a Bāül about his *guru*, to which he received this characteristic reply :

Wouldst thou make obeisance to thy *guru*, my heart?
He is there at every step, on each side of thy path,—
for numberless are thy *gurus*.
To which of them, then, wouldst thou make obeisance, my
heart?

The welcome offered to thee is thy *guru*, the agony
inflicted on thee is thy *guru*,
Every wrench at thy heart-strings is thy *guru*, that maketh
the tears to flow.

My baffled friend tried again by asking the same Bāül from whom he first received initiation. Then came the song :

The day I was born I received my first initiation,
With one-syllabled mantram I begged my mother's grace.
The tears of a mother, the milk of a mother, my life from
from my mother,
And withal my mother's training I received.
Not a breath have I drawn but I gained initiation,—that's
my firm conviction.

The conclusion to which they come is that the *guru* is within.

The *guru* who is the fount of wisdom resides in thine own home.

A great mistake hast thou made by giving heed to the
teachings of all the world.

And again :

The voice from the depths tells thee that the *guru* is in
the lotus of the heart.

O distraught ! Cease from thy turmoil,—there the darkness-
killing light doth shine.

So also Kabir :

The Supreme Self, the *Guru*, abideth near to thee
Awake, awake, O my heart. (II, 20).

Not that the Bāúls do not admit any outward *guru*, but he is a danger to be feared, they feel, as well as a help to be sought ; for, if he imposes himself on his disciple, he kills the latter's own spirit,—a murder worse than the killing of the body.

The lamp gives light from afar, still further away the sun.

The *guru* gives light without heat who sits aloof in the truth.

So, say the Bāúls, the *guru* should minister to his disciple from his distance :

The bird fosters its young under its wing, the fish keeps
its fry at its side,

But the turtle hatches its eggs in the sand from afar,—
this the wise *Guru* well knows.

The Bāúls also call the *guru*, *sūnya* (lit. nothing, emptiness) not implying the absence of substance, but the spaciousness of freedom. The luminous expanse of the sky above means more to the sprouting seed than the material of the ground below. That *Sūnya* is not used in its negative meaning is clearly evident by its being also applied by them to the Supreme Being.

Dádu has the same conception :

What name can be given to Him who is Nothing?

Whatever name we use is less than the Truth.

And again :

In *Sunya* doth Brahm, the formless the colourless, abide.
And Dádu has beheld, bewildered, the dazzling light that is
there.

Sundardás has used the term *Sûnya* in the sense of the Supreme Peace in which the devotee loses himself.

The Báüls say that emptiness of time and space is required for a play-ground. That is why God has preserved an emptiness in the heart of man, for the sake of His own play of Love. Therefore the *guru* who is *sûnya* "fosters but pesters not." So far for the mystic theory. In practice, as we have seen, the Báüls pay high reverence to their *gurus*.

Our wise and learned ones were content with finding in Brahma the *tat* (lit. that,—the ultimate substance). The Báüls, not being Pandits, do not profess to understand all this to do about *thatness*, they want a Person. So their God is the Man of the Heart (*manêr mânush*) sometimes simply the Man (*purush*). This Man of the Heart is ever and anon lost in the turmoil of things. Whilst He is revealed within, no worldly pleasures can give satisfaction. Their sole anxiety is the finding of this Man. The Báül sings :

Ah, where am I to find him, the Man of my Heart?
Alas, since I lost Him, I wander in search of Him,
Thro' lands near and far.

The agony of separation from Him cannot be mitigated for them by learning or philosophy :

Oh these words and words, my mind would none of them,
The Supreme Man it must and shall discover!
So long as Him I do not see, these mists slake not my thirst.

*

Mad am I, for lack of that Man I madly run about,
For his sake the world I've left ; for Bishá naught else will
serve.

This Bishá was a *bhuiñ-máli* by caste, disciple of Balá, the *Kaivarta*.

This cult of the Man is only to be found in the Vedas hidden away in the Purusha-sukta (A.V.19.6). It is more freely expressed by the Upper Indian devotees of the Middle Ages. It is all in all with the Báüls. The God whom these illiterate out-castes seek so simply and naturally in their lives, is obscured by the accredited Religious Leaders in philosophical systems and terminology, in priestcraft and ceremonial, in institutions and temples. Hence their lament :

Thy path, O Lord, is hidden by mosque and temple.
 Thy call I hear, but priest and *guru* stop the way.
 What gives peace to my heart, sets but the world ablaze,
 The cult of the One dies in the conflict of the many,—
 Its door closed by the locks of Koran, Puran and rosary.
 Even the way of renunciation is full of tribulation,
 Wherefore weeps Madan in despair.

Kabir has the following observations on this point :

You refuse the pure water that is before you,
 Waiting to drink until you have dug a reservoir !

*

The Smriti, daughter of the Vedas, has come to bind you
 in unbreakable shackles.

The hedge that you put round the fields is itself exhausting
 their soil.

Those who know all the rest have their heaven and hell,
 Those who know God have neither.

Dádu thus extols the followers of the simple way :

They trouble not about Life and Death, they hide not in the
 forest,
 They shirk not the touch of water or wind, with Him they ever
 abide.

Neither confined to the home, nor wandering abroad,
They torture not the body, but are attuned to the wise *guru's*
mind.

Not satisfied with the *avatárs* (incarnations of God) mentioned
in the scriptures, the Báül sings :

As we look on every creature, we find each to be His *avatar*.
What can you teach us of His ways?--in ever-new play He
wondrously revels.

And Kabir also tells us :

All see the Eternal One, but only the devotee, in his
solitude, recognises Him.

A friend of mine was once much impressed by the reply of
a Báül who was asked why his robe was not tinted with ascetic
ochre :

Can the colour show outside, unless the inside is first
tintured?

Can the fruit attain ripe sweetness by the painting of its
skin?

This aversion of the Báül from outward marks of distinction
is also shared by the Upper Indian devotees, as we have elsewhere
noticed.

The age-long controversy regarding *dwaita* (dualism) and
adwaita (monism) is readily solved by these wayfarers on the path
of Love. Love is the simple striving, love the natural com-
munion, so believe the Báüls. "*Ever two and ever one*, of this
the name is Love," say they. In love, one-ness is achieved with-
out any loss of respective self-hood. Some of their ideas on
this point are to be found in the *Chaitanya-Charitámrita*, from
which we cull a few stray lines :

The follower of Love obeys neither reason nor scripture.

*

He who worships Krishna by the way of Love, easily tastes of his
sweetness.

*

Neither wisdom nor austerity is part of Love.

Love seeks to please God ; desire seeks to please oneself.

Not for me the cheap love dependent on riches.

*

He who glorifies Me and despises himself,—Me he captures
not with such love.

*

I give the name of love to that which has
the two-fold aspect :
The love accompanying the right of possession,
the love free of all ties.

The last idea occurs thus in Dádu :

The body is for the world : the dweller within it for God.

The Báüls also have their own ideas in regard to the love of man for woman. Being asked whether he had experienced such love, a Báül replied : “I once had a wife, my son, and for ten years or more my body was by her side. Then she departed from this world. It was ten or more years after that when, suddenly, for a moment, I knew her for the first time. And at her loving touch I became as gold.”

The Chaityana Charitámrita, has the verse :

In mutual attraction they came together, leaving all else,
But their union may or may not be, save by the grace of God.

Naturally the Báüls do not look upon the love of woman as something to fight shy of, but rather as the greatest of helps to spiritual realisation. Space compels me to restrict myself to a bare outline of their doctrines in this connection.

They compare woman to a flame, of which the heat is for the use of the household itself, but the light shines far and wide. The first is called her *vigraha* (formal) aspect and the latter her *ágraha* (ideal) aspect. In the former she belongs to husband and

home, in the latter she is capable of energising all and sundry. He who deals with her exclusively in the first aspect, insults her womanhood in its fulness. The internal enemies that obstruct the complete vision of her are, man's lust, distraction and egotism.

The idea of *Parakṭyā* (the woman not belonging to oneself) has been woefully misunderstood. The Bāüls look upon the knowledge of self as a door to divine realisation or liberation. But one's self cannot be truly known unless it becomes manifest through the love of another. Even God the Omniscient knows not His own bliss, and so seeks to discover it through the love of His creatures (symbolised by Rādhā in the Vaishnava Scriptures). So is the love of a woman, who is under no social compulsion, appreciated by the *Sahajīās* as a means of man's self-knowledge and liberation. The idea has unfortunately been degraded by being understood in some quarters as a plea for promiscuous love between the sexes.

Then come the terms *ekarasa* (the emotion that unites) and *samarasa* (the harmony of emotions). Space is overcome by the motion of the body; time by the course of life. And all gulfs can be bridged by the spiritual process of *samarasa*. If *Shiva* and *Shakti*, wisdom and devotion, remain apart, they cannot function to any purpose. "When *Shiva* and *Shakti* are united, then results *samarasa*."

Kabir says :

When Love and Renunciation flow together, like the Ganges
and Jamuna,

That alone is the sacred bathing place which can give the
boon of *prayōga** (supreme union).

Says the Bāül :

While Shiva and Shakti remain apart
The right and left streams (*of reason and of feeling*)
remain apart likewise.

Then reason is useless, all is emptiness,
and liberation hopeless.

*The pilgrimage (*lit.* bathing place) at the confluence of the Ganges and Jamuna is called *Prayāga*.

The folly of allowing the material interests of the present to stunt the future growth of the spiritual life becomes apparent

when it is too late,—when those interests have flagged with the waning physical desires, but the wasted spiritual powers can no longer be recovered.

The same need exists for the reconciliation of the antagonism between the outer call of the material world and the inner call of the spiritual world, as for the realisation of the mutual love of the individual and Supreme self. It is a case for the application of the same *samarasa*. The God who is Love, say the Báüls, can alone serve to turn the currents of the within and the without in one and the same direction.

Kabir says :

If we say He is only within, then the whole Universe is shamed. If we say He is only without, then that is false. He whose feet rest alike on the sentient and on the inert, fills the gap between the inner and the outer worlds.

The inter-relations of man's body and the Universe have to be realised by spiritual endeavour. Such endeavour is called *Kāyá Sādhan* (Realisation through the body). There are numberless instances in the poems of Dādu where the body has been eulogised as the seat of the Almighty, the pilgrimage of pilgrimages, the sacred place of worship, of realisation, and of final liberation. One of the recognised methods of attaining this realisation, is the use of the rhythm of breathing as a rosary for meditation, in place of the usual beads. This process of realising the cosmic relation of body and universe through meditation on, or by the help of, the process of inhaling and exhaling the outer atmosphere, is called *ajapājapa* as distinguished from *japa* (the telling of beads). The anthropomorphic narrowing of the Infinite Spirit of the Universe by inviting Him into the confines of the body has, however, to be guarded against. The endeavour should rather consist in the expansion of one's own self into the universe by means of the cultivation of *samarasa*.

Another process in this *Kaya-sadhan* of the Báüls is known as *Urdha-srôta* (the elevation of the current). Waters flow downwards according to the ordinary physical law. But with the advent of Life the process is reversed. When the living seed sprouts the juices are drawn upwards, and on the elevation

that such flow can attain depends the height of the tree. It is the same in the life of man. His desires ordinarily flow downward towards animality. The endeavour of the expanding spirit is to turn their current upwards towards the light. The currents of *jiva* (animal life) must be converted into the current of *Shiva* (God life). The former centre round the *ego*, they must be raised by the force of love.

Says Dádu's daughter, Nanimátâ :

My life is the lamp afloat on the stream.
'To what bourne shall it take me ?

How is the divine to conquer the carnal,—
The downward current to be upwards turned?
As when the wick is lighted the oil doth upwards flow,
so simply is destroyed the thirst of the body.

The *Yoga Vásistha* tells us :

Uncleansed desires bind to the world, purified desires give liberation.

References to this reversal of current are also to be found in the Atharva Veda (X,2,9 ; 2,34). This reversal is otherwise considered by Indian devotees as the conversion of the *sthúla* (gross) into the *súkshma* (fine).

The Báül sings :

Love is my golden touch,—it turns desire into service ;
Earth seeks to become Heaven, man to become God.

Another aspect of the idea of reversal has been put thus by Rabindranath in his *Broken Ties* :

If I keep going in the same direction along which He comes to me, then I shall be going further and further away from Him. If I proceed in the opposite direction, then only can we meet. He loves form, so He is continually descending towards form. We cannot live by form alone, so we must ascend towards His formlessness. He is free, so his play is

within bonds. We are bound, so we find our joy in freedom. All our sorrow is, because we cannot understand this. He who sings, proceeds from his joy to the tune ; he who hears, from the tune to joy. One comes from freedom into bondage, the other goes from bondage into freedom ; only thus can they have their communion. He sings and we hear. He ties the bonds as He sings to us, we untie them as we listen to Him.

This idea also occurs in our devotees of the Middle Ages.

The Yoga of the Báüls is essentially different from that of the Tantrics who are mainly concerned with the different methods of gaining occult and other powers for serving some end. The *Sahaj* endeavour seeks the bliss of divine union only for its own sake. Mundane desires are therefore accounted the chief obstacles in the way. But, for getting rid of them, the wise *Guru*, according to the Báüls, does not advise renunciation of the good things of the world, but the opening of the door to the higher self. Thus guided, says Kabir :

I close not my eyes, stop not my ears, nor torment my body. But every path I then traverse becomes a path of pilgrimage, whatever work I engage in becomes service. This simple consummation is the best.

The simple way has led its votaries easily and naturally to their living conception of Humanity.

Rajjabji says :

All the world is the Veda, all creations the Koran,
Why read paper scriptures, O Rajjab, gather ever fresh
wisdom from the Universe.

The eternal wisdom shines within the concourse of the
millions of Humanity.

The Báül sings :

The simple has its thirty million strings
Whose mingled symphony ever sounds.
Take all the creatures of the World into yourself
Drown yourself in that eternal music.

The raising of the *Rêtôdhára* (seminal current) to the higher centres, the process of piercing or rousing of the *chakras* (spiri-

tual force centres) are special esoteric doctrines of which I can only make passing mention on the present occasion.

I conclude with a few more examples of Báül songs, esoteric and otherwise, from amongst many others of equal interest.

By Gangáráam, *the Namasudrá*.

Ah, the comings and goings with every breath of ours,
The mantram of *ekarasa* makes them all into one.
In you are the fourteen regions, amid them is yourself,
Yet of these comings and goings naught have you understood !
Meditate on this life movement, prince of Yogis will you be,
Realising how finite and unbounded are One, as you breathe
in and out.

Of all ages, then, you will count the moments, in every
moment find the ages,—
The drop in the ocean the ocean in the drop.
If your endeavour be but *Sahaj*, beyond argument and
cogitation,
You will taste of the nectar of *rasa*, the precious quintessence.
Blinded are you by over much journeying from bourne to
bourne,
O Gangáráam, be simple ! Then alone will vanish all your
doubts.

*

Past the seven seas, across the eight mountains
You will come to the essential principle.
From *pátal** then you will mount the sky,
To descend again on the regions below.
Throughout the six seasons will last your festival,
In every *kamal*† will be your play.

By Jagá, the *guru* of Gangáráam.

Within you is the unfathomable sea, its mystery you have not
solved,
No banks or shores has it of scripture-texts or rules or rites.
Over its bottomless, shoreless expanse nor creed nor book
will show the way.

* . . . The nether region.

† . . . Lit, Lotus, used of centres of man's physical or spiritual forces.

Yet cross it you must, or fruitless will be your great boon
of human life.

Could you but open your locked door, to find your relations
with All,

If by the grace of your *Guru* your obstructions be but removed,
Then, says Jaga, would you be gloriously fulfilled.

By Balá, the *Kaivartá*.

O'erhead is the mind-ravishing blue lotus of the sky.
How dazzling shine its uncounted petals in the limitless blue.
And as the beams of nectar flash from its sky-filling vastness
The drunken mind flies into its ineffable expanse, enraptured
Cries Bala, O brother, but what am I to do,
For ever and anon I lose my way !

By Bishá, the disciple of Balá.

The simple Man was in the Brindaban of my heart,
Alas how and when did I lose Him,
That now no peace I know, at home or abroad ?
By meditation and telling of beads, in worship and travail,
The quest goes on for ever ;
But unless the Simple Man comes of Himself,
Fruitless is it all ;
For He yields not to forcefulness of striving.
Bisha's heart has understood right well
That by His own simple way alone, is its door unlocked.

"Listen, O brother man," declares Chandidas, "The Truth
of Man is the highest of truths, there is no other truth above it."

SWAMI RAMA TIRATH

An Appreciation.

By C. F. ANDREWS.

The name of Swami Rama is one which I have learnt to honour through long residence in the Punjab, where his chief inspiration is still to be found. In the United Provinces, also, his influence has spread far and wide. Again and again, I have seen faces light up at the mention of his name. Educated men and women in North India have told me how much they owed to him. He came at a time when a deep unsettlement was disturbing the minds of educated Indian students with regard to religious truth ; when the outer claims of the material world were becoming all absorbing. The training in the western sciences given in Indian Universities, divorced as it usually is from religious culture, had not infrequently led to an indifference to religion altogether. After College days, the modern student's struggle for existence in the world had left little opportunity for the cultivation of the inner nature. A concentration of the mind on worldly success had gathered round educated life. The strain of being obliged to live at a more expensive standard was often itself the cause of the spiritual life being neglected, until it suffered from atrophy.

Into such an atmosphere of getting and spending, Swami Rama's unworldly spirit came with a message that commanded attention by its very contrast. No one could be long in his presence without feeling that the highest happiness in life was to be found, not in the things of the body, but in the things of the soul. It was not that any one had taught him the religious truths he held so dear. He seemed, from his earliest childhood, to have grown up instinctively with a realization of the spiritual realities. Every instinct in his nature pressed him forward to the devout religious life. Many of those, with whom I have conversed about him, have told me of the innate spiritual power which he possessed,—a power which moved them profoundly

whenever they met him personally and talked with him. He was able to take their thoughts away from material things. He made them feel, if only for the moment, the reality of spiritual experience.

The published writings of Swami Rama Tirath show clearly the inner secret of his great personal influence. There is a childlike simplicity in what he writes, and an over-flowing joy and happiness, won through self-discipline and suffering. These qualities reveal a soul that is at peace within itself and has found a priceless gift that it desires to impart to others. There is a striking personality behind his writings which makes itself manifest in his language and mode of address. There is on every page a definite refusal to appeal to those lower motives that are ordinarily urged, as making for success in life, and a determination to find in the soul itself, apart from outward circumstances, the secret of all true and lasting joy.

The lectures that have been published have not had the revision of the author himself. He would undoubtedly have altered much and possibly abbreviated much. He would also have corrected the metrical form of some of his poems, which have clearly been put down on paper just as the inspiration to write came to him, without any laboured correction. But while there is a certain loss to the reader on this account, there is also considerable advantage. For what is lost in finish and correctness is gained in freshness and vitality. I cannot doubt, that the friends of the author were right in tenderly and piously preserving every word of the manuscript before them. The readers will gladly make allowance for repetition and lack of finish, when the individuality of the Swami himself is brought so vividly before them by his manuscript notes. We seem to be talking with him, as we read, and he seems to be talking with us. We feel the Swami himself present in his own words, and can almost picture him writing and speaking,—with a smile of happiness always on his face.

If I were asked to point out, what I considered to be the special characteristics that mark out Swami Rama Tirath's writings, I should mention first and foremost the point I have already emphasised namely, the unworldliness that is everywhere

apparent. Wealth, riches worldly ambitions, luxuries, these are all laid aside without a murmur. The Swami's own life had reached a calm haven, into which the stormy passions that are roused by the acquisition of wealth and worldly honours, had never come. His inner life had been free from such things. He cannot even understand them. The child nature seems to come out in him as he speaks of them. He smiles at them with almost boyish amusement from his own retreat, or mocks at them with a gentle irony. This laughter appears most of all in his poems.

In the second place, I would mention his overflowing charity and kindness of spirit. He tries to win men, not to drive them; to make the best of them, not to blame or scold them; to attract them by the power of his ideals, not to argue with them in useless and unsatisfying controversy. The bitter and rancorous spirit is absent, and the tolerant spirit prevails. This is especially noticeable when he is dealing with religious beliefs other than his own. Here, he is always courteous and sympathetic. If he has any objection to make, he does it with an apology. He is the perfect gentleman in such matters.

Usually his attempt is to absorb and assimilate all that he can approve in the religion of another; his one desire is to try to mould it into his own system of religious thought. In this respect, he shows the truly catholic spirit, which is the opposite of bigotry. For he has a very large share of that charity which 'thinketh no evil' and 'rejoiceth with the truth.'

The third feature that I should wish to notice in the life and writings of the Swami is his abounding joy. He was not in the least one of those gloomy ascetics, who, in choosing the path of renunciation, seem to have left behind them all human happiness. He knew what physical hardship and endurance meant, in a way that few can have experienced. But this did not embitter him, or make his central message one of harshness. On the contrary, the very titles of his lectures are sufficient to give a picture of the character of his own mind. "Happiness within," "How to make your homes happy" such are the subjects that appeal to him; and his heart goes out in every word, as he tries to make his joyous message clear. It is the message of his own experience, not that of another. He is full of a happiness him-

self, which he wishes to give to the world ; and he is never so joyous in spirit as when happiness is his subject. It is this, also, which bubbles over in his poems, waking in others an echo of his own laughter. The outward setting of these poems, as I have already said, may often be crude and grotesque, but the inner spirit may be caught by the sympathetic reader beneath the imperfect vehicle of expression. The message of this gay spirit, this 'troubadour' of divine song, laughing at hardship and smiling at pain, is one that the world sorely needs amid the despondency of so much of modern life, as it is lived to-day.

This mention of his poems leads me on to the last feature of his life and writings which I would wish to mention. I do so with considerable diffidence, as it is quite possible that others may take a different view to my own. But what I would venture to say is briefly this, that I find in Swami Rama Tirtha's poetic spirit, which lies beyond his own philosophy, the highest value of his written work. In this, seems to lie its freshness, its originality, its contribution to the world of thought. His romantic love of Nature, strong in his life as in his death ; his passion for sacrifice and renunciation ; his eager thirst for reality and self-abandonment in search of truth ; his joy and laughter in the victory he had won, are the true emblems of his inner spirit. They reveal his personality. It is the presence of these, and other qualities such as these, which make him break out into song, revealing the true poet behind the philosopher. To these qualities my own heart goes out warmly in response. On these sides I find by far the strongest attraction to the writer.

With the full philosophy of the Advaita Vedanta, as it is often stated in the writings of Swami Rama, I confess I have not yet seen my way to come to an agreement. Rightly or wrongly, it seems to me an illegitimate short cut to the simplification of the problem of existence,—a solution which has overlooked certain persistent facts of human experience. I am always conscious of obstinate and irreducible elements in the equation of God, the soul, and the universe, which the Advaita system itself does not seem seriously to take into account. I would refer for an instance, in this book, to the Chapter on the 'Prognosis and Diagnosis of Sin.' While containing some valuable thoughts,

this Chapter appears to me to be unsatisfying in its conclusions, intended as they are to form a final answer to the problems of the origin of evil and its elimination from the heart of man.

But, on the other hand, with the poetic spirit of Swami Rama, where his thought is still in solution, and not crystallised into a formal logical system, I have a sympathy which is not faint, but deep. Here I feel again on common ground; and my whole heart goes out to the young writer in his beautiful passages on renunciation as the law of life eternal; or again in his vivid appreciation of beauty in nature; or again, to mention only one more instance, in his pure ideal of married life. I experience, in a measure, the same sympathy when I read some of the poetry of the Upanishads, or certain passages from that greatest of all Hindu poems, the Bhagavad Gita. There also the note is struck, which is heard many times in Swami Rama's writings, that only in the unruffled silence of the soul can the divine harmony of the universe be heard.

The spirit of Wordsworth among the English poets, appears to me very near akin to the heart of Swami Rama Tirath. In his fervent love of nature, I can well imagine him, during his later days of wandering among the Himalayan mountains, echoing Wordsworth's great sonorous lines :—

I have learned

To look on Nature, not as in the hour,
Of thoughtless youth: but hearing often times
The still, sad music of humanity,
Not harsh nor grating, though of ample power
To chasten and subdue. And I have felt
A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts: a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns
And the round ocean, and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man
A motion and a spirit that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things.

Therefore am I still

A lover of the meadows and the woods,
And mountains ; and of all that we behold
From the green earth : of all the mighty world
Of eye and ear, both what they half create,
And what perceive.

I have not been afraid to quote this famous passage at full length, even though it is so well-known by every lover of English literature, and so often quoted. For it is, I believe, the Poetry of the West, rather than its philosophy,—especially the poetry of that wonderful Revolution Period in English Literature, which comes nearest to the heart of India.

In the same way, I venture to believe, it will be the poets of Modern India, as they seek to bring their deeply spiritual instincts of the past into living touch with the new movements of the present, who will come nearest to the heart of the West. Amongst these poets of modern India, I would reckon that remarkable company of religious leaders, who have appeared in different parts of the country, during the last century, among whom Swami Rama's tender spirit showed such early promise of fulfilment.

In this approximation between India and the West, there will remain much that the West is not likely in the end to adopt. But there will be much on the other hand, that will throw light on cherished and familiar religious truths, giving them a new setting. I cannot refrain, in this connexion, from quoting a passage from Swami Rama's lectures, which may illustrate my meaning :

In the Lord's Prayer we say 'Give us this day our daily bread,' and in another place we say 'Man shall not live by bread alone.' Reconcile these statements: understand them thoroughly. The meaning of that Lord's Prayer, when it was stated, 'Give us this day our daily bread,' is not that you should be craving, willing and wishing: not at all. This is not the meaning. The meaning is, that even a king, an emperor, who is in no danger of not having his daily bread ; even a prince, who is sure that his daily bread is guaranteed to him,—even he is to offer that prayer. If so, evidently, 'Give us this day our daily bread'

does not mean that they should put themselves in the begging mood ; that they should ask for material prosperity ; it does not mean that. That prayer means, that everybody, let him be a prince, a king, a monk, anybody, is to look upon all these things around him, all the wealth and plenty, all the riches, all the beautiful and attractive objects, as not his, as not belonging to him, but as God's,—not mine, not mine, but God's. That does not mean begging, but that means renouncing : giving up : renouncing unto God. You know how unreasonable it is, on the part of a king, to offer that prayer, 'Give us this day our daily bread,' if it be taken in its ordinary sense. How unreasonable ! But it becomes reasonable enough, when the king, while he is offering that prayer, puts himself into the mood, where all the jewels in his treasury, all the riches in his house, the house itself,—all these he renounces, as it were, he gives them up, he disclaims them. He breaks connection with them, so to say ; and he stands apart from them. He is the monk of monks. He says, 'This is God's : this table, everything lying upon the table, is His, not mine : I do not possess anything. Anything, that comes to me, comes from my Beloved One.'

Such a passage as this gives, on the one hand, an example of Swami Rama's style, so simple, so direct, so careless with regard to repetition, if only the meaning can be made clear : and, on the other hand, it explains, what I have called the approximation of two different streams of human thought, issuing from two different springs. These, in their conjunction, should do very much indeed to fertilize the soil in which the man's life is sown.

We have in India, between the Ganges and the Jumna, a tract of country known as the Doab where, between these two waters, lie the rich alluvial plains, which are ready for the seed. By means of cross channels, cut from one river to another, the whole country between the two rivers can be irrigated. Thus, an abundant harvest may be gathered, year by year, from the well-watered soil to satisfy the wants of mankind.

Eastern and Western conceptions of spiritual life are flowing forward to-day like two great rivers which come from different sources. We need the poet thinkers, both in the West and in the East, who may be able to cut new channels from one river of human experience to another. In this way, the soil of human life will be enriched, and its fertile area enlarged.

Among the different intersecting channels of new thought, which are being cut, two appear to me at the present time to be of special significance.

(1) From the one side, there is the approach made by the West towards the East, in what Tennyson has called 'the Higher Pantheism.'

The sun, the moon, the stars, the seas, the hills and the plains,
Are not these, O Soul, the Vision of Him who reigns,
Is not the Vision He? Though He be not that which he seems,
Dreams are true while they last ; and do not we live in dreams?

The ideas, contained in these lines, are still more clearly stated in his later poem, entitled 'The Ancient sage' :

If thou wouldst hear the nameless, and wilt dive
Into the 'Temple-cave of thine own self,
There, brooding by the central altar, thou
Mayest haply learn the 'Nameless has a voice,
By which thou wilt abide, if thou be wise,
As if thou knewest, though thou cans't not know :
For knowledge is the swallow on the lake
That sees and stirs the surface-shadow there,
But never yet hath dipt into the abysm,
The abysm of all abysms, beneath, within,
The blue of sky and sea, the green of earth,
And in the million-millionth of a grain
Which cleft and cleft again for overmore,
And ever vanishing, never vanishes,
To me, my son, more mystic than myself,
Or even than the Nameless is to me.
And when thou sendest thy free soul through heaven,
Nor understandest bound, nor boundlessness,
Thou seest the Nameless of the hundred names.
And if the Nameless should withdraw from all
Thy frailty counts most real, all thy world
Might vanish like thy shadow in the dark.

As we read this and other passages in modern English poetry, we feel as though we were back in the Upanishads, repeat-

ing Indian thoughts uttered long centuries ago : and there can be little doubt that India is in a great measure the source of their inspiration.

At the same time, it is noticeable that along with this conception of an all-pervading Divine Nature, there has developed in the West, even more clearly and distinctly in modern times, the conception of an eternally persisting human personality.

Dark is the world to thee? Thyself art the reason why :

For is He not all but that, which has power to say 'I am I.'

There will always, therefore (so it appears to me) be a nearer affinity in the West to the School of Sri Rámánujáchárya and the Vishisht-Advaita in some of its most personal forms, than to the school of Sri Sankaráchárya and the Advaita-Vedanta,—that is if I follow their implications correctly. The Bhakti School of the Indian religions mystics will also have their great attraction in the West for the same reason.

In its negative aspect, the loss of personal identity, or complete absorption, as the final end of the soul, is a conception from which the poets of the West shrink back with dread, rather than accept with satisfaction. This forms one of the main themes of 'In Memoriam.' I would quote the following lines :

That each, who seems a separate whole,
Should move his rounds, and fusing all
The skirts of self again, should fall,
Remerging in the general soul,
Is faith as vague as all unsweet.
Eternal Form shall still divide
The eternal Soul from all besides,
And I shall know him when we meet.

So the poet sings of his dead friend, and again in more passionate accents at the close :

Dear friend, far off, my lost desire,
So far, so near, in woe and weal,
O loved the most, when most I feel
There is a lower and a higher :
Known and unknown : human, divine :

Sweet human hand, and lips, and eye :
Dear human friend, that cannot die,
Mine, mine, for ever, ever mine.

Thus the modern West to-day expresses the conviction, which for century after century it has cherished, that love is eternal; and that each individual soul has an eternal, individual existence through the medium of Love.

Love is and was my King and Lord,
And will be, though as yet I keep
Within his court on earth, and sleep
Encompassed by his faithful guard,
And hear at times a sentinel,
Who moves about from place to place,
And whispers to the worlds of space,
In the deep night, that all is well.

It is again this central conviction of the eternity and ultimate reality of Love, involving both personal union and personal distinction between subject and object, that forms the burden of the poetry of Browning, the most virile and forceful of modern English Poets :

For Life, with all its yield of joy and woe,
And hope and fear,—believe the aged friend—
Is just our chance o' the prize of learning Love,
How Love might be, hath been indeed, and is.

There is a certain real danger in this emphasis on personality in the West, in its individual forms, even when thus closely associated with the highest ideal of Love. For Love itself may become too individual and possessive. It may lead to a subtle self-assertion and to an individualism of a selfish type. It may well be true, that it needs some balance and correction; and that the general trend of thought in the East, which often seems to the West so 'impersonal,' and lacking in 'individuality,' may be the true antidote needed. But one thing is certain. The West will never accept as finally satisfying any philosophy, which does not allow it to hold the faith that love between human souls may be an eternal reality.

(2) From the side of the East, there is the approach made towards the West in what both Swami Vivekananda and Swami Rama Tirtha have made known by the title of 'Practical Vedanta';—the approximation, that is to say, of the modern Vedanta to the spirit of Christian philanthropy in its social and national applications. Here again, the approach may well have its limits, and the social and national development of the East, under the new Hindu impulse, may differ, personally both in kind and in degree from that of Europe, with its own religious discipline of nearly two thousand years.

I do not wish to be understood to imply, that this religious contact between East and West, in each instance, is conscious and deliberate. On the contrary, from both sides, it appears still to be almost unconscious, and often quite unexpected,—a mingling of two atmospheres (if I may be permitted to change my metaphor) rather than the conscious acceptance of any new definitions. Many, on either side, would stoutly repudiate the idea, that any approximation as yet existed. But those who look beneath the surface, and have watched the trend of thought, both in the East and in the West, tell us clearly that such an intermingling is actually taking place not from one side only, but with mutual advantage.

It is because Swami Rama Tirtha was so singularly fitted to make some of these advances, that I hold his published works, and the tradition he has left behind, to be of true historic value. Therefore I would wish to do all in my power to preserve his memory fresh and green. Such a saintly personality should be an inspiration both to those who knew and loved him, and also to the younger student life of India, which has grown up since he passed away.

In conclusion, I trust that in the criticisms I have set down, in order to make clear my own position, I have not departed from that spirit of wide-hearted charity which was so marked a feature in Swami Rama Tirath himself. Personally, I could not endorse the Swami's views in many cases : but as an earnest effort after truth and as the expression of a singularly loving and lovable spirit, I would wish his writings a very wide circle of readers.

THE NEXT WORLD

A talk with Rabindranath.

In the course of his visit, Dilip-kumar Roy raised the question whether the hopes and yearnings that are of such moment to us in the life of this world, could not be expected to have their continuity in the next life.

The Poet said : In my childhood I used to be very fond of nuts. Then it was not possible for me even to imagine that a time could come when this fondness of mine would cease, or lose its edge. Rather I used to take pleasure in the thought that, when I was grown up, there would no longer be any obstacle to my buying and eating any quantity of them. Now that I have grown up, and pass and repass along shops piled with nuts of every kind, they rouse in me no special inclination. It was likewise unthinkable for me that life could be at all worth living in the absence, even for a day, of my nurse who had brought me up. Should a grown-up sceptic have cast any doubt on this, I would, had I then the power, felt it my duty to banish such person for ever, for the good of the world. . . .

Thus, in the course of this very life, we pass on at every stage from one world to the next, forgetting our former play, breaking our old dolls one after the other. The yearnings of the previous stage become unmeaning in the next; nor do we make any complaint about it. On the contrary, it would have been a serious embarrassment had we to drag on in our progress the accumulations of each successive stage.

But, Sir, Dilip-kumar objected, our anxiety not to be separated from the objects we hanker after in this world, is surely the main reason for our belief in the immortality of the soul.

The Poet replied: If the objects of our desire are to become immortal, what is there to prevent the objects of our aversion from becoming immortal likewise? For myself, I believe that the specific desires appertaining to our life in this world, find their natural ending therewith. Consider this. We desire to save up money because, in the economic conditions amidst which we live, that has a meaning. At the same time, are we not certain that man cannot base his idea of immortality on the mad desire to go on saving and saving in another stage of existence where buying and selling with money has no place?

Leave out money, Sir, said Dilip. But what about the bigger things that we are wont to think of as spiritual?

As for instance?

As is Love.

That aspect of love, the Poet went on, which may be called spiritual, is not limited by any special desires. Desire comes in, not in reference to love itself, but to its object. We would see and hear and touch the one we love. We seek to make the object of our love our own by means of our senses; not only that, but special places and seasons, with their sounds, scents and colours, come to be associated in our minds with our beloved. It is such multifariously complex desire that we call love. In a different life, where the whole setting is altered, the desires and satisfactions that centre round the objects of our love in this world, can have no meaning.

True Sir, Dilip conceded, with a change of environment the outward expressions of love would doubtless be changed, but the basic feeling, nevertheless, may well remain alive.

The Poet said: What you mean, I take it, is that the inward feeling for the object of our love in this world may continue in the next life; that is to say, it may be possible in a different plane of life to meditate on, as an abstract memory, the person with whom we had sense-relations in this world.

Let us put it to the test of a simpler example. May I expect to be as fond of a particular sweetmeat as I am now, when all that remains of it is but a meditation—a meditation, moreover, that has nothing to do with the eating of it, or with its shape or taste? But why, then, should I continue to call it a sweetmeat? I am fond of books as particular repositories of the wisdom or feeling stored up in their pages, expressed in language made up of words and written in letters. But, in a stage of existence where knowing does not depend on words, or their ordered arrangement, however much thirst for knowledge I might still have, I could not continue to love books. The intellectual or emotional pleasure that we may derive from particular persons cannot, similarly, be expected to survive when the mode of existence of those persons, as well as of ourselves, has become entirely different. Without throat or thirst, the enjoyment of drinking has no significance.

Then what do you say?

I say nothing, because I know nothing of the world hereafter.

But then----

Wait a minute. Let me try to clear up the question. If we make any guess about what we call our world,—that with which we hold commerce—without reference to the specific means wherewith we maintain our relations with it, such attempt needs must be futile. We all know how limited are our perceptions. Our eye or ear can deal with but a small fraction of the totality of light or sound waves. Then again, our mind can function as a sensorium only to a limited extent. We can know the things of our world merely as they can be apprehended by us through all these limitations. If the range of my eye-sight, for instance, were to be extended even a little beyond the gamut of the rainbow, everything for me would have an entirely different aspect.

Our scriptures call this universe of ours *Brahmánda*, the egg of Brahma. What then is the shell of this Just

these limitations of our faculties of perception. This vast world, so far as it is knowable and sensible by me, is confined within the range of my mind. I cannot think that the joys and sorrows, the desires and satisfactions, that I experience while in this circumscribed state, will remain everlasting under all conditions.

Am I then to understand, Sir, that you do not believe in the immortality of the soul.

There, exclaimed the Poet, you jump wide of the conclusion to which I was pointing! Within the egg there is the chick. It knows nothing of the world outside. That which is inside the shell consists merely of matter for its sustenance and growth,—but it has neither day nor night. Let us imagine a thoughtful chick which tries to think about its next life. If it cannot relish re-birth except as a continuation of its present conditions, then may we not smile as we admonish it thus: “Look here, child, first come out of your shell and then talk of what you would or would not like.” We resemble that thoughtful chick if we talk of the desires or ideals of our shell-bound existence as demanding immortal continuation,—of the loss or inconvenience, forsooth, of not having the shade of our Rolls-royce motor car for our next life’s journey!

But, Sir, Dilip insisted, is it not the case that our persistent desire for the permanence of certain satisfactions, is the sole proof we have of our own immortality?

Our desires or satisfactions cannot amount to proof, said the Poet. The proof lies in the deep-seated instinct that works within us. You may call it a blind instinct, for not only is it not based on reason, but is even inconsistent therewith. Reason could not tell the chick that its final world is not that which is confined within its shell. A modern-minded chick would feel justified in laughing away such a suggestion. Nay

more, if the latter came to learn of old time chicks that had pecked at the shell and broken through, it would have condemned such proceeding as an act of suicidal folly. Nevertheless there is the instinct that impels the chick to break through the only shelter it has ever known.

We see the same thing happening in man. Some equally deep instinct prevents him from accepting as final that in which he has found shelter from his birth, which to him is the only evident thing, beyond which his perceptions have never been able to range. He is moved to refer to it as his prison, to assert that liberation is in breaking down its walls. The belief that the Beyond which he cannot perceive, is not emptiness,—but rather that its attainment is the only fulfilment,—he calls his religion.

If any of the chicks had been writing scriptures they also would have called the belief in liberation from the shell, their religion. No doubt there would also have been a host of sceptic chicks who would have had reason on their side. Doubtless, also, any amount of wildly imaginative speculation about the outside world would have found place in the scriptures of the former, but through them all would run the central idea that final fulfilment was to be found on the other side of the shell.

Is this fulfilment you refer to, Sir, a state that is automatically attained by the soul on the death of the body, or does it presuppose a spiritual liberation?

I was only discussing, the Poet replied, the foundation of our belief in the immortality of our souls. I am not prepared to say that the soul necessarily attains its liberation when freed from this body.

Let us return to the illustration of the chick within the egg. It gathers the courage to peck at its shelter only at a certain stage of its development. If the shell happens to be broken before that time, that does not result in its liberation. There can be no immortality for the soul before it is ripe.

When the soul comes to a true realisation of its own immortality, and thereby gains the courage to set about breaking through the shell of the perceptions and desires of this world, then its success is proof of its liberation. While, for the sake of shelter and nutriment, it remains content with its shell life, it knows only its shell as final, it knows not itself. At that stage, as I said, I cannot suppose that the mere breaking of the shell will give it liberation. Our *shástras* tell us that until the soul can attain the stage requisite for liberation, it has to go on being reborn in body after body, that is to say it remains in need of the shelter of an encased world of limited perception, subject to worldly joys and sorrows. This it can break through only when it has attained a true realisation of its free self.

And then?

Then what happens is not for the chick still within the egg to describe. How can one who has not seen, understand light, or one who has not known the open sky, think of the expanse of freedom? All that the encased one can say is, that the state of liberation is not describable in terms of the confined state,—liberation is, for such a one, unutterable. It is beyond proof because it is the ultimate truth.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

Our young friend, the interviewer, has come in for some unkind criticism in consequence of his name being placed where the name of the author usually appears, in the articles giving authorised translations of his conversations with our Founder-President, as published in this Quarterly, and sometimes elsewhere republished. If Dilip-kumar's enthusiasm should have prompted him to take notes of interesting conversations and, as in these cases, to get them published after revision by the person interviewed, surely he deserves nothing but thanks from his readers. If the fact of the placing of his name under the heading of the article, after indicating that it is the report of a talk or discussion, should have misled any one in any way, it is for the Editor to apologise.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

Man has viewed the desire *to be*, that is in him, in two different ways. Some have held it to be an impulse of Creative Power, some a joyous self-expression of Creative Love. And man sets before himself different goals as the object of his life, according as he views the fact of his *being* as the revealment of Force, or of Love.

The value which our entity receives from Power is quite different in its aspect from that which it receives from Love. The direction in which we are impelled by our pride, in the field of power, is the opposite of that given by our pride, in the field of Love.

Power can be measured. Its volume, its weight, its momentum can all be brought within the purview of mathematics. So it is the endeavour of those who hold power to be supreme, to increase in bulk. They would repeatedly multiply numbers,—the number of men, the number of coins, the number of appliances. When they strive for success they sacrifice others' wealth, others' rights, others' lives; for sacrifice is the essence of the cult of Power; and the earth is running red with the blood of that sacrifice.

The distinctive feature of materialism is the measurability of its outward expression, which is the same thing as the finiteness of its boundaries. And the disputes, civil and criminal, which have raged in the history of man, have mostly been over these same boundaries. To increase one's own bounds one has necessarily to encroach upon those of others. So, because the pride of Power is the pride of quantity, the most powerful telescope, when pointed in the direction of Power, fails to reveal the shore of peace across the sea of blood.

But when engaged in adding up the quantities of these forces and facts of power, we do not find them to be an ever-increasing series. In our pursuit of the principle of accumulation we are all of a sudden held up by stumbling upon the principle of "check" which bars the way. We discover that there is not only onward motion, but there are also pauses. And we repeatedly find in history that whenever the blindness of Power has tried to overrule this rule rhythm, it has committed suicide. That is why man still remembers the story of the toppling over of the tower of Babylon.

So we see that the principle of Power, of which the outward expression is bulk, is neither the final nor the supreme Truth. It has to stop itself to keep time with the rhythm of the universe. Restraint is the gateway of the Good. The value of the Good is not measured in terms of dimension or multitude. He who has known it within himself feels no shame in rags and tatters. He rolls his crown in the dust and marches out on the open road.

When from the principle of Power we arrive at the principle of Beauty, we at once understand that, all this while, we had been offering incense at the wrong shrine; that Power grows bloated on the blood of its victim only to perish of surfeit; that try as we may by adding to armies and armaments, by increasing the number and variety of naval or aerial craft, by heaping up our share of the loot of war, arithmetic will never serve to make true that which is untrue; that at the end we shall die crushed under the weight of our multiplication of things.

When the Rishi, Yajnavalkya, on the eve of his departure, offered to leave his wife, Maitreyi, well-established upon an enumeration of what he had gathered together during his life, she exclaimed: *What am I to do with these, which are not of the immortal spirit!* Of what avail is it to add and add and add? By going on increasing the volume of pitch of sound we get nothing but a shriek. We can gain music only by

restraining the sound and giving it the melody of the rhythm of perfection.

Man grows gigantic by the appropriation of everything for himself; he attains harmony by giving himself up. In this harmony is peace,—never the outcome of external organization or of coalition between power and power,—the peace which rests on truth and consists in curbing of greed, in the forgiveness of sympathy.

The question is : “In which Truth is my entity to realise its fullest value,—in Power or in Love?” If we accept Power as that truth we must also recognise conflict as inevitable and eternal. According to many European writers the Religion of Peace and Love is but a precarious coat of armour within which the weak seek shelter, but for which the laws of nature have but scant respect. That which the timid preachers of religion anathematise as unrighteousness,—that alone is the sure road which leads man to success.

The opposite school do not wholly deny this. They admit the premises but they say :

Adharmenaidhate tabat, tato bhadrani pashyati, tatah sapatnan jayanti,—samulastu vinashyati.

In unrighteousness they prosper, in it they find their good, through it they defeat their enemies,—but they perish at the root.

Our will attains its perfection when it is one with love, for only love is true freedom. This freedom is not in the negation of restraint. It spontaneously accepts bondage, because bondage does not bind it, but only measures its truth. Non-slavery is in the cessation of service, but freedom is in service itself.

A village poet of Bengal says :

In love the end is neither pain nor pleasure,
but love only.

Love gives freedom while it binds, for love is
what unites.

Love is not a mere impulse, it must contain truth, which is law. It accepts limitations from truth because of its own inner wealth. The child willingly exercises restraint to correct its bodily balance, because it has true pleasure in the freedom of its movements; and love also counts no cost as too great to realise its truth. Poetry is much more strict in its form of expression than prose, because poetry has the freedom of joy in its origin and end. Our love of God is accurately careful of its responsibilities. It is austere in its probity, and it must have intellect for its ally. Since what it deals with is immense in value, it has to be cautious about the purity of its coins. Therefore, when our soul cries for the gift of immortality, its first prayer is,—*Lead me from the unreal to Truth.*

The Father is working in his world, but the Beloved is lying asleep in our heart, in the depth of its darkness. He will wake only when our own love wakes. It may sound paradoxical to say that we are unconscious of our own love, as we are unconscious of the fact that the earth is carrying us round the sun. But the truth is that all parts of our nature are not fully illuminated, and in most cases we have the immediate knowledge of ourselves, only on the surface where our mind is occupied with the temporary needs and ferments of our life.

To wake up in love is not to wake up in a world of sweetness, but in the world of heroic endeavour where life wins its eternity through death, and joy its worth in suffering. As the most positive affirmation of truth is in love, it must realise itself through all that threatens us with deprivation. Poverty is afraid of the smallest loss, but the wealth of the soul is measured by its sacrifice and therefore it reveals itself in utmost bravery and fortitude. Because it finds its resource in itself, it begs not praise from men, nor can punishment reach it from outside.

The world of things in which we live misses its equilibrium when its communication with the world of life is lost. Then we have to pay with our soul for objects which are immensely cheap. And this can only happen when the prison walls of

things threaten us with being final in themselves. Then it gives rise to terrible fights, jealousies and coercions,—to a scramble for space and opportunities, for these are limited. We become painfully aware of the evil of this, and then try all manner of adjustment within the narrow bounds of a multiluted truth. This leads to failures. Only he helps us who proves by his life that we have a soul whose dwelling is in the kingdom of love, and things lose the tyranny of fictitious price when we come to our spiritual freedom.

It is hard for us to free ourselves from the grip of our acquisitions. For the pull of their gravitation is towards the centre of our self. The force of perfect love acts in the contrary direction. And this is why love gives us freedom from the weight of things. Therefore our days of joy are our days of expenditure. It is not the lightness of pressure from the outside world which we need in order to be free, but love which has the power to bear the world's weight, not only with ease, but with joy.

Wealth is the symbol of power. Therefore, wealth must move and flow in order to be perfect. For power is active, it is movement. But mere movement is superficial. It must be a growth and therefore continual gaining. This gain is something which not merely moves, but remains. The highest harmony of movement and rest is in the spiritual life, whose essence is love. Love of God, nay, love in all forms, is the reaching of the goal at every step, and yet never coming to a stop.

Power, when it reaches its end, stops and grows careful of its hoarding. Love, when it reaches its end, reaches endlessness and therefore is not afraid of spending its all.

VISVA-BHARATI BULLETIN

I.

The Function of a Library.

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

Most libraries are possessed with the passion for accumulation. Three-quarters of their books do not come into use,—their overgrown proportion even thrusts into a corner the specially selected few that are meant for being actually used. In our popular parlance, the man of large riches is called a great man. When a millionaire comes into a gathering, they vie to do him honour,—an honour not dependent on what he has to give, but merely on what he has. Much in the same way, the bigness of a library is estimated by the number of its volumes. The facilities offered for their use that should have been its glory, are not deemed necessary for its pride.

The words that are owned by our language have two different repositories,—one is the dictionary, the other is its literature. It is useful to collect all the known words in a comprehensive dictionary, though comparatively but few of them are actually current. On the other hand the range of words found in literature,—which are living and therefore not one of which can be spared,—is ever so much less. And yet it has to be admitted that the value of literature is more than that of the dictionary.

The same truth applies to the library. That part of its contents which is for the purpose of extensive accumulation has its usefulness, but the other part which is for constant and multifarious use, gives it its significance. The average librarian, however, rarely takes thought or trouble to bring the largest number of books to the utmost use, because it is always easier to overwhelm the public mind with the mere display of quantitative abundance.

In order to bring a library into the fullest use, it is necessary that its contents should be clearly and specifically brought to notice, otherwise it is difficult for the ordinary man to find his way about them, and the

library is left as a city of vast accomodation that lacks sufficient means of communication. Those who frequent libraries on some special quest of their own, may manage to make a track for themselves by dint of the urgency of their particular pursuit. But the library itself should recognise its share of responsibility in the matter. Because it has the books, it is incumbent on the library to get them read, for then alone is it justified. It is not enough that it passively permits visitors: its invitation should be active. For, as the Sanskrit proverb tells us: *lunnashtam yannadiyaté*, that which is not given is wasted.

The usual thing is for a library to say: *Here is my catalogue, come and select for yourself*. But in the usual catalogue there is no introduction, no invitation, no spirit of welcome. That library alone can be called hospitable, which shows an eagerness to invite readers to the feast at its disposal,—it is such hospitality that makes a library big, not its size. That the readers make the library, is not the whole truth; the library likewise makes the readers.

If this truth is kept in view, we at once realise what a great function is that of the librarian. His duty does not end with the acquisition, classification and care-taking of the volumes in his charge; in other words, it is not exhausted by mere multiplication and division; he must have a proper understanding of his books as well. If a library is too big, it becomes practically impossible for the librarian adequately to acquire such true understanding. That is why I feel that the big library can but function as a store-house, and only the small one serve as a refectory to furnish the wherewithal for daily sustenance and enjoyment.

My idea of a small library is one that keeps books on every subject, but only select books, not one of which is there merely as an offering of worship to Number, but each one of which stands on its own merits; where the librarian is a true devotee, devoid of ulterior seeking, free from pride in the mere loading of shelves, capable of discriminate rejection. A library, in short, which makes just enough provision that can be placed before its guests for their delectation, with a librarian who has the qualities of a host, not a store-keeper.

Consider, for instance, the case of a library which takes in a number of periodicals, published at home and abroad. If some one on the staff made it his duty regularly to compile a list of the specially interesting articles, and hang it up in a conspicuous place, would that not immensely increase the chances of their being read? As it is, three-fourths of these

remain unopened, encumbering space and burdening the shelves as they keep on accumulating. The same is the case with new books. Very few librarians attempt to acquaint themselves, much less their constituents, with the contents. Yet is it not obvious that the wealth they have to offer should be made known as soon as new books come to hand?

Made known to whom? In each case to a special circle of readers. Every library should have as its indispensable limbs such special circles of readers. These alone can give it life. The worth of a librarian I would gauge by his power of attracting and looking after such circles, of acting as the intermediary for an intimacy of relationship between reader and library. That is to say, on him is cast the burden not only of the books, but of their readers as well, and in the maintaining of both is the test of his efficiency, of the proper discharge of his trust.

Even as to the books themselves, the librarian's duty should not be confined to those that he can collect in his own library, but he must also keep himself acquainted with all those others that are published from time to time, subject by subject. For the purposes of our school at Santiniketan, for example, we have to keep ourselves in touch with all the publications intended for children, so as to be able to make our selection. Every library should assist in work of this kind. This they could do by keeping up-to-date lists of books on the different subjects, as they come out and gain reputation. If it became known that a particular library was endeavouring to discharge this duty, I am sure that the publishers would be glad to co-operate by furnishing it with lists of their publications, together with a résumé of their contents.

In conclusion it is my submission to the All India Library Conference that it should consider the question of preparing and circulating such quarterly, half-yearly or at least annual list, from which the main features of the best new books in the English language,—scientific, literary and historical,—may be gathered. If it be the object of this Conference to stimulate the founding and growth of libraries all over the country, then such object can be best promoted by thus affording a guide to the books that should be procured; incidentally also thereby assisting the libraries in what should be their main work—not the mere procuring and keeping of books, but actively acquainting their constituents with and interesting them in their contents.

II.

Mirabai.*A brief sketch of her life.***By ANATHNATH BASU, of Visva-bharati.*

The cultural history of Mediæval India has never attracted the attention of scholars to the extent it should have done. There is even the notion in some quarters that during these centuries India like Europe passed through a dark age in her history. But nothing can be further from the truth.

The cultural records of this period, being mostly hidden away in the neglected vernacular literatures of India, were not accessible to the scholars whose attention was mainly rivetted on the Sanskrit and Pali sources, and who cared little, if at all, for the living language of the people, so that they lost sight of the fact, among others, of the great neo-Vaishnavite revival, producing personalities like Rāmānanda, Kabir, Nānak, Mirā, Tulsidās, Dādū, Sārdās, and a host of others equally great, who enriched with their gifts of mind and heart and vision their respective languages and literatures.

It is because we know so little of these men, their lives and works, and care perhaps even less, that the unity of Indian culture from ancient times to the present day seems to us a myth, for lack of the connecting links. A great gap between ancient and modern India stares us in the face, which we know not how to bridge.

But, to a careful student who takes the trouble of searching in these neglected fields, these missing links will reveal themselves, and he shall see before him a picture of how through these long centuries India has been slowly unfurling herself, trying to realise herself through her great souls, and meanwhile giving expression to her inner yearnings.

Here we shall simply sketch the life of Mirābāi, one of these saints of Mediæval India. She was a princess as well as a poetess of rare gifts, who has left us her songs as a spiritual heritage. In these songs are to be found an expression of the same aims and ideals that animate Ramananda, Kabir and the others, and which were the dynamic of the life of the time.

*From the *Introduction* of the writer's forthcoming work, *Mirabai, her life and songs*.

Mírábái was a Vaishnava devotee, of what school we do not know, nor does it matter. Her religion taught her complete surrender to the will of the Lord, and she left her palace and all its luxuries, her near and dear ones, in search of her God, whom she eventually found.

Vaishnavism came, as it were, by way of protest against Sankara's negative doctrine of *māyā*. Rāmānuja and other reformers felt that such a philosophy could hardly meet the hankerings of the human soul; and Vaishnavism supplied the personal touch by giving a personal god.

The eternal instinct of the human soul is to love and be loved. We need, not only knowledge as our guide, but also love as our support. In our worldly life, this love is or should be supplied by our family and social relationships,—mother, father, husband, wife or friend,—on whom we may lavish all the love our little soul is capable of. This secular love Vaishnavism seeks to expand as a religious ideal embracing the Divine Person. The God of Vaishnavism is not at a distance from his devotee, but is, as father, mother, friend, or husband, the Beloved of our individual soul.

And in the Krishna cult it was the last aspect of God as Lover and Beloved that found its fullest expression. Here man begins as the play-mate of God in this world-play, or *vilāsa* as the Vaishnavas call it, and ends by identifying himself with Rādhā in a supreme self-surrender.

Mirabai's was the life of a perfect devotee. Her God was Giridhar, a name of Krishna; for Him she lived; for Him she gave up the luxury and ease that was hers for the asking, and became a wandering mendicant; for Him she composed and sang her songs; and unto Him she gave up her life.

Her songs which are still sung in Gujarat and Rajputana by wandering devotees, express for all women, high and low born alike, the yearnings of the human soul for the infinite. They are not secular love-lyrics; the cry we hear in them is not that for a human lover. Clothed though they are in the language of daily life, and of human relationship, they do not speak of the love of flesh for flesh. At first sight they certainly appear to be highly erotic, and we may wonder how such language can be applied by a devotee to God? But how better to express the longing of the imperfect human heart for the Divine, than in words glowing with human passion at its height? There is moreover no room for mistake, for are not the lives of those who sing thus, in tune with the Infinite, showing behind their burning words the strictest rigour of ascetic restraint in practice?

The story of Mira's life bears this out. But before going into its details, we may note one characteristic of her songs, which differentiates her from the others who sing in the same strain. While Jayadev, Chandidās, Surdās, and others, have clothed their ideal in the Vaishnava symbolism of the love of Radha for Krishna, in the songs of Mira we often find that her soul casts off all adornments of imagery to make a direct appeal to her God. The naive beauty of these songs, apparently so simple, best reveals itself when they are sung by devotees who have tasted of the love of which Mira sings.

Now let us put together the story of her life,—as much of it as can be gathered after all these centuries.

It is well-known how history is everywhere mixed up with tradition, and how difficult it generally is to separate them. The reason is that while, on the one hand, the mass mind is nowhere very critical, the historian, on the other, in the absence of authentic written material, needs must take recourse to tradition, in spite of the danger of losing his way in its tangled growth of fact and imagination. In our country there is a further difficulty. India has always maintained that the actual details in the life of great devotees are not of so much value as the history of their devotional life preserved in their teachings and sayings. This predilection explains the absence of a chronological history in India before the Mohammedans came, though there are, to be sure, notable exceptions like the *Rājtarangini*.

For this reason all investigation into the story of Mirabai's life and work from a historical standpoint has hitherto proved difficult. Fortunately the researches of the late Munshi Deviprasad and others, in this direction, have done much to clear the way for a historical study.

Mirabai, the daughter of Ratansingh Rathaur, and the grand daughter of Rao Dudaji of Merta, a small principality in Rajputana, was born in 1499 A.D. in Kudki, a village not far from Merta. Merta is now the head-quarters of the *pargana* named after it in the Jodhpur state. The Rathours of Merta have always been noted, as much for their noble, valour, as for their devotion to Vishnu.

Rao Dudaji was the son of Rao Jodhaji, the founder of Jodhpur and, being the third son, received only a grant of landed estate including

Merta. Dudaji had two sons, Biramji and Ratan Singh. Biramji was the father of the famous Jaimal, of Rajput history, who died so valiantly at the siege of Chitaur. Jaimal was the playmate of his cousin, Mira, in her childhood. He was a devoted Vaishnava like many other members of the family.

Mira was brought up amidst this Vaishnava influence and it is no wonder that it should have fostered and coloured the intense devotion that was hers from her childhood and formed the keynote of her later life. Many stories are still current about the beginning of little Mira's devotional life, of which the following is one.

A bridal procession was passing through the streets by the palace and every one of the ladies, excepting Mira's mother alone, went out to have a look at it. Mira sought her mother and found her engaged in the worship of Giridhar, the family deity. From Mira's lips burst the question: "Mother where is my bridegroom?" And half in jest, half in earnest, the mother replied: "Here he is!" pointing to the image. Thenceforth, as the story goes, Mira developed a passionate and intense devotion for the Deity under this name, of which we find such constant mention in her poems.

When Mira grew up she was married to Kunwar Bhoj, the son of Rana Sanga, and the heir-apparent of Mewar. This marriage must have taken place near about the year 1510, as Rajput girls are not married very early.

At this stage in the story of Mira's life comes the conflict of tradition with history. Tradition makes her wife of Rana Kumbha of Mewar, and thus takes her back to the middle of the 15th Century. Among the historians, Col. Tod was the first to endorse this mistake, and it was repeated after him by others like Munshi Shivasingh. It then came to be so widely accepted that later historians did not think it necessary to sift the facts for themselves and find out the truth.

Munshi Deviprasad, the historian of Jodhpur, was the first to question this, and from a thorough sifting of the materials in the archives of the Rajput princes, he was convinced that Mirabai could not be the wife of Kumbha, but that she was wedded to his grandson, Kumar Bhoj, who came long after him. When once Mira's name was connected with that

of Kumbha, a series of stories began to be woven round them of which, however, no detailed discussion is necessary for our purpose.

But we may accept the tradition that Mira, after her marriage, would not go to her husband's home without Giridhar, her beloved deity; and the image had to be made over to her. The story goes on to say that, on her arrival at her father-in-law's palace, she was asked by her mother-in-law to make her obeisance to the Goddess Durga, the family deity of the Ranas of Mewar, but her Vaishnava bent was too powerful and she refused. On this the Rana was so exasperated that she was confined in a separate palace and subjected to systematic ill-treatment. How far these statements are to be taken as true it is difficult to say, for they may be the outcome of the prejudice or imagination of some later Vaishnava narrator seeking to extol his own sectarian god.

However that may be, it is a fact that Mira did not have a long married life, which came to an early end with the death of Kumar Bhoj sometime before 1528. Rana Sanga survived his son and died in 1528. We do not hear of Mira having any child. After the death of Rana Sanga it appears that there was some apprehension of a civil war raging round his surviving sons till, eventually, after some years, Vikramjit established himself on the throne of Mewar.

Many of Mira's songs speak of her ill-treatment by Vikramjit. After the death of her husband Mira had entirely devoted herself to the worship of her beloved Giridhar, and spent her days in the company of Vaishnava saints and mendicants. These doings Vikramjit could not tolerate. Why should Mirabai, a princess of the royal blood, go forth into the streets in such sorry company? Vikramjit accordingly sent his sister, Udabai, to remonstrate with her, but Mira refused to be persuaded to give up her ways. She was offered all the luxuries of a royal house; but would have none of these trinkets. The conversation between the two women has been preserved in one of Mira's poems.

Then her torment began. Stories are told in this connexion of her supernatural powers, her miraculous escapes from the death designed by her brother-in-law. It is told that the Rana gave her a cup of poison, but by her accepting it as *Charanāmṛita* (water made holy by the divine touch), it had no effect on her; she was bitten by a cobra sent by Vikramjit, and yet did not die. From all this we may gather so much, that life in the palace had become difficult for Mira. She had heard the call of the Infinite, and had no use for what the royal household had to

offer her. She had lost her earthly husband but in his stead she had gained her Giridhar. Said she:

No, Rana, I will no longer listen to you,
Now that I have my husband, Giridhar!

And, at length, Mira left the palace in quest of her Lord, wandering alone in the wide world, among the lowly and the poor. It is said that after leaving the palace she went to Merta and thence to the banks of the Banas river where she spent sometime in meditation. But where was her Lord, for whose sake she had left the palace renounced her royal state, given up her kith and kin,—where was He to be found?

For thee, have I forsaken all pleasures,—
Why dost thou now keep me waiting?

She had to wait and wait long and weary days, as she lamented:

The Lord of my heart is delaying,
And the clouds of sorrow are enveloping me.

For her Lord was late in coming.

At last her perseverance was rewarded, and her long and weary night was followed by the dawn. In her soul she felt the approach of her Beloved:

I hear the footsteps of Hari!

she sang, and Hari did indeed reveal Himself to Mira. Then was hers the joy of spiritual rebirth, and thenceforth her life was like incense burning in perpetual festival before the altar of her Lord.

Mira then went to Brindaban, where tradition has it that she met Jiva Goswami, one of the leaders of the Gaudiya Vaishnava movement. We have, however, scarcely any authentic information about the *guru* of Mira. Some biographers have mentioned Raidás, the saintly cobbler of Gujarat, as her preceptor; but this is doubtful. In the life of Raidás, we find mention of Jhali, a queen of Chitaur, as his disciple. We do not know who this Jhali was. There is no mention of Mira's name in the poems of Raidás, nor is there any clear mention of Raidás in those poems of Mira which may be taken as authentic. The fact seems to be that as the songs of both Mira and Raidás are current in Gujarat some later disciple of Raidás has connected them in order to glorify his own *guru*.

Anecdotes are current how, before leaving the palace, Mira sought counsel of Tulsidás, the famous author of *Rāmacharita Mēnasa*, and how,

on his advice, of she took the final step. The authority for this incident is a song in 'Tulsidás' *Vinayapatriká*, which they say was addressed to Mira. But this song might as well have been addressed to any one else; moreover, to make Mira, a contemporary of Tulsidás, would go against the sense of historical chronology. There is also a story about the Emperor Akbar visiting Mira with Tansen, his court singer. This likewise is improbable on the same ground.

Mira seems to have stayed for sometime in Brindban. There is a beautiful song, referring to that period, which begins thus :

Make me thy servant, O Lord, make me thy servant;
I would be thy servant and lay out thy garden.

From Brindaban Mira went to Dwarka, now in Kathiawad. The principal Vaishnava deity in this holy place is called Ranchod,—the Krishna who left the battlefield to retire into Dwarka.

Meanwhile Chitaur had come upon evil days. Akbar had besieged the city and Mewar was in danger. The people believed that these calamities were due to the wrath of the Almighty at Mira's leaving the place, owing to her ill treatment. So they wanted her back, and certain Brahmins were deputed to bring her home.

The Brahmins went over to Dwarka and began to entreat her. Mira was in a dilemma. She could neither think of leaving her life of devotion, nor could she refuse the reverend messengers. Then, it is said, in order to put an end to her doubts, she went into the temple and began to dance and sing before the Lord. And that was the last ever seen of her. According to common belief she vanished, having been taken by the Lord into His bosom.

Her last song before Ranchod is said to be :

Take me, if thou thinkest me to be pure.
Excepting thee I know none else,
O Lord have mercy on me!

This happened possibly in 1570.

Thus ends the characteristic life story of Mirábái, the most renowned poetess of India in the middle ages, who has lighted a lamp for all time to guide the human soul to mystic lands unseen.

III.

The Discovery of Mohen-Jo-Daro.*A First-hand Account.**By* RAKHALDAS BANERJEE.

Writing in a recent issue of *The Referee* (London) Sir Arthur Keith has summarised the results of the excavations of Mohen-jo-daro during the last four years. He has referred to me as "a prospecting officer of the Archaeological Department" who, "six years ago, arrived on the scene," and "under the alluvial covering of the mounds, often thirty feet in height, found mouldering bricks." The real history of the discovery is given below.

Mohen-jo-daro has been known by name to the Government officials of Sindh and to the Indian Archaeological Department for a long time. It was visited by my predecessor in the post of Superintendent of the Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India, Mr. (now Prof.) D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D. for the first time in 1912; and the latter has been blamed by a certain class of people for his failure to recognise the importance of Mohen-jo-daro. This is a point that also requires clearing up.

Up to 1922, archaeologists in India scarcely expected to find ancient remains in this country belonging to the 2nd or the 3rd millennium B.C. This is proved by the inability of such a great scholar as Sir John Marshall to recognise the vast importance of the earliest and most important find of pre-historic painted pottery in India—the great find at Nal in the Jhalawan district of Independent Baluchistan. The ancient pre-historic site of Harappa was known to archaeologists since the days of Cunningham, but Rai Bahadur Pandit Dayaram Sahani,—now Deputy Director-General of Archaeology in India, who excavated this site in 1920-21, and again in 1923-24, and discovered the same class of pre-historic antiquities as I found at Mohen-jo-daro in 1922-23,—failed to recognise them as pre-historic as will appear from his own report and his contributions to the Annual Report of the Director-General of Archaeological Survey for 1920-21. The Rai Bahadur's training, like that of the majority of us in 1922, prevented him from placing the date of any antiquity discovered in India prior to the Maurya period.

As for Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, he was quite well acquainted with the ordinary antiquities of Sindh, but he was not familiar with the type of antiquities which I discovered at Mohen-jo-daro in 1922-23. He was particularly misled by the size of the bricks. Mohen-jo-daro is a vast area covered with bricks of modern type, such as we had been taught to associate only with the British Public Works Department. There was no mound covered with alluvium at Mohen-jo-daro, as Sir Arthur Keith supposes, and none of us had to go thirty feet down to find "mouldering" bricks. Much has been said tending to throw doubts on professor Bhandarkar's first visit to Mohen-jo-daro. I am perfectly convinced from the graphic description in his report, that he had actually visited Mohen-jo-daro in March 1912, and also had a photograph taken of the site.

My discovery of Mohen-jo-daro as a pre-historic site was due, in the first place, to an accident, and, in the second place, to my previous training under Sir Thomas Holland and the late Dr. Theodor Bloch in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. I stumbled upon Mohen-jo-daro by chance. In October, 1917, while I was out hunting for Cheetul or red spotted deer—in the neighbourhood, I lost my way and strayed into its site. There, I found a *chert* or scraper of Nummulitic Flint of the same type as those discovered by Blanford at Rohri,—now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta,—in the neighbouring district of Sukkur and with which Sir Thomas Holland had made me familiar as early as 1903. On my return to Poona I was staggered when I was told that Mohen-jo-daro was not regarded as a very old site. Dr. V. S. Suthankar, then Assistant Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, pointed out to me that my predecessor, Professor Dr. R. Bhandarkar, had recorded in 1912 that:

According to the local tradition, these are the ruins of the town only two hundred years old, and the *daro* or tower itself a part of the bastion guarding its west side. This seems to be not incorrect, because the bricks here found, as just said, are of the modern type, and there is a total lack of carved terra-cottas amidst the whole ruins.

From October, 1917, till December, 1922, I was engaged in the seemingly hopeless task of exploring the deserted cities and townships on both the banks of the modern bed of the Indus, and I finally decided to excavate Mohen-jo-daro late in 1922, when I was convinced that it was one of the oldest sites, if not the oldest site, in India.

Sir Arthur Keith makes certain misleading statements. He says: "Several trial shafts were dug, and by 1924 Sir John Marshall realised that he had gained access to a lost and buried world of humanity." Systematic excavations were carried out by me in Mohen-jo-daro over extensive areas in 1922-23, and by Pundit Madho Swarup Vats in 1923-24, before the news of the discovery reached the ears of Sir John Marshall, who did not know anything of Mohen-jo-daro before May, 1924, and paid his first visit to that place in January or February, 1923. It is, therefore, hardly correct to describe the excavations of 1922-23 and 1923-24 as "trial shafts."

In June, 1924, I brought to the notice of Sir John Marshall the discovery of:

- (a) A number of ancient sites in the Sindh Baluchistan area, numbering over eighty, where bricks of modern size along with scrapers of Nummulitic Flint, and a particular type of pre-cremation burials, are always to be found. One of these sites, Dhanrahodaro, lies about fifteen miles south-west of Mohen-jo-daro very close to Badah, a station on the North Western Railway. Here a Buddhist stupa of the 4th century A.D. of a type similar to the one discovered by Mr. Henry Cousens at Mirpur Khas, built on the top of a pre-historic shrine, and about a mile from it, a series of mounds where scraper or *cherts* of Nummulitic Flint, were also discovered.
- (b) And at Mohen-jo-daro of seals with pictographs found for the first time outside Harappa.
- (c) Painted pottery.
- (d) Stone axes and scrapers of the Neolithic Period, and
- (e) Pre-cremation burials of three different types viz:
 - (i) Disposal of the entire body in brick tombs
 - (ii) and terra cotta or earthenware coffins or
 - (iii) preservation of a single unburnt bone in a small urn surrounded with offerings of food, raiment, copper jewellery and weapons. In many cases at Mohen-jo-daro a collection of such urns were often placed inside a large earthenware jar (Bengali *jālā* or Hindi *malkā*).

In June, 1924, Sir John Marshall gave me a patient hearing, and then sent for the antiquities discovered by me at Mohen-jo-daro in 1922-23, and Madho Swarup Vats in 1923-24, together with those found at

Harappa by Rai Bahadur Pundit Dayaram Sahni in 1920-21 and 1923-24. At the same time acting on my advice, he sent for, from the Indian Museum, Calcutta, the Mockler Collection of pre-historic antiquities and painted pottery discovered in Baluchistan more than half a century ago. After comparing all these antiquities, Sir John Marshall not only agreed with me in thinking that the antiquities from Mohen-jo-daro, Harappa and Baluchistan belonged to the pre-historic period but also accepted it to the extent of describing some of them in the Illustrated London News (September 20, 1924).

This discovery of the pre-historic civilization of India was the result of six years of ceaseless labour and travel, very often at my own cost, and not of the sudden find at Mohen-jo-daro.

The pre-historic antiquities discovered at Mohen-jo-daro bring the pre-historic age of India into closer contact with that of Mesopotamia and Egypt on at least five different points:

- (a) A distinct civilization of the Copper and the Bronze Ages, in India.
- (b) in which man had just invented a form of picture-writing and
- (c) was various fond of beautifully painted pottery in bright colours and often of a fineness which may be compared with 'egg-shell' china,
- (d) and in which the use of glass was very well known.
- (e) along with the special kind of paste called *faience*.

Before my discovery of these five classes of antiquities at Mohen-jo-daro during the cold season of 1922-23, Rai Bahadur Pundit Dayaram Sahni, now Deputy Director-General of Archaeology in India, had discovered larger and much better preserved specimens of the same class and age at Harappa. He had recovered entire pieces of beautiful painted pottery, while my specimens from Mohen-jo-daro were mere fragments. A large painted terra-cotta cup on a base with a beautiful pair of *faience* bangles had been found by him at Harappa. But neither in his own report for the Archaeological Survey of India, Hindu and Buddhist monuments, Northern Circle for the year 1920-21, nor in the extracts prepared by the Rai Bahadur for the Director-General's Annual Report for the same year, do we find any reference to this painted pottery or *faience*. Even Sir John Marshall had accepted these bangles as of glass before I pointed out to him that they were *faience*. A very large number of *cherts* and scrapers, along with miniature Neopolitan

pottery, had been discovered by the same Rai Bahadur in 1920-21 and 1923-24 at Harappa, but their significance never troubled him before June, 1924, when I explained the value of my discoveries to Sir John Marshall at Simla, and the Rai Bahadur was called up with his finds from Lahore for comparison.

As I have already stated, Prof. Bhandarkar, in 1912, did not expect to find any *chert*, painted pottery or pictogram at Mohen-jo-daro, and neither would I have done so if I had been in his position. Long after my discovery of the pre-historic burial customs at Mohen-jo-daro, my former chief, as well as my colleagues of the Indian Archaeological Department, were sceptical about the accuracy of my description of pre-cremation burial in the Copper Age in India and of the then use of miniature Necropolitan pottery. But the truth is now slowly dawning upon them after the discovery of similar burials at Nal in Baluchistan by Mr. H. Nargreaves, and at Harappa by Pundit Madho Swarup Vats.

The discoveries made at Mohen-jo-daro during the last five years by myself and Messrs. Madho Swarup Vats, K. N. Dikshit, Marshall Nargreaves and Mackay, have proved that India was very much advanced in civilization in the Copper Age. So far, not a single scrap of iron has been discovered in any part of the gigantic excavations at Mohen-jo-daro. This fact alone proves that the city, as a whole, belonged to the Age of Copper. Weapons, such as swords, daggers, javelins, lance-heads; household utensils, such as cooking-pots, knives, plates and cups; metal objects used in architecture, such as hinges, door-bolts, etc. are all made either of copper, or of bronze. There cannot, therefore, be any doubt that the ruins of Mohen-jo-daro belong positively to the Age of Copper, *i.e.* approximately to the period before 2,000 B.C. These remains, however, belong to the latest city at Mohen-jo-daro, underneath which are now being discovered the ruins of an older city, the age of which lies between 3,000 and 5,000 B.C.

[With acknowledgments to the Calcutta Municipal Gazette.]

VISVA-BHARATI



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A MONOGRAPH

BY
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[. . . so far as I am aware the illustrations which I give in this book are the first attempt to represent them as they actually appear to those who can see them. Indeed, it is chiefly in order to put before the public this fine series of drawings by my friend the Rev. Edward Warner that I write this book . . . as I looked over (them) certain questions suggested themselves, and a little investigation put me in possession of additional facts, which I have duly incorporated. An interesting point is that both the vitality-globe and the kundalini ring were observed by Dr. Besant and catalogued as hypermeta-proto elements as long ago as 1895, though we did not then follow them far enough to discover their relation to one another and the important part that they play in the economy of human life . . .] From the Preface.

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Department of Islamic Studies.

Dr. Julius Germanus, Professor of Islamic Studies at the Oriental Institute of the Royal Hungarian University, Budapest who has been recently elected to the Nizam Islamic Chair for Islamic Studies, has drawn up the following programme of work for the academic session 1929—30. (July—March).

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THE VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY.

Vol. VII.

APRIL—JULY, 1929

No. 1

MESSAGE TO THE PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS.*

From RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

After a long spell of scepticism, born of science which is naturally concerned with the process of creation and not with its origin or value, there seems to have set in a favourable reaction in the modern mind towards religion. In consequence of this a large section of men have become ready to surrender themselves, with unreasoning impetuosity, to the rigid grip of creeds that had their genesis in the history of a remote past with its limited range of knowledge. This is having upon other minds the contrary effect of discrediting religion altogether, arousing against it suspicion, if not contempt.

We have seen in our own country a recrudescence of the blind faith that makes no discrimination between the spiritual significance of a religion and its outer crust that not only obscures it, but gives it a materialistic grossness of structure. Men who follow the path of indiscriminate acceptance, go to the length of defending their position by a philosophy according to which all conceptions and representations of the infinite have a uniform value, being all equally inadequate or irrelevant. Such sophistry makes it lazily easy for us to confine our devotion within the boundaries of our own sect, and unthinkingly allow our minds to confuse customs that are inert with the

*Presidential Message to the Parliament of Religions held in Calcutta on the 28th January, 1929, in connection with the Brahmo Samaj Centenary.

wisdom that has eternal dynamic force. It is a symptom of our egotism, this clinging with fanatical fervour to all that is accidental in our religion, making it inhospitable, and a source of endless strife. Such a religious attitude of mind is the greatest calamity, specially in the present age, for the peace and welfare of man.

Sectarianism is materialistic. It ever tries to build its tower of triumph with its numerical strength, temporal power and external observances. It breeds in the minds of its members a jealous sense of separateness that gives rise to conflicts more deadly than conflicts of worldly interests. It is a worse enemy of the truth of religion than atheism, for sectarianism proudly appropriates as its own share the best portion of the homage that we bring to our God.

To-day science has offered us facilities that bring the human races outwardly close to one another, yet curiously enough it is our religions that zealously maintain the inner barriers that separate, and often antagonise, nations and peoples, their respective votaries not even hesitating blasphemously to take God's own name to humiliate or mortally injure their fellow beings who happen to belong to a different community. And it is high time for us to know how much more important it is, in the present age, to be able to understand the fundamental truths of all religions and realise their essential unity, thus clearing the way for a world-wide spiritual comradeship, than to preach some special religion of our own with all its historical limitations.

The evils that have followed in the wake of the present meetings of the races—the evils of political and economic exploitation—should not find, in the religious organisations, allies for the creation of dissensions that are truly impious. We must give heed to the call of the present age which urges us to train our mind not merely into a passive tolerance, but into an active understanding of the religions which are not ours, which but diversely emphasize some particular phase of truth, some special process of spiritual realization.

There are those who have the imperialistic tendency of mind which leads them to believe that their own religion has the sole right to bring the whole human world under its undisputed dominance. They dream of a unity which consists of a grim solitude of one, barren and colourless as a desert. But the unity which is at the root of creation, comprehends the countless many, and gives them the rhythm of kinship. Monotony is of death, life is a harmony of varied notes.

The truth which is impersonal is science; the path to approach it is the same for all of us—the sole path of reason that has no individual variedness. The truth which is supremely personal is God, and the paths that lead to Him are not one, but are manifold according to the differences in our personality. The knowledge about this personal truth can never be solely through reason, but must be mostly through sympathy; to know it perfectly is the same as to be intimately related to it.

The personal relationship, in order to be real, has to seek out its own special path and find its idiomatic expression in the medium of its own language. But generally speaking, in the name of religion, our minds are moulded according to the one uniform sectarian standard prevalent in our own community. Therefore, with the exception of those who have rare spiritual gifts, the generality of men, without their knowing it, are godless. They are pious, but not religious; they have not the courage of faith, but the habit of conformity. Such a cult of superficial creeds has, for most of us, brought down our idea of God to the level of the average, the comfortable, the genteel mind, the mind ready to believe that God is on the side of the successful.

Religion is the expression of human aspiration seeking the fundamental unity of truth in the divine person of God. Whereas sectarianism uses religion itself to create disunion among men, sharpening its sword for the killing of brothers as a part of the ritual of the Father's worship. Sectarianism is the dangerous form of worldiness that claims exclusive right

to spiritual illumination within its own narrow enclosure, and in the name of God refuses recognition to God himself where He is for all.

The history of man is the history of the building up of a human universe, as has been proved by the fact that everything great in human activity inevitably belongs to all humanity. And we may be sure that all our religious experiences and expressions are building up from the depth of the ages one great continent of religions on which man's soul is to win its prosperity through the universal commerce of spiritual life.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF LEISURE.

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

In my country, the cultivation of leisure has been a vital necessity. We may have many other compulsions for work, but hardly one for generating extra heat within our own physical constitution in order to maintain the balance between the outer temperature and the temperature of our body. In consequence, with us, restless activity has not become a pleasure in itself, and our bodily providence has slowed down our physical movements almost below the degree needful for the strenuous purposes of material prosperity.

We should bitterly blame our fate for an utter bankruptcy of civilization, if this strict economy of life were an absolute miserliness which gives up all prospect of profit to avoid the least risk of loss. Forest land is great, crowded with a furiously competing life; but the seemingly empty prairie land has also its own magnanimity, passively waiting to be wooed, yielding inexhaustible wealth which has in it the spirit of co-operation, the deeper strength of meekness. The human world also has its prairie land of fertile leisure and forest land of self-assertive life.

Man has his two phases, the one in which he tries to make indefinite additions to the powers of his senses and limbs from the store-house of cosmic powers; and the other in which he tries to realize through various stages, his oneness with humanity and thus manifest in himself a truth which reveals him much more intimately than the fact of any extension of power.

Man, along with the animal, is born to this earth where he has the materials of his living; and according to the

*Address to the Fourth Triennial Conference of the National Council of Education of Canada, Victoria, 6th April, 1929.

development of his energy and intelligence which helps him in the acquisition and use of these materials, he becomes powerful and wins in the race of life. In this race, the individual competition for success is the main motive force which man has in common with the animal.

This domain of material progress has for its object success which depends upon quickness in time and bigness in quantity for its achievement.

But man, unlike the animal, is born also to his home, his society and his country. These afford him the background, the perspective needed for the expression of his complete being. They belong to the domain of his civilization which urges slow centuries to develop creative ideals through co-operation of minds and endeavours, through magnificent hospitality and love's utmost sacrifice.

This is the realm of great leisure in whose bosom appear the revelations of human spirit which work themselves out from the obscure period of the nebula into the constellation of stars.

The complete human truth is comprehended in the mastery of law that gives power and the realization of harmony which gives perfection, just as in a work of art, the handling of technique and the inspiration of vision are both necessary. Occasionally men lose the sensitiveness of their mind through the rude abrasions of constantly hurried moments. In such a state they become capable only of being aroused by some tortured trick in the technique, by some jerky shock of novelty which is not originality, by even ugliness that coarsely violates our sense of rhythm. These people take pride in proclaiming their disillusionment, after having taken to pieces things that can only have meaning in their wholeness. In this callous world of theirs, Titans have their victory and Gods are defeated. And have we the time to ask ourselves if some of the sights, that overpower us to-day with awe, are not the triumphal towers of the Titans, built with the ruins of our paradise?

The spirit of progress is neither moral nor immoral. With equal indifference it uses its efficiency in inflicting as well as in healing wounds, at the same time, in helping us in a perfect system of robbery and in a perfect organisation of charity for those who suffer in consequence. It achieves success through intelligent dealings with Nature's potentialities.

This realm of progress is described in the *Upanishads* as *Anna Brahma*—the infinite in its aspect of utility. It has its urge in man for realizing the immeasurable in the domain of quantity through an endlessly progressing process of measurement. Directly we lose our faith in it through lethargy or diffidence, we lapse into an animal state in this material universe, and fall passively under the law of natural selection.

The rule of natural selection finds its full sway in a close system of life with rigidly limited resources and restricted possibilities. Man broke the prison wall open, declared his sovereignty and refused to be contented with the small allowance originally allotted to him by Nature, just enough to enable him to carry on a perpetual repetition of a narrow programme of life. He mastered his resources and utilises them for his own indomitable purpose. This working out of one's own purpose through the manipulation of Nature's law is great. It carries in it the proclamation of the right to freedom of the human spirit which refuses to acknowledge limits to its power in the very face of powerful contradictions. The present age is resounding with the declaration of independence for man in the world of nature. This independence is not absolute, but it is a sailing upon a perpetually widening current of emancipation. So long as the movement is maintained, it gives us the taste of the infinite at every point, but directly we stop, we become the captive of the finite and lose the dignity of our soul. There are races of men who have allowed themselves to be stranded upon the sterile sand of their past achievement, like a whale on the seashore, and they remain, to the end of their days, the prey of ravenous evils from all sides. There is a spirit of immortality in the sphere of the material existence

which consists in a triumphant movement of realization. It loses its inspiration and becomes a menace to man when we are meanly overcome by the profit it promises and ignore its great meaning—the expansion of power which gives us the divine right to transform this world into a world for Man.

Truth has its other aspect which is described by the *Upanishad* as *Vignana Brahma* or *Ananda Brahma*, the infinite in its aspect of comprehension, aspect of joy. It is the realm of wisdom and love where mere dimension, number and speed have no meaning, where the value of truth is realized by matured mind through patient devotion, self-control and concentration of faculties. It has its atmosphere of infinity in a width of leisure across which come invisible messengers of life and light, bringing their silent voices of creation.

The process of the packing of fruits gains in merit according to the speed it attains by efficient organization of work, by economizing time through mechanical co-ordination of movements. But the fruit gains its quality of perfection, its flavour and mellowness, not by any impatient ignoring of time but by surrendering itself to the subtle caresses of a sun-lit leisure. And thus we see that the idea of time finds its meaning not as a mere duration of the world-process but as a vehicle of creative energy. In the Hindu Pantheon, the deity of time has its other name as the deity of energy, for we find that time not merely measures but it works. We do not know why a certain period of time is necessary for certain changes to happen, why food should not instantaneously be digested, why the mind should at all depend upon time for the assimilation of thoughts. In fact, we never solve the mystery why there should at all be a process of creation which is a process in time.

It is evident that the modern age is riding on a tornado of rapidity. Quickness of speed in an enormity of material production is jealously competing with its own past every moment. We cannot stop its course, and should not, even if we could. Our only anxiety with regard to it is that we may forget that slow productions of leisure are of immense value

to man, for these only can give balance to the reckless rush of ambition, give rhythm to the life that misses its happiness by missing the cadence of chastity in its enjoyment; these only can impart meaning to an accumulation which knows how to grow to a hugeness but not to a majesty of expression. As I have said in the beginning, all civilizations are living wealths that have grown on the deep soil of a rich leisure. They are for conferring honour to our personality and giving it its best worth. The perfection of our personality does not principally consist of qualities that generate cleverness or deftness or even accuracy of observation, or the rationality that analyzes and forms generalizations. It depends mostly upon our training in truth and love, upon ideals that go to the root of our being. And these require the ministration of quiet time for their adequate recognition and realization in life.

A true gentleman is the product of patient centuries of cultivated leisure that has nourished into preciousness a vision of honour whose value is higher than that of life itself. When I first visited Japan I had the opportunity of observing there the two parts of the human sphere strongly contrasted; one, on which grew up the ancient continent of social ideals, standards of beauty, codes of personal behaviour; and on the other part, the fluid element, the perpetual current that carried wealth to its shores from all parts of the world. In half a century's time Japan has been able to make her own the mighty spirit of progress which suddenly burst upon her one morning in a storm of insult and menace. China also has had her rousing when her self-respect was being knocked to pieces through a series of helpless years, and I am sure she also will master before long the instrument which hurt her to the quick. But the ideals that imparted life and body to Japanese civilization had been nourished in the reverent hopes of countless generations through ages which were not primarily occupied in an incessant hunt for opportunities, which had large tracts of leisure in them necessary for the blossoming of life's beauty and the ripening of her wisdom. These ideals had become one with the nature of the people and therefore these people were

often unconscious of their profound value while they were noisily proud of some culture from a foreign market for which they had to pay in cash, because of its utility, and not in sacrifice which is claimed by a truth that has its ultimate value in itself. It is something like being boastful of an expensive pair of high-heeled shoes which has no compunction in insulting the beautiful contour of the living feet that have reached their perfect form in man through ages of evolution.

We have seen the modern factories in Japan, seen numerous mechanical organizations and engines of destruction of the latest type. Along with them we also see some fragile vase, some small pieces of silk, some architecture of sublime simplicity, some perfect lyric of bodily movement. Also we have seen these people's expression of courtesy daily extracting from them a considerable amount of time and trouble, their traditions of behaviour, any deviation from which, however inevitable, so often drove them to suicide. All these have come not from any accurate knowledge of things but from an intense consciousness of the value of reality which takes time for its realization. What Japan reveals in its skilful manipulation of telegraphic wires and railway lines, of machines for manufacturing things and for killing men, is more or less similar to what we see in other countries which have a similar opportunity for training. But in its art of living, its pictures, its code of conduct, the various forms of beauty which its religious and social ideals assume, Japan reveals its own personality which, in order to be of any worth, must be unique. This national personality acquires its richness from its assimilation of some ideal and not from its possession of some trade secret, some up-to-date machinery of efficiency.

What gives us cause for anxiety is the fact that the spirit of progress occupies a great deal more of our mind to-day than the deeper life process of our being which requires depth of leisure for its sustenance. In the present age the larger part of our growth takes place on the outside, and our inner spirit has not the time to accept it and harmonize it into a complete-

ness of creation. In other words, the modern world has not allowed itself time to evolve a religion, a profound principle of reconciliation that can fashion out of all conflicting elements a living work of art—his society. The creative ideals of life, necessary for giving expression to the fulness of humanity, were developed centuries ago. And when to-day these suffer from some misfit as a result of a constant expansion of knowledge and a variety of new experiences, we fail to adjust them into a more comprehensive synthesis than before, and thus not only lose faith in them but in the fundamental principle that they represent. With strenuous efforts, we make stupendous heaps of materials and when the complaint comes that they miss the character of architecture, we contemptuously say that architecture is a superstition and for a democratic age rude piles are more significant than the rhythmic form of a building. Such remarks are easy to make only because we lack leisure truly to know our minds. We are only familiar with the surface of our life which is constantly being soiled and burdened with the sweepings of an enormous traffic. We grow to be fond of a perpetual shabbiness produced by a miscellany of fragments only because the relegation of these to their proper places requires time. And we say time is money, while we forget to say that leisure is wealth, the wealth which is a creation of human spirit whose material may be money.

Invention, construction and organization are spreading fast along the high road of our history, but the creative genius of man which acknowledged its mission to express all that has permanent value in his personality is everyday losing its dignity. It accepts cheap payments from the busy multitude, it is engaged in always keeping irreverent minds amused, it makes faces at things men held sacred and tries to prove that the ideals of social life that had given us grace, the majesty of self-mastery and the heroism of voluntary acceptance of suffering were most part unreal, false coins made current by the weak for the pathetic purpose of self-deception. Compressed and crowded time has its use when dealing with material things but living truths must have for their full significance a pers-

pective of wide leisure. The cramped time produces deformities and degeneracy, and the mind constantly pursued by a fury of haste, develops a chronic condition of spiritual dyspepsia. It easily comes to believe that reality is truly represented by nightmare, that nothing but disease is frankly honest in its revelation of the normal, that only the lowest is reliable in its explanation of the highest in a language crudely obscure. Drunkenness may be defined as the habit of enjoyment forced out through a narrowed aperture of sensibility in jets of abnormal sharpness; and all enjoyment takes a drunken character for those who try to snatch it away from fugitive hours that come jumping to them in a staccato style. They become hopelessly addicted to undiluted sensationalism for their brief moments of recreations, and literature demanded by them grows bewilderingly turbulent with psychological perversity and intellectual somersaults. Incessantly handling things that have their market price they lose the judgment of the world of values, the self-luminous truth, the kingdom of personality. They claim explanation from every fact for its truth in a universe of reality while they forget that our personality also needs an adequate explanation in a universal truth.

A particle of sand would be nothing if it did not have its background in the whole physical world.

LINGUISTICS IN INDIA

By SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

The linguistic problems connected with India are so many and so varied in their number and nature, and besides have so many links and ramifications outside India, that quite a vast field of enquiry presents itself as a matter of course. India has been a meeting-place of races, civilisations and languages ever since the dawn of history, and even earlier; she has been a veritable *Middle Kingdom*, into which so many different types of humanity, each with its particular language and culture, have converged. As extraneous elements introduced and naturalised in India they have their affinities outside. Then, again, the overflow of culture from India also links the country with many other and different types of culture, all of which were profoundly modified by India and even obtained a certain Indian colouring and character. The languages of all these extraneous cultures quite legitimately come within the domain of Indian Linguistics by virtue of their Indian affinities or connexions.

Thus, with our Sanskrit and our Indo-Aryan languages, we are connected to the Indo-European world of the West, and extra-Indian Indo-European languages in their earlier phases form a part of the problems of Vedic and Sanskrit; our Dravidian is so far unique, but scholars have been searching for its affinities from Australia to the Ural-Altaic domain and to Asia Minor and the Mediterranean region; our Kol (or Munda) speeches are cousins of the Mon-Khmer languages of Indo-China, and of the Indonesian speeches of Malaya and of the islands beyond; the Tibeto-Burman dialects of India bring in problems of the Sino-Tibetan family; and the extinct languages of Central Asia as well as the speeches of Indo-China and Indonesia touch the fringe of Indian Linguistics through Sanskrit (and Pali) having been their inspirer and feeder. Besides, general problems of Linguistics referring to the various physiological and psychological aspects of speech can as a matter of course form the subject

of our discussions whenever they have the least bearing on our Indian languages.

The field is thus so vast, so unlimited, that we can venture to till only a corner of it—the corner of which the terrain and the soil are known or expected to be known to us through our being born in it and living within it, or through our special intimate study of it.

Compared with the other Sciences and Arts, Linguistics as a Modern Science is of recent growth, and is still new to our country. Europe of course received the impetus from the discovery of our Sanskrit, and an additional impulse from the study of the Ancient Indian phoneticians and grammarians whose works were a revelation in speech analysis. But while the Modern Science of Comparative Philology originated and was developed in Europe in the course of the nineteenth century by bringing in the historical and comparative method in explaining the facts which were being collected and correlated, India pursued her traditional methods of studying her classical language, methods in which the crystal stream of critical observation which had led to the foundation of Ancient Indian grammar was well-nigh lost sight of underneath the growth of later scholasticism.

The traditional method nevertheless was thorough; and this was natural enough when culture and study was as a rule bound to be limited and intensive; and the scientific basis of this traditional method also acted as a powerful leaven. The first enquirers who analysed the ancient Aryan speech of India were no doubt pioneers, free from the burden of a stereotyped tradition and from the theological *impedimenta* that came in later. Their interest was certainly one of scientific curiosity, although in the unconscious way of all primitive searchers after truth. This was moreover followed by a highly intellectual and self-conscious spirit of research which sought to push the haphazard enquiries started previously, to their logical end in a highly specialised field. The climax of this outlook we find in Panini's method.

A scholastic and theological attitude soon followed, and has ever since been in possession of the field of linguistic study

among our old-type scholars. The wonder, the delight, and the freshness of spirit which unquestionably accompanied the first Indian grammarian's analysis of the word into syllables and sounds, or into roots and affixes, was a lost world when the spirit of enquiry could not keep pace with the progress of living speech, and the grammar of a dead language became merely a discipline for its own sake, as well as a handmaiden of religious ritualism or of theological subtleties. One cannot however presume to decry or belittle the work of the ancient and medieval Sanskrit grammarians. The ancient Rishis, the path-finders, laid the foundations of Sanskrit grammar, and the example they set in taking a proper stock of the language was rigidly followed by their successors. Scholars concentrated on the Sanskrit language and its usage, and the extraordinary intellect of Patañjali and others being brought to bear upon a description of the language and its detailed analysis, we have as a result a grammatical system for the classical language of India unrivalled in its accumulation and accurate description of facts and in the thoroughness and detail of its technique, which still continues to be one of the foremost intellectual achievements of India.

But apart from the linguistic speculations of the Hindu grammarians of old which sought to find out the nature of language (as typified by Sanskrit) as a phenomenon, and discussed its *rationalc* from the point of view of one or other of the different systems of philosophy, linguistic studies properly so-called ran along fixed grooves in India—as in all countries in ancient and medieval times. Language Study either resolved itself into the Art of Grammar, which aimed at the efficient acquirement of a sacred and antiquated language through a long and rigid course of study; or it became a Scholastic Philosophy, with the tacit acknowledgment of some accepted dogmas or theories as a necessary background for speculation. Even when it became necessary to handle the Prakrit dialects which unfolded the development of speech as a living process, and even when there was contact with foreign speeches like Persian and Greek—a contact so conducive to the initiation of new ideas,—a new scholasticism, as well as an attitude of aloof-

ness from the outside world which a rapidly hardening orthodoxy, the daughter of theology, was engendering, prevented the foundations of historical and comparative grammar from being laid in India; and it was a great chance missed, for the times and the spirit were both propitious.

The work of the old-time Indian grammarians and speculators in the philosophy of language has nevertheless an honoured place in the history of the evolution of the linguistic science, and has ample historical justification. But the dynamic side of language as an expression of life, which was altering with the passing centuries as the circumstances of life itself were altering, could not be expected to be clearly seen in ages which had not as yet evolved the historical sense among scholars. It was the static aspect of an unchanging norm that presented itself before linguistic enquirers who had very little notion of human history. The historical and comparative method is a new discovery. Its gradual perfection is of epoch-making importance, as it has completely altered our outlook on the cultural evolution of man in all that concerns him, including language. Proper methodology in the study of speech has been slowly evolved during the nineteenth century; and taking the fullest help, as it has done, from kindred sciences, it would seem that in its broad principles the modern method has come to stay,—unless some revolutionary Law of Relativity in the physiological and psychological world with which language has to do, should happen to be discovered.

Science is one, and it is not of the East or of the West. Our outlook is frankly modern, and European,—and yet it is Ancient Indian. For if the intellect of Ancient India stood for anything, it was for an uncompromising search after truth: and that is also the attitude of Western or Modern Science. The reward of this attitude is itself—it is the intellectual satisfaction, the joy of the dry white light of the intellect. I do not here consider the romantic pleasure in studying speech as a fact of evolutionary history, and the mystic sense in speech, which are present nevertheless in many investigators. And if we are to make a declaration of the doctrine which guides our work as well as the manner of our approaching the problems in our

subject, we must admit with due emphasis that our methodology is also modern, and European. In the physical sciences, this modern or European method is the only method. In our science of Linguistics, too, where cause and effect take part equally, the soundness of the modern method is an attested fact.

Our attitude towards the workers in the traditional way, towards our *Pandits* and *Sastris*, *Bhikkhus* and *Lamas*, *Dasturs* and '*Alims*, must nevertheless be one of respect and co-operation and fellowship in a field of common studies. They have earned the gratitude of the civilised world by their conserving the heritage of the past, but owing to altering circumstances the ideal type representative of their scholarship is becoming rarer and rarer. We honour and appreciate their intensive knowledge of the tradition, which alone can unlock many a precious truth about the past. We come after them, and we seek to arrange and explain, according to what we consider the right lines of ~~ex-~~position, the traditional information that they have dealously preserved for mankind. The modern philological, historical and and comparative method of interpreting the Veda, for instance, we consider to be the only right method; but this method can never withhold from the tradition the respectful attention which is its due, and at every step it must make its reverential and grateful obeisance to Sayana and the old *Acháryas* as ancient path-makers. The modern method is the inevitable off-spring of the Time-Spirit, and the old scholars were the conservators who made the modern method possible; all respect and gratitude is therefore due to the living scholars who embody in themselves the spirit and the learning of the *Púrvacháryas*, the masters of the past, and still seek to follow in their footsteps.

The importance of Linguistics is not generally realised as much as the science really deserves. Intensive students of a classical language, whether in the East or in the West, have generally a very vague idea of the linguistic science. And since it is not a part of the tradition in which they have been trained, they are suspicious of it, as if the subject were an intruder in their field of studies, and claimed more attention than it honestly deserved. In justice, it must be admitted that at first there was room for suspicion. For, this newly rising

science in the hands of many a scholar, more enthusiastic than sober, often behaved like a veritable *enfant terrible*, paying but scant respect to the age and prestige of tradition when it was out in its career to conquer the world. Its attitude was that of a Macaulay with the famous pronouncement that a shelfful of English books was worth the whole literature of India and Arabia. When language study properly so-called began to question the propriety of the traditional views and methods of *Philologie*, it could not expect itself to be received with acclamation by orthodox scholarship; and when it became self-assertive, it was branded as a *parvenu*. A traditional repugnance was bound to grow up against it, from which it could become free in Europe itself only gradually. In Europe the greater spread of cultural education was partly responsible for it; and language study, especially of the classical languages, had to ally itself with this new science, whose power had to be acknowledged, to save itself from the onslaughts of the demand for scientific and technical education.

In India, within the hot-house atmosphere of our universities, we are still in a backward position, as is only to be expected. Orthodox *Pandits* and scholars of Sanskrit are apathetic, and frankly contemptuous, where they find the results of Linguistics to go against the traditional view. Neither is the attitude of our "English-educated" groups up-to-date or reasonable. In our seats of learning, the linguistic science has had to seek admission by the back door, and with many apologies. Some place had to be made for it, to keep up appearances; and half a paper or less is relegated to "Philology" in our advanced courses in a classical language like Sanskrit, or in English, meanwhile our pundits, whether in English or in Sanskrit, consider it a nuisance, and often train up their pupils in that attitude. Only in this way some room could be made for the science. Yet the indebtedness to it of most of the other human sciences that have come into being, or have come to be established during the last quarter of a century or half a century, should have been given a wider recognition. But Comparative Religion, or Ethnology, or Psychology, are not popular subjects. The importance of Linguistics not being

obvious, there is only an imperfect appreciation of its cultural and disciplinary value.

Then again, the findings of Linguistics in the domain of the past history of the race are often apt to be disconcerting. Where a general tendency has been towards a passionate exaggeration of the glories of the past under a conscious or unconscious patriotic or theological bias, anything which challenges that tendency brings with it an instinctive shock of repugnance. It is thought improper and unwholesome if it does not subscribe to shibboleths which have acquired the force of creeds. 'Hindu or Vedic civilisation—the oldest civilisation in the world,' 'Rigveda—the oldest book of the world,' 'Sanskrit—the mother of all languages,' 'India—the mother of all civilisations,' and such other uncritical statements which by constant repetition have obtained the importance of unquestionable truths, began to be openly assailed by this new science of language, and this cannot be expected to mitigate the antagonism to it. A little judicious pandering to national or religious vanity may be thought helpful for inspiring people to patriotic action, but the attitude of the man of science is in favour of the clear light of Truth, and nothing but the Truth, so far as it is possible for human reasonable to find it out, as the only right solution or fulfilment of practical difficulties or desirable aims. The words of Patañjali—*satya-devas syām ity adhyeyam vyākaranam*—Grammar is to be studied that I may have Truth for my deity,—form a fitting motto to guide students of the science of speech.

But the case for Scientific Linguistics is not so desperate in India. It is after all creating an interest. The Spirit of Curiosity is abroad, and she is opening wide the doors and windows of our mind for air and light from the outside. We are confident that our science is going to have its rightful place among the intellectual endeavours of our country. The number of scholars who are devoting their energies in qualifying for working in it, is slowly but steadily on the increase. The earnestness and enthusiasm of the new band of workers gives the highest promise for the future of the science in the country. The foundation of a *Linguistic Society of India*, in which all

serious workers in Linguistics might group themselves for mutual help and corporate action, was a pious wish of ours to which Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, as Chairman of the Philological Section of the Second Oriental Conference at Calcutta, gave expression in 1922; now, thanks to the initiative of a group of scholars in the Punjab, what we have been wishing for and talking about has become an accomplished fact, and we have at last an infant *Linguistic Society of India*. The starting of this Society, which, let us hope, will bring together all the serious students of language in India working along scientific lines, I consider a great and a significant advance for the Science in our country.

In Europe, the advances in Linguistic Science were made through the study of both the living and the classical languages, but it was more through the older languages that the greatest progress was achieved in the initial stages. A great many of the most suggestive discoveries were made in the field of Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and Gothic and of the older phases of the Modern European Languages; and some of the greatest names in the domain of Linguistics are connected with the ancient languages. The comparative study of the formal aspect of the older languages with a view to find out their genetic relations was thus more conducive to the development of the Science than anything else, at least during the earlier part of its history, when there was a considerable romantic interest in the study of speeches of folks of olden days, the Vedic Aryas, the Hellenes of Homer, the Romans, the Germans, the Celts, ancient peoples with a certain heroic glamour about them. Now the study of the ancient and of the modern speeches go hand in hand in Europe.

But the history of Linguistics in India was the other way about. The sole classical language, Sanskrit, formed the life study of the old type of scholars, and the traditional method they followed was a *cul-de-sac* for modern philology. The old grammarians seemed to have done everything: since, by far the largest percentage of words in the language were given satisfactory etymologies, and the last analysis to roots and affixes was apparently an accomplished fact. Where so much

was given, it was ungracious to ask for more. Doubtful etymologies, therefore, remained doubtful, if scholastic explanations were not acceptable. There was thus ground for some sort of satisfaction for the student of the Language of the Gods, thanks to the labours of the Rishis and the *Achāryas*. But meanwhile the Modern Indian Languages were crying for attention. So much there was which was not explained. And the Prakrits were in the middle, between the language of the language of the Age of Gold on the one hand, and those of the Aryavarta of the present Age of Iron on the other. The Prakrits were tantalising with their suggested explanations. So that it was no wonder that the first great linguistic scholar of Modern India,—a scholar who was saturated with the Sanskrit tradition—should, with a rare scientific curiosity, turn his attention to the vernaculars, and should set about trying to tell the whole history of their origin and development. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar just fifty years ago laid the foundation of philological studies in our country in his *Wilson Philological Lectures* of 1877. But his has remained the solitary Indian name of any real eminence, embracing at one sweep so many different aspects of Indian 'Philology.'

While the *Junggrammatiker* were revitalising the Science of Linguistics in Europe with their new ideas and methods, and the study of the new as well as the old languages received a fresh impetus, a handful of European scholars like Beames, Hoernle, Lyall, Trumpp, and finally, Grierson, fell under the spell of the Aryan vernaculars, and created, conjointly with Bhandarkar (whose work and that of Beames were practically contemporaneous), the Comparative Philology of the New Indo-Aryan Languages. The inauguration of the *Linguistic Survey of India* by the Government of India in 1903 with Grierson as its director, which after a quarter of a century has at last been happily completed early this year, has been a great measure for the advancement of philological research in India, and has prepared the ground for a newer generation of workers. The accurate description of the living speeches, and their proper classification in the *LSI.*, has helped to clear away a great many fantastic notions among people in India and out-

side India about the real linguistic situation in our country. The work has been the source of a great impulse for philological studies and researches in India. Grierson's researches into the various vernaculars of India in their origin and their present state, into the Prakrits, into the borderland languages, represent a great deal of the work of permanent value which has been done in this field. And Grierson's example has been emulated by another small group of European scholars who have taken up the Modern Indo-Aryan languages, conspicuous among whom are Jules Bloch and R. L. Turner; and we must mention also L. P. Tessitori, whose premature death is an irreparable loss to Indian Linguistics.

I need not enter into details about the work done in the other families of speech in India—Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic (Kol or Munda etc.), and Tibeto-Chinese. Here, too, beginning from the middle of the last century, almost all the names are European: Max Mueller, Caldwell, Hodgson, Graul, Kittel, Gundert, Pope, Forbes, Campbell, Skrefsrud, Thomsen, Boddington, Hoffmann, Sten Konow, Nottrott, Vinson, Hahn, Bray, and the rest. Work in this field, however, has been rather tentative. The problems of the Dravidian languages would seem to require rehandling with a new outlook which will not pin its faith on the assumption that Tamil best represents the Old Dravidian *Ursprache*. For Kol, the enquiries of the type instituted by Boddington for Santali will be of far-reaching importance; and the researches of Jean Przyluski in connexion with the cultural contact between the Aryan world and the Austro-Asiatic world are just opening out for us a new vista about the origin of the Hindu people and Hindu culture of Northern India, which may be pronounced to be epoch-making in its significance.

The reproach that Indians do not take any interest in their own languages is not true any more, thanks to the spirit of national awakening which is urging upon us the necessity of progress in every line. The necessity for a systematic study of the Indian Vernaculars is being acknowledged everywhere. Interest in the vernaculars and in their older literatures, the study of which inevitably led to the study of their philology,

brought about the foundation by the people of Societies like the *Vangiya-Sahitya-Parishad* of Calcutta, with branches all over the province of Bengal, of the *Nagari-Pracharini-Sabha* of Benares, of the *Tamil-Sangam* of Madras, and of similar associations in the other language areas. The work done by them, although in the by-ways of vernacular text-criticism and philology, is not to be neglected. Then, most promising of all, during the last two decades the Indian Universities have been taking a more lively interest in the Modern Indian Languages. The winning of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1913 by Rabindranath Tagore, who writes first in his mother tongue, Bengali, and then translates into English; the pressing of the claims of Hindustani from the Congress platform as the *Râshtra-bhasha*, the *Qaumi-Zaban*, or National Speech of India to take the place of English which is the present bond of union among the educated people from the different provinces; the sense of provincial patriotism which is flowing as an under-current in the political life of a United India; the feeling that for mass education, for which the demand is becoming more and more insistent, the provincial vernacular should be the medium; the foundation of the Osmania University at Haiderabad with an Indian language, Urdu, as its medium; all these, and other reasons are giving a new importance to the vernaculars in popular thought and sentiment, which is finding its way into and leavening the policy of the Universities. The University of Calcutta took the lead in this matter, under the guiding hand of the great Sir Asutosh Mookerjee; and here we have a true nucleus of a School of Modern Indian Languages. The University of Madras started the Readerships in Dravidian Philology which it is to be regretted were not made a permanent institution; but the *Tamil Lexicon* it is bringing out will be an abiding testimony to the spirit of research into the Dravidian languages inaugurated by the University of Madras. The new spirit is manifest everywhere. And the University of Lahore, in addition to the vernacular section of its oriental department, is note-worthy in possessing a department of Experimental Phonetics, being the first Indian university to do so.

This brings to my mind the question of the importance of this branch of linguistic investigation. We are slaves of the written word; and although in India and in Europe we do not use pictograms or ideograms, but alphabets of a phonetic character, experience has shown that even among fairly educated people it requires some thinking to realise the value of the spoken word and to comprehend the nature of the written word as a symbolisation of sounds. Many people are not usually able to shake off the fetish of the orthographical form. Common sense is the most uncommon thing in the world, and it was with rare common sense that Patañjali laid down the following definition of a word—*pratita-padārthako dhvanir loke s'abda ucyate.....dhvanis s'abdah* (the sound by which an object is made out is called the word: the sound is the word). The keen phonetic sense of India never forgot this dictum in ancient times: hence we have a rational system of spelling which shows a rare understanding of the sound elements of speech. This system obtains for Sanskrit and the Prakrits as preserved in MS. literature, as well as for most of the Indian languages, except in the case of a few like Bengali which at some unpropitious moment evinced a desire to emulate Sanskrit. It is this absence of the phonetic sense aided by a conservative spirit that is responsible for the system (or the want of it) in modern Irish spelling than which it is hard to conceive of anything more intricate.

The necessity of phonetic analysis as a basis of language study is being rapidly recognised in Europe and America, and Experimental Phonetics has come into being, to aid the Science of Linguistics. This movement is also slowly filtering down to India. The Present is but a transformation of the Past, and only when we thoroughly understand the Present, can we attempt to find out in what way it was embedded in the bosom of the Past. Phonetics enables us to get at the real form of the spoken word; and it is the oral transmission which is the vital thing, not the grammarian's orthographic representation of an archaic or theoretical pronunciation. A fine shade of a vowel or consonant sound, a slight difference in tone, in fact all subtle *nuances* in articulation which are apt to be ignored or

misrepresented in the traditional orthography, are caught in their proper character by phonetic investigation, and are faithfully transcribed and registered. Frequently it is these delicate shades of articulation that suggest or reveal to us some hidden aspect of the history of the language. Unknown and unsuspected things show themselves to the enquirer, bringing him the joy of discovery in reward of his patience. We thus find sounds not contemplated by the ancient Indian system of writing occurring in the diverse and distant dialects. When and how did these sounds originate? The finding of these sounds is certainly intriguing. The phonetics of a modern language is indissolubly linked with its history, with the character of the earlier forms of speeches connected with it, speeches preserved only in written documents.

To complete the *Linguistic Survey of India*, a fresh survey, rigorously up-to-date in its phonetic side, is becoming imperatively necessary. In this matter, linguistic research in India presents a terrain which is both vast and little explored, where there is room for many workers for a good number of years; and this field promises to be most fruitful with but little labour. Already detailed study has commenced in some of the more important languages by scholars working more or less independently---in Tamil, in Bengali, in Malayalam (from L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar), in Hindustani (T. Grahame Bailey and Daniel Jones), in Marathi (S. Kanhere and Lloyd Jones), in the languages and dialects of the Panjab (T. Grahame Bailey, Banarsidas Jain and Siddheswar Varma, the last scholar's analysis of the phonetics of Lahndi which has been taken up for publication by the Asiatic Society of Bengal being one of the most detailed and scientifically valuable), in Shina (T. Grahame Bailey and D. L. R. Lorimer), in Santali (P. O. Boddington), and in some of the speeches of Burma (R. Grant Brown, Pe Maung Tin and Miss Lilius Armstrong). For a proper historical investigation of a language, an accurate statement of its facts both phonetic and morphological (the latter itself dependent on the former) is the first essential thing. Herein is the scope for immediate and intensive work: and I am glad to note that the newly founded *Linguistic Society of India* having a

number of trained phoneticians among its organisers has already turned its attention to this branch of Linguistics.

In this connexion, I would make an earnest plea for conformation to a standard system of phonetic transcription. The alphabet of the *International Phonetic Association* appears to be best suited for this purpose. It is based on the Roman alphabet, and it avoids the cumbersome diacritical marks as much as possible, preferring entirely new letters; and it has become more largely accepted than any other system of phonetic writing. Auxiliary Devanagari or Bengali phonetic scripts may be helpful for workers not familiar with the English language or the Roman script. But I would insist upon a knowledge and an appreciation of the Roman or European system of writing in connexion with phonetic and other linguistic work even from workers of the type of our *Pandits* and *Maulavis*, who must be made to learn it. Just as in teaching Chemistry through Hindustani I would not write H_2SO_4 in Nagari or Urdu characters, so in treating of the sounds of speech in general, or of a particular language and dialect in special, I would insist upon the use of a well-known international graphic system like that of the *International Phonetic Association*. Of course, I mean this is the ideal that we should have before us; but just as the ideal of the Roman script for all the languages of the world, including our Indian languages, would seem to be impossible of attainment now, and as the next best thing I would advocate the alphabetical unity of our own country through the common adoption of the Devanagari alphabet by all languages and dialects, so with a view to obtain our materials with the help of workers not at home in a system other than the one in which they received their training, I would welcome auxiliary phonetic scripts on the Devanagari and other Indian alphabets.

We might first of all take up the Aryan languages of India as the most important group. Since the publication of Bloch's work on Marathi and Turner's article on Pitch Accent in Marathi, Modern Indo-Aryan Linguistics may be said to have entered a new phase, the earlier phases being represented by Bhandarkar, Beames and Hoernle, and by Grierson. The

application of Phonetics to linguistic research and the study of the dialects by Indian workers show that linguistic investigation has taken the right lines of development in our country. Two scholars of the Panjab have taken up their own dialects furnishing full and accurate descriptions of them and seeking to indicate the lines of their development. We are eagerly awaiting the publication of Dr. Banarsidas Jain's book on Panjabi, and Dr. Siddheswar Varma's study of the Phonetics of Lahndi. Dr. Varma's study of Bhadrawahi, a Western Pahari dialect spoken in Kashmir state, promises to be of unique interest. Mr. Baburam Saksena is engaged in preparing his work on the history of Awadhi: we can expect it will be of great value, judging from Mr. Saksena's excellent little monograph on Lakhimpuri, and his papers on the language of Tulsidas. A young friend of mine, Mr. Gopal Halidar, has written a very good study of the phonetics of the Noakhali dialect of Bengali which will be published by the University of Calcutta as the second of the 'University of Calcutta Phonetic Studies.' Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterji's monograph on the Birbhum dialect of Bengali has been ready some time ago, and we expect it will be published duly. For Old Western Rajasthan, a worthy successor of Dr. Tessitori has come to the field: Dr. Charlotte Krause whose edition of *Nasaketari Katha* is a noteworthy production.

An important work on that comparatively neglected branch of Indo-Aryan, a branch which is practically ignored by Indian students of Indo-Aryan—namely, the Romani or Gipsy branch—is Dr. J. Sampson's *Dialect of the Gipsies of Wales*, which appeared from the Oxford University Press in 1926. This great work, the result of thirty years of labour, has preserved for science a distant Indo-Aryan speech which is on the way to extinction; and since the time of Miklosich and Paspatis, it is the greatest work on Romani. It gives the phonology of the dialect and includes a history of the Romani sounds with reference to Old Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit), in this way connecting Romani with Middle Indo-Aryan and with the Modern Indo-Aryan languages; it gives also along similar lines the morphology of Romani. We have here something comprehensive in

the way of the historical study of Romani as a language of Indo-Aryan origin. This work should create an interest in Ramani in India. As a pendant to the work, mention should be made of the important paper of Dr. R. L. Turner on *The Position of Romani in Indo-Aryan* (Journal of the Gipsy Lore Society, Third Series, Vol. V, No. 4, 1926), which is a noteworthy contribution to the question of Romani affinities in India. The current view about the affinities of Romani is that it is connected with the Dardic speeches, but Dr. A. C. Woolner first questioned this connexion, and suggested another relationship. Dr. Turner, in this monograph of his, first exposes his methods, then places his facts, and finally concludes that Romani is connected with the Central Group of Indo-Aryan speeches which excluded the ancestors of Sinhalese, Marathi, Sindhi, Lahndi, Panjabi, Western Pahari and Dardic, and probably also Gujarati and Bengali; subsequently in the course of its migrations, the proto-Romani dialect became influenced by the North-Western Group of Indo-Aryan. Dr. Turner suggests further that the separation of the source-dialect of Romani from the Indo-Aryan branch took place before the 3rd century B.C. Dr. Turner's paper is most suggestive, and the matter requires more detailed working out. A great many problems of Middle Indo-Aryan are connected with the origins of Romani.

A bone of contention in Indo-Aryan Linguistics is the place of the Dardic speeches within the Aryan or Indo-Iranian branch, whether they are a distinct and a third group beside the Indo-Aryan and the Iranian, as Grierson has maintained, or whether they belong really to the Indian group, as most other scholars from Sten Konow downwards think. Dr. George Morgenstierne, the Norwegian Iranist and Indianist, has brought up the question again; and we may hope that his personal researches into the languages of Afghanistan, where he has collected an important mass of material in the Dardic languages, will help to solve the problem finally. In his introductory *Report on a Linguistic Mission in Afghanistan* (Oslo, 1926), where he has given a clear survey of the various languages of the country, he has indicated his position, and he

definitely ranges the Dardic speeches with Indo-Aryan. It will be admitted however that the Dardic speeches do present in their phonology and morphology divergences from the Modern Indo-Aryan languages of the plains. Their development, if really from the Old Indo-Aryan (Vedic), would seem to have been in isolation from that of the rest of India. Indeed, it will mean that Grierson's postulation of an independent, or third, Dardic group of Aryan will have to restate itself as a separation of Dardic from Indo-Aryan at a comparatively early date, with a subsequent free and isolated development. The publication of Dr. Morgenstierne's texts and his grammars and notes are awaited with the greatest interest. In the meanwhile, Colonel D. L. R. Lorimer's notes on Shina Grammar, Dr. Grahame Bailey's Shina Grammar, and Sir George Grierson's Kashmīri Dictionary now nearing completion and his editions of Kashmīri texts like *Ḥatīm's Tales* and the *Krishṇavatāra-līlā* indicate the most recent advances in Dardic studies.

In the field of Modern Indo-Aryan, the work that should be taken up immediately is the exact description of as many dialects as possible, with special attention to the niceties of phonetics. The best way to arrive at a morphological analysis of a spoken *patois* is to have as many *genuine* texts as possible—folk-tales (which may be a little archaic), personal narratives, actual conversations, proverbs, songs and poems,—and then to work out the grammar patiently. This is a task in which the actual speakers of the dialect (or of a dialect which is near enough) should be able to obtain the best results, at least by gathering good masses of material, with literal translation. For doing the phonetic part properly, the collector of the material should have some phonetic training, which is essential. Editions of old texts should be another item, editions which keep a proper guard on exact reproduction of the MS. where it is a single one, or on a proper collation of MSS. in which the oldest readings are paid due attention.

As old texts help to show the development of the speech, the question of these leads us to the earlier phases of Indo-Aryan, namely, to Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit) and Old Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit). We have not much work to boast of here.

Since Jacobi's editions of the *Bhavisatta-kaha* (1918) and the *Sanat-kumāra-carita* (1921), and of the former work (*Bhavisayatta-kaha*) by C. D. Dalal and P. D. Gune, in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series (1923), an important find of late Middle Indo-Aryan (*Apabhramsa*) MSS. has been made in the Jaina monastery libraries at Karanja in Berar by Rāi Bahadur Hiralal and Mr. Hiralal Jain. These have been brought to the notice of the learned world in Rai Bahadur Hiralal's *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Central Provinces and Berar* (Nagpur, 1926). A vein of rich ore for both Middle Indo-Aryan and New Indo-Aryan has been struck here. Sir George is continuing to give us the results of his wonderful scholarship in Prakrit also. We have to thank him for the *Prakrit Dhātuvādesas*, and also for his edition of portions of the *Prākṛta-kalpa-druma* of Rama Tarka-vagisa which he has published in the 'Indian Antiquary' and elsewhere. The Central Asian documents, translations of the Buddhist canon into Prakrits other than Pali and into Buddhist Sanskrit (some of which, discovered in fragments by the French Missions, have been edited by my friend and colleague Dr. Niranjana Prasad Chakravarti and are now being printed in Paris) are affording us a clue as to the language of the Original Buddhist Canon, to the language of the Buddha himself. Dr. Heinrich Lueders' proposed reconstruction of the Ancient Magadhan speech will be full of suggestive value; and the Asoka inscriptions in the new edition of Hultzsch will remain an indispensable classic with the student of Indo-Aryan philology.*

For practical purposes, the extant Second Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit) texts have been sufficiently well analysed in the grammar of Pischel. The Pali dictionaries of the Pali Text Society, and of Trenckner now in progress at Copenhagen

*Mention also is to be made of the work of Dr. Muhammad Shahidullah of Dacca University in connexion with Buddhist Apabhramsa (Sauraseni Apabhramsa as used by Buddhist writers in Eastern India). His edition of the *Doha Kosas* of Saraha and Kanha (which were first published from the only MSS. found in Nepal by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Haraprasad Sastri), in which he has collated the very corrupt and fragmentary text as persevered in the Indian MSS. with the Tibetan translations preserved in the Tanjur, and has with rare philological acumen attempted to restore the original text, is a fine piece of linguistic research in Late Middle Indo-Aryan, for which Indian Scholarship can be congratulated. Dr. Shahidullah's work, *Les Chants mystiques de Kanha et de Saraha*, has just been published from Paris (December 1928).

afford other and larger masses of material of utmost importance. From the very nature of Pali as an *Umgangssprache* with a vocabulary which is partly a mosaic—although in its grammar it is based on an old Midland dialect, an early form of Sauraseni; from the constant intermingling of forms from diverse dialects in the Prakrit inscriptions; and from the artificial character of the later Prakrit dialects in the drama and in learned literature, it is exceedingly difficult to find out the lines of isogloss in Ancient India. The Asoka inscriptions fortunately supply us with some positive information; but the first millennium after Christ, practically the entire Prakrit period, is a great disappointment. It seems that our knowledge of the distribution of the Middle Indo-Aryan dialects and of their characteristics will ultimately be solved from the study of the modern languages themselves; and in this way alone shall we be able to arrive at sure results.

For Middle Indo-Aryan, Buddhist Sanskrit is an important field of study. Not much attention has hitherto been paid to this in India. My pupil and colleague Mr. Sukumar Sen has published a promising study of the Syntax of Buddhist Sanskrit (in the Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, Vol. XVII), as part of a projected work on the Historical Syntax of Indo-Aryan.

Old Indo-Aryan, fortunately for Indian Linguistics, has received the best and most careful treatment in Europe, Old Indo-Aryan and the question of Indo-European being closely connected. I shall only mention in this field the work of H. Oertel on the Syntax of the Noun in the language of the Brahmanas (in course of publication, Heidelberg, 1926), a subject in which Mr. Sukumar Sen of the University of Calcutta is also working (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1926, and Journal of the Bhandarkar Research Institute of Poona, 1927, 1928). An Etymological Dictionary of Sanskrit is being waited for eagerly. The promised second edition of Uhlenbeck is long in coming. Not only the Indo-European but also the non-Aryan element in Sanskrit should receive adequate treatment in it, with the materials that have so far accumulated.

Non-Aryan loan-words in Sanskrit (and in other Indo-Aryan) form a sort of liaison channel between Aryan Linguistics on the one hand and Dravidian and Austric Linguistics on the other. The work of Caldwell, Gundert, Kittel and K. Amrita Row (Indian Antiquary, 1927) have broken the ground for Dravidian. The researches of Jean Przyluski in the *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique* of Paris and in the *Journal Asiatique*, and the very suggestive paper of Sylvain Lévi in the *Journal Asiatique* on Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India (papers which along with an article by Jules Bloch on *Sanskrit and Dravidian* have been translated into English by my friend Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi and will be published shortly from the Calcutta University Press), have opened up a new field of enquiry, namely, the influence of the ancient Indian dialects (of the type of the Kol speeches or the Mon-Khmer ones) belonging to the Austro-Asiatic branch of the Austric family upon Indo-Aryan. The question of Indo-Aryan borrowings from Austric presents a new horizon in the study of the origin and development of Indian Hindu Culture—viz., with reference to the Austric (Mon-Khmer or Kol) substratum in it. It is getting to be more and more convincing that the bases of our Hindu, i.e. post-Vedic culture are largely Dravidian and Austric—possibly mainly Austric in the Ganges Valley and the East, and Dravidian in the West and South—and that the Aryan elements were impositions from the top only. A great deal of our material culture, our customs and usages, as well as our religious notions and practices and our myths and legends, such as we find established in a characteristic Hindu world as opposed to the largely Indo-European *milieu* of the Rigveda, are in their origin non-Aryan—Austric, and Dravidian. The Aryan has imposed his language, and his organisation and his mentality to some extent; and his world of religious notions has had to make a compromise with the world of the pre-Aryan gods. This line of research has come in with Linguistics,—with an enquiry into the origin of a group of words in Sanskrit which cannot be satisfactorily explained with the help of Aryan roots, and which have affinities among the non-Aryan languages of India, Indo-China and Indonesia

rather than with the Indo-European speeches outside India. We cannot as yet definitely say where this line of research will lead us. But it is fraught with immense new possibilities, although its outlook and its insistence on the non-Aryan aspect of the question might shock our pro-Aryan susceptibilities.

For this line of research to be firmly based, Dravidian and Comparative Kol and Mon-Khmer Studies will have to make a real progress. The apparently early break-up of a Primitive Dravidian and the very late date of the oldest Dravidian documents make the problem one of extreme difficulty. Some isolated papers on Dravidian Linguistics which can be mentioned after Caldwell's Comparative Grammar and Graul and Vinson's Tamil Grammars, as well as Gundert's Malayalam Grammar and Kittel's Kannada Grammar, are more speculative than anything else. Jules Bloch's suggestion that the Primitive Dravidian speech might really have been a language with consonant groups initially, with words of the type of **Dramila* (as in Old Indo-Aryan), and not a language with an attenuated phonetic system as in Old Tamil, goes to the root of the question, and makes some recent attempts at finding out the phonetic development of Dravidian nugatory. Moreover, the existing Modern Dravidian speeches have not been described and analysed in detail.

Among recent endeavours, a very important one is the *Tamil Lexicon* now in progress from Madras University. A good grammar of a Dravidian speech has come out this year, that of Kui by the Rev. W. W. Winfield, from the Asiatic Society of Bengal. What we want is a series of rigorously scientific grammars of all the important Dravidian languages, complete in their phonetic analysis of the speech and in their inclusion of the Phonology, Morphology and Syntax of the colloquial dialects, with all interesting details. A series of historical and comparative grammars of Tamil, Telugu and Kannada, without theorising, but only juxtaposing the oldest and the subsequent forms as found in the actual old records of the language and as actually spoken, with analogous forms from the other Dravidian speeches, would be ideal. There is no lack of good models in European languages to guide us, *e.g.*,

the historical and comparative grammars of Joseph Wright as published by the Oxford University Press, to mention works on a small scale only; the old literatures are there, with large portions of them already in print; and the necessary thing to do will be only to obtain the materials illustrating the modern spoken language, and to correlate the whole. Will not competent Dravidian-speaking scholars be coming forward, and by demonstrating their love for their mother-tongue in this way, win also the gratitude of students of Linguistics outside?

For the Kol speeches, the Rev. P. O. Bodding of the Scandinavian Mission to the Santals, over thirty years a resident among the Santal people, has been doing work of paramount importance. His *Materials for a Santali Grammar* (Part I, Dumka, 1922) gives the most detailed description of the phonetics and phonology of Santali; and recently under the auspices of the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture at Oslo, he has been publishing a large mass of Santal folklore (the Santali text with English translation opposite) the value of which is inestimable. For this enterprise Mr. Bodding, and the scientific world of Oslo responsible for it, deserve the most grateful thanks of all Indologists as well as linguistic students and ethnologists. The cyclopædia of Mundari life inaugurated by Father Hoffmann, when published, will be another valuable mass of materials on an important Kol people and its culture.

In Mon-Khmer linguistics, the admirable editing of the old Mon inscriptions of Burma by Prof. Duroiselle and Dr. C. E. Blagden is laying by a good stock of materials. Thanks to the labours of the French Scholars, the oldest monuments of Mon-Khmer, in the Khmer and Mon inscriptions of Cambodia and Siam, are available for linguistic use. More grammars like G. Maspero's *Khmer Grammar* (1915) and Mrs. Leslie Milne's *Palaung Grammar* (1921) are wanted; and we are waiting for the further working out of this branch of Austro studies, especially in relation to Kol, by some one among the few scholars working in this field, like Pater Schmidt, Blagden, Przyluski and Maspero.

The Tibeto-Chinese speeches have not received any serious attention from the linguistic point of view. It should be our endeavour when the opportunity is favourable to take up this study. Here of course one must make a final choice, if one is to do work of any value. But if Tibetan, although of a mechanical kind, and no real language, has been quite easily combined with Sanskrit for the study of Buddhist texts (beginning with Sarat Chandra Das in India), the study of Tibeto-Chinese dialects like Newari and Bodo, even if for estimating their influence on Modern Indo-Aryan, *e.g.* Khas-kura, Bengali, Assamese, should not be outside the scope of practicability. Some of the problems of Tibeto-Chinese linguistics have a fascination hardly inferior to that of Indo-European—*e.g.* the reconstruction of the pronunciation of Old Chinese, and the working out of the comparative phonology of Tibetan, Burmese, Tai, and Chinese.

In the above attempt to place before my readers the actual situation in linguistic studies and investigation in India, I fear, I have been somewhat long: but considering the scope and extent of the subject, I have been hoping that the reader will be indulgent.

[*From the Presidential Address at the Philology Section of the All-India Oriental Conference, Lahore, 1928.*]

MESSAGE OF FAREWELL TO CANADA.*

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

The organizers of these meetings have surely showed courage in inviting me from a far off eastern shore to a conference on Education where the varied experiences of the West are to bring their harvest together. I believe that my hosts did not expect any practical help from me but only a stimulation in the shape of a surprise, a shock of a contrast. In this feast you had your food materials supplied by your co-workers in the hemisphere described as the New World, but evidently you wanted some wine of an exotic flavour from a vintage which is old. And you asked me to talk to you of a sunburnt leisure which perhaps has a special tropical tinge and a signature upon it of slow languid hours. I spoke to you in praise of leisure, and expressed my fear for the extortionate greed of man which wears out the thin soil of a crowded time into a famine of fruit. You listened to me with an endurance which is the sign of an indulgent hospitality. But already I seem to overhear the whisper that the leisure which I extolled might be good for the introspective life of a serene simplicity, but not adapted to the tumultuous flood of experience in the West that is constantly breaking its bounds and forming temporary banks to be washed away the next moment. But I must utter my protest that though truth may have its different idioms in different mouths its meaning is the same, and the East under its own special features of physiognomy carries on the same life's functions which are common to the Western humanity.

I have also been asked to let you know what I consider to be the basic principle of literature as an art. I hope you never expected from me some definition of it which was exclusively Eastern, interesting to the West as a matter for casual curiosity and not for permanent use. I spoke to you from my own immediate experience as a poet and not as one representing

*Farewell Address to the Fourth Triennial Conference of the National Council of Education of Canada, Vancouver, 14th April, 1929.

some special creation of history, segregated by pedantry and prejudice into an artificial classification. A great part of his time and energy man uses as his capital for his commerce of life. This is employed for things that are useful, and for the purpose that is necessary. But unlike the animal he has his surplus of time and energy which seeks its wealth in things that have for him their independent value of reality, in other words beauty, greatness, character; it seeks its fulfilment in the freedom to reveal the man himself. Self-preservation is the necessity of the animal life, self-revelation is the privilege of the human spirit. Man labours in a closely fenced field of time; he creates in an unbounded atmosphere of leisure. Art represents man's personal world of reality in which he is revealed to himself in his own light, the light that has its numerous rays of emotion, visible and invisible. This is what I said to you as the meaning of the arts. I am sure the meaning is the same in the East as well as in the West. And the human meteorology of literature in its play of the sun and the shower is not walled up in compartments in different latitudes of the sky—it has only one division, the division between the good and the bad and not that between the East and the West.

The time has come for me to take my leave from my kind friends whose hospitality I have gratefully accepted and enjoyed. I have often been requested to tell you before we parted what I think of Canada.

So long Canada has remained to me a geographical fact and not anything representing a national personality with a full revelation of her life. I am afraid my present visit to these shores will hardly help me in verifying my school-book knowledge into a deeper realisation. For to-day the epic age of travelling has passed away. We have deteriorated into mere tourists who do not have to pay in trouble for a living knowledge that can never be acquired cheap. Our tours are arranged on a smooth path of luxury and comfort by which it has been made easy and usual to see without knowing, to pass days in a strange country without living there the life which only she can offer. Such facile intrusion of superficial curiosity has

become a positive menace to those whose acquaintance is made in a hurry; from whose pockets fragments of facts are picked up to be sold in a market that pays for sensationalism and cares not for truth. It is worse than influenza that crosses the sea and seeks far from its land of origin victims who are unconscious of its uncalled for malignity. The best and most honest course for a quickly vanishing visitor is to remain silent in spite of the temptation to turn out smart and lucrative misrepresentation, all the more easy to produce because of an imperfect knowledge, unconscientious cleverness and sympathy undeveloped.

However, I may indulge in a generality and say with conviction that Canada being a young country is full of possibilities that are incalculable. She has neither exhausted her material resources nor those of her mind and character. She has not yet produced in her psychology the self-toxin of fatigue that old civilizations suffer from in the shape of cynicism and spiritual insensitiveness. Her creative youth is still before her, and the faith needed for building up a new world is still fresh and strong. Any mistrust of truth never has its reason in the scheme of things itself. It only comes with a flagging of energy when we do not have the full vigour of love to illuminate for us the immensity of truth that cannot be proved but only felt. Our intellect becomes pathologically critical when our sympathy grows paralytic and truth's direct touch brings no message to us. Canada is too young to fall a victim to the malady of disillusionment and scepticism, and she must believe in great ideals in the face of contradiction—for she has the great gift of youth, she has the direct consciousness of the stir of growth within, which should make her trust her own self which is the only sure way of trusting the world. Let her feel in the sacred dawn of her life that the expectation of the human destiny is upon her as upon other young sister countries of hers, which have just entered into the cycle of their promise. She will have to solve, for the salvation of man, the most difficult of all problems, the race problem, which has become insistent with the close contact of communities that had their isolation for centuries in their geographical and cultural

exclusiveness. They will have to reconcile the efficiency of the machine with the creative genius of man which must build its paradise of self-expression; reconcile science with religion; individual right with the social obligation. She must dream of the introduction of honesty even in politics which is the self-interest of the nation, knowing that such interest can only have its sure foundation in truth, justice, and sympathy in international relationships. She must ever hope to be able to win the heart of the world not by material force or cunning diplomacy but by offering the best that she produces—even like what occurred in the golden age of India when her messengers reached far distant alien lands, carrying the gifts of love and wisdom, the message of emancipation, acknowledging common human fellowship at the risk of danger and death.

ISLAMIC STUDIES.

By JULIUS GERMANUS.

Among the historic phenomena which have not only deeply influenced but decidedly changed the flow of events in the world, the appearance and spread of Islam takes a most prominent part.

The attention of the philosopher may become engaged by phenomena which in their stagnant aspect exhibit a structure or significance of rare beauty or intellectual value, but the historian is attracted by the dynamic movement of the course of events, by the evolution which transforms seemingly insignificant beginnings into mighty consequences. The philologist regards phenomena as they appear under constant conditions and applies his canons of criticism according to standardized rules; the historian views phenomena in motion and attempts to evaluate their evolutionary significance. The philologist's interest and criticisms are circumscribed by rules having a kind of absolute validity, the historian's view is preeminently relative, for his interest is not solely in what things are in their philosophic or aesthetic nature, abstracted from developmental causes, but in those conditions which proved effective in transforming a given complex of things into a different one. The historian is therefore unable to apply fixed rules of abstract ethics, and he must not be influenced by the prevalent standards of values of his own time or civilization. His duty is to point out the origins and the causes, and the circumstances which have determined the actual course of events. He must *state the facts* and explain as Rank put it "how it happened." The historical method must therefore exclude all kinds of bias, philosophical, theological or ethical. It will use the accumulated knowledge of all branches of learning for the purpose of displaying the mighty movement of human civilization towards an as yet unknown goal, advancing, stumbling, retreating and advancing again. The historian has no need of controverting in a partisan spirit the conclusions reached by the theologians and the philo-

sophers, or challenging the activities of the politicians and the patriots. To him all aspirations and motives serve as the raw material of which history is made and as forces which mould the events in their evolution. It is not his business to pass ethical judgments on the conduct of peoples, or demolish the logical contradictions inherent in the tenets of the religion of any sect; he must study all these as—facts, as the outcome of human nature under actual conditions and circumstances of *being*. He will use his comparative method to observe that similar physical conditions may lead to similar social phenomena, and also that the factors of history, in their rich manifoldness may effect greater or lesser changes according to the peculiar circumstances of time, geographical surroundings, racial nature, and human or accidental occurrences.

From this historical point of view the preaching of Mohamed and the consequent spread of Islam is one of the mightiest factors in the history of humanity. It furnishes a brilliant illustration of historic evolution, how a small germ grows into a forest of living culture changing the entire society and civilization of the surrounding territories.

Arabia had been a country of mystery from time immemorial; every great conqueror had his eye on Arabia for an expedition to its fruitful plateaus or its goblin-haunted deserts. For a long time this vast territory, which sheltered a scanty, tribal population always engaged in bloody internecine feuds, had however no positive contribution to make to the history of culture. Its superfluous population moved northwards and colonised ancient Babylon, where under different physical conditions a different type of culture developed and flourished. The culture of Western Asia almost certainly had its beginnings in Semitic sources, and traces of cultural affinity with Arabia persisted for a long time, but its general trend was altogether different, and in its progress deviated completely from the limited desert life of Arabia.

It was undoubtedly the prophecy of Mohamed, which gave the first impetus to the Arabs and initiated the development of their culture. The history of Mohamed is a striking example of the thesis which maintains that the life of great men supplies

the real motive power of cultural evolution. We, being far from the onesidedness of this view, simply point out that without the revelations of Mohamed, the evolution of Arabian civilization would certainly have been retarded till an unfathomable future. The history of Mohamed clearly shows us how a great personality forms an integral part of the existing social conditions, and how the same great personality would have played an entirely different part in another geographical and social environment. It shows how history grows, moulded by its own course and by the evolutionary effects of time, and how historic layers coagulate into new and newer strata. Mohamed's life and the later history of Islam is a splendid example of historic syncretism, which fortunately can be traced from trustworthy sources not available in the history of other religious movements.

Mohamed's activities in the beginning were directed against idolatry, the Kaba and its plurality of gods. His motto: *la ilaha illa'llaha* must correctly be translated as: "there are no gods, but the One Real God." Since then monotheism has remained the ever unchanging fundamental principle of Islam, but when Mohamed emigrated to Medina and his social environment altered, his attitude towards the Koraishtes also underwent a change. He added to his activities as a preacher those of a champion of a new faith who wished to conquer his native town and to humble his haughty opponents. He realized the attractive force of the Kaba. He found that the oldest edifice on earth was exercising too great an influence on the Arab mind, and he, a shrewd observer of historic forces, succeeded in finding new channels of expression for the allegiance of his followers to the sacred black stone. He incorporated into his religion the pagan rites of *tawaf* and *hadj* but in conformity with his monotheistic ideas. Syncretism of rituals and customs by dint of political or social necessity has characterized Islamic history from its very beginnings. Mohamed made a selection of all the elements he found suitable in Christianity and Mosaism, especially in those forms of these religions which were found in Arabia, and passed them through the filter of his own personality.

The conquests of Islam put it into a situation for which it was unprepared. Prayer resulted in a discipline, unknown to the pagan Arabs, and the tribes who used to squander their energy against one another now directed their massed offensive against their neighbouring states and overpowered them without difficulty. Territories rich in corn and in treasures of culture fell an easy prey to the Arabs of the desert. But the Koran soon proved insufficient for the administration of a great empire. Here historic events were the forces which worked for the further syncretism of Islam with local factors. Greeks and Persians were employed as administrators, and Roman law supplied the first impulse to a scientific rendering of *shariat*.

Islam conquered vast territories and peoples, but in its victorious march it did not disdain the much nobler conquest of culture, amalgamating all mental treasures which it found suitable and which it incorporated without hesitation into its own and social political structure. Necessity and also self-control dictated by the Koran prevented forcible conversions on a large scale; the constant allegation flung at Islam in this connexion is contrary to historical facts. The appropriation of land and a wholesale conversion of the defeated peoples would have been a financial catastrophe to the Islamic State and Omar's foresight and toleration averted this great evil.

The conquests brought new ideas and new sources of mental development, but they also led to partisan strifes arising from family jealousies. The separation between the *sunnis* and the followers of Ali (*shias*) was due to human factors, alive in every breast, which were fomented into a political strife by an accidental factor as well. The idea of proximity of the ruler to the Godhead, so dear to the Persian mind, started to play an important role at this stage and never subsided altogether in the future course of events. Persia contributed most of the writers and thinkers of Islam, and they brought with them their own peculiar attitude of mind which continually cropped up in successive ages in renewed forms through fresh layers of culture.

The rule of the Omayyads was characteristically Arab, and the ideals of state and society were more akin to those of the

Bedouins than to the pious scholars of Medina. But the progress of the culture started by Mohamed was not checked; the interest for pagan ideals was spiritualised and made a vehicle for further cultural evolution. The pre-Mohamedan poetry which had lived up to then in the "breasts of men" only, was collected, sifted, carefully arranged and written down. This gave rise to philological researches and elevated the Arabic language to that paramount position from which it has influenced every other Mohamedan language with its inexhaustible vocabulary. The haughtiness and self-admiration of the Arab race which rang out from the literary products of this period and revealed itself in their forms of government, soon found its reaction in the self-consciousness of the Persians, who could boast of an old and high culture, and who were the real spiritual leaders of Islam, and the conflict found expression in a literary form in the *shu'unibite* movement. The political victory of the alien races who based their claims on piety as against descent was secured after a strenuous period of agitation by the battle of Zab.

The political power of the Abbassides was firmly established by the Persians and other races who avowed the universality of Islam. The spirit of toleration and freedom led to a cultural advance unparalleled in the history of Islam. The work of translation was vigorously taken in hand, and all the treasures of the ancient world were rendered into Arabic, which by this very activity attained a flexibility second to no other classical language. Up till then Islam had remained a conquering power which enriched itself from the material and spiritual treasures of other peoples. Henceforward it became a great channel for the transmission of knowledge and the advancement of learning. It preserved the culture of the Greeks, it gathered and absorbed the folklore and literature of India and the science of China, and transmitted all these treasures to the West which slowly absorbed during succeeding centuries the illumination which had already been kindled in the East. The "Arabic" numerals, and hundreds of Arabic words enriching the vocabularies of European languages indicate the superior culture of Islam in algebra, medicine, chemistry, astronomy, physics, and military arts. In its period

of growth the culture of Islam remained eclectic, its course was guided by its liberal spirit which accepted knowledge from every source, and which gladly profited by all suitable influences.

Although the Arab race lost its lead in the Mohamedan world, the Arabic language, the chosen language of the Koran, never ceased to exert its magic influence on Islamic history. Arabic has remained the universal language of learning in every part of the Islamic world, and while Persian with its beauty and elegance has continued to be the medium of wonderful poetic productions, it had to yield to an immense influx of Arabic roots.

The Turks of Central Asia, Ghaznevides, Seldjuks and others, who are known to history by the names of their leaders, adopted the Muslim creed and the Persian-Arabic form of Mohamadan culture. The ambition of the Turk is centred round an imperialistic institution with an autocratic soldier at its head who knows how to command and enforce obedience. As to mental culture they showed a deep humility to their spiritual masters, while they tolerated no political power to contradict them. It was this attitude of the Turks that brought about a succession of unparalleled and limitless empires governed by a comparatively small number of sturdy, manly Turks, in which a flourishing non-Turkish muslim culture was imposed on many millions. Merciless on the battle-field and yet humble in the abode of the learned, was the character of the Turks, Ghaznevide, Seldjuk, or Ottoman alike. Firdousi dedicated his *Shahname*, in which he eulogised the glorious deeds of the Iranians achieved against their Turanian foes, to Mahmud, son of Sebuktegin, the Turk, who proudly accepted the dedication. The Seldjuk sultans of Konia decorated the walls of their palaces with the inscriptions of the *Shahname*, so unpretentious were the Turks in the sphere of literature. They encouraged with their patronage the creation of a literature in which hardly any vestige of their own language remained, for all the works were penned in the Persian language. The Byzantine chronicles in fact describe them as "Persians", as their literary language was Persian.

Their successors, the Ottoman Turks, also adopted Islam and added to it, again through the richly variegated Persian form, the manifold influences of the Byzantines, in dress, architecture and social customs. The work of syncretic growth invariably characterized the spread of Islam in every direction.

The invaders of Hindustan were Turks, with all the characteristic features of their race. The culture which they had originally brought to the country was Persian, but in conformity with their own nature they soon imbibed the spirit of India and transformed it into an altogether new and magnificent form.

It will be seen from the above that Islam does not in any way imply a uniform culture which shut out all foreign influences. On the contrary it resembles a magnificent river, fed by innumerable tributaries, which fertilizes the land through which it passes and conveys the cereals and the rich merchandize from one country to another along the shores washed by it. Geographical and historic influences have removed it from the environment from which it sprang, and have broadened it in many directions. But throughout the clash of all these forces the human will did not cease to act and maintain its essential equilibrium preventing the overflow into undesirable channels. Let us not forget the human factor which by the play of conscience and the love of traditions fondly clings to the memories of the past and guards against a sudden throwback or breach in the natural course of evolution.

Besides these positive achievements, Islam has had profound negative influences as well, which are not less important from a historic point of view. The early conquests were directed against the powerful states of the seventh century, and after the fall of the Sassanian empire, the Byzantines remained the only formidable foes. After a wonderfully rapid success in the beginning, the advance came to a halt in the East, and the Muslims sought to gain mastery of the world which in the sense of the middle ages was the "basin of the Mediterranean." By a long circuit along the African coast, across the Spanish peninsula they strove to find their way to Central Europe and from there take the course of the Danube eastward to Constan-

tinople. The blows which Charles "the hammerer" delivered to them frustrated their design, which if successful would have led—as Gibbon surmises—to the chanting of the Koran in the British isles to-day. The advance of Islam was stopped on the field of Tours, but the danger continued unabated, and the constant threat of the Crescent led to the strengthening of Papal power and the consolidation of its supremacy over temporal princes and the organization of Europe under the aegis of the Pope. The fruits of this Christian organisation were the Crusades which in spite of all the hardship and the accompanying evils and grave strategical blunders, proved a beneficent influence in the history of European culture. The curtain of darkness which covered Europe during the middle ages was first torn asunder by the illumination brought home by the returning Crusaders with their tales of wonder, chivalry and observation of distant climes and religions.

Herodotus had remarked long ago that an eternal struggle was going on between the East and the West. This conflict, like the clashing of waves has however served throughout the ages as a potent factor in historic evolution by bringing into play the forces of both offensive and defensive on either side. While the Christian world in the West was obliged to organise its state-powers in the defence of its creed against the onslaught of Islam during the middle ages, Islam in its turn became organised in the East under the pressure of the Crusades, and when the Moors of Spain had to yield to the self-conscious advance of the Christians, the territory lost was soon more than compensated for by the gain which the Ottoman Turks achieved in the South-East of Europe and by the Baberides in India.

In the first quarter of the 16th century Islam with its splendid military organisation made a serious bid for world sovereignty at a time when the Christian states were engaged in a fratricidal strife in which the devout Catholic monarch Francis I of France was actively supported by the Caliph. The year 1526 witnessed the battle of Mohacs in which Hungary was lost to the Crescent, and the inroad of Baber to India, while 1527 is memorable for the *sacco di Roma* as a result of the un placable enmity between the House of Bourbon and the

Catholic Habsburgs. A few years later the whole of Europe lay in the throes of the wars of the Reformation, and no Christian army could be mustered equal to the regulars of the janissaries. Islam was already pressing on Vienna, the central stronghold of European culture, when the danger itself awakened resistance and through military valour tactical superiority was gained over the Turks which averted the over-running of Europe by the Mahomedans. The grip of the Turks on South-East Europe was not however relaxed.

The long rule of Moslems over this part of the continent left its indelible traces in the social structure of the country. The prolonged state of subjection necessitated and perpetuated the latifundia with a feudal aristocracy, and retarded the liberation of the serfs and the free development of an indigenous middle-class. It weakened the once compact masses of Bulgarians, Serbians and Magyars, and broke up the once uniform population of these countries into numerous nationalities which in the beginning of the 19th century, at the awakening of nationalism in the West of Europe, began to clamour loudly for independent sovereignty and thus ultimately led to the dismemberment of the Austrian empire producing a condition of instability and chaos in the Balkan peninsula.

The history of Islam is inseparably interwoven with the fate of the world. The leading motives in the history of European politics and culture cannot be properly understood without a minute study of Islamic history, while Islam still continues to be a dominant force in Asia and Africa. Such a study must cover a period of fourteen centuries, and range over a territory larger than any empire in existence. It has numerous sub-divisions, and it includes the study of linguistics, philology, history, sociology and politics. It is inconceivable that the whole field could be surveyed by a single worker, or even a single group of workers. A whole class of scholars, working on a co-ordinated plan, must unite to achieve a task so great.

The material dispersed through the medium of a dozen of languages has grown so big that the organization of a library on scientific principles will itself be a great step forward in the

promotion of Islamic studies. Through the generosity of H. H. the Nizam-ul-Mulk of Hyderabad it has become possible to establish a chair for Islamic Studies at Santiniketan, where, under the beautiful Sal-trees, a new foundation for the synthesis of world culture is being firmly laid under the guiding influence of Rabindranath Tagore. And we now appeal to all who have the cause of Islamic studies at heart for books and manuscripts, and also for further benefactions for the maintenance of advanced students and research workers. We have every confidence that our appeal will not be in vain, and that it will be possible to create at Santiniketan, "the Abode of Peace", a living centre for the study of the history and culture of Islam—"the Religion of Peace."

MODERN EDUCATION IN AFGHANISTAN UNDER KING AMANULLAH.

By F. BENOIT, ex-lecturer at the Kabul College.

Whatever political mistakes Amanullah may have committed in the course of his ten years' reign, and in spite of the somewhat inopportune and hasty way in which he tried to reform the social habits of the Afghans, it must be recognised that he has been the first enlightened Afghan king in modern times. The reforms inaugurated by him are bound to have far-reaching effects, and in spite of temporary set-backs, will ultimately raise the standard of education in his country.

There were of course already many schools of the old type in the towns and villages; there was even a secondary school at Kabul. But there was no institution good or large enough to train technical experts and create an educated class of leaders able to raise the intellectual level of the masses.

Born in 1891, Amanullah-Khan himself had been educated by private teachers, Afghans mostly, in the palace of his father, Habibullah. At the age of 17 he joined the military school of Kabul and studied there for three years. Though there was at that time no probability of his ever becoming the King of the Afghans, he is said to have attracted notice of all his teachers by his intellectual powers and broadmindedness as well as by his enlightened patriotism. In 1912 he married the daughter of a very cultivated and liberal-minded Afghan nobleman, Mahmud Tarzi, the editor of a Kabul journal, the *Seraj-el-Akbar*. Mahmud was an experienced man of the world, had travelled much and lived in several Muslim and non-Muslim countries; he must have exercised a great influence over the mind of Amanullah, who at that time had not gone out of his native country, and was eager to know about the rest of the world.

In the year 1919 Amanullah, whom his father had several times entrusted with the Regency of the Kingdom during the latter's expeditions to distant provinces, became King and

succeeded in making himself recognised as such by his neighbours and the leading Western countries. He had realized very early in his career that educational progress was as much a necessity for his country as national independence and material prosperity, and that the latter could hardly be acquired and preserved without the former being duly attended to. As soon as the independence of Afghanistan had been recognised by the neighbouring powers, treaties and alliances secured with several of them, and diplomatic representatives exchanged with the leading European countries, Amanullah turned his attention to the reform of the Afghan educational system.

The first thing he did, was to send a large number of young Afghans to Western countries for training, and he asked two of the countries with which he had just established diplomatic relations, namely France and Germany, to send educational missions to Kabul to found schools and run them on modern lines. His object was by no means to westernize his subjects, but on the contrary, gradually to replace the foreign technical experts by Afghan ones. He realized that for a time they would have to be trained in the West. He found that a good deal of time was being wasted by the Afghan students in learning the European languages, and in getting the preliminary training before they could profitably join the Universities and the higher technical institutions. It occurred to him that it would be more expedient and economical to get a large number of Afghan boys educated at Kabul in European schools created specially for this purpose, and then arrange to send only the best candidates to Europe for advanced studies in the Universities and Technical Institutes, where they would be able to finish these studies comfortably in three or four years. In this way Amanullah hoped to be able to achieve a rapid progress of education in his country.

Before I proceed to describe the French and the German schools of Kabul, it would be better, I think, to enumerate the indigenous institutions which existed prior to Amanullah's educational reforms. They were :

(1) The Primary Schools (*Maktab*) where religion, Persian writing and reading, and some arithmetic were taught.

(2) *The Religious Schools (Medresseh)* where *mullahs* and *wakfs* (administrators of religious endowments) were trained.

(3) The Secondary School, lower division (*Maktab e Habibieh*, named from Habibullah) for imparting general culture to boys of the age of 10 to 15.

(4) The Secondary School, upper division (*Maktab e Rushidieh*) for boys of the age of 15 to 18. The subjects taught in these Secondary Schools were religion, Persian language, one second language which could be Arabic, Pushtoo, Turkish, Urdu or English; geography and history, both national and foreign; mathematics and elementary science. Several of the teachers, even in the times of Habibullah, were Indians, generally Punjabi Muslims.

The following institutions were founded by Amanullah himself.

(5) The School of Administration, (*Maktab e Hukam*), for training district administrators and other officers.

(6) The Teachers' Training School, (*Dar ul Mu'allimin*).

(7) The School of Languages, (*Maktab e Lisan*) to train interpreters, consulary and diplomatic agents. The languages taught, generally by natives, were French, English, Turkish and Russian.

(8) The College or High School (*Maktab e Edadieh*) sometimes pompously termed the University by the Afghans. The students were young men of 19 to 22, about 30 in number. The subjects taught were: Religion, Arabic, Persian, English (9 hours a week) Mathematics (9 hours), Physics, Chemistry, General Geography and History. It was inaugurated in 1927.

(9) The Carpentry School, (*Maktab e Nazarha*).

(10) The School of Telegraphy (*Maktab e Telegraf*).

(11) The School of Agriculture (*Maktab e Zera'et*).

(12) The Girls' School (*Maktab e Masturat*=school of the veiled ones).

The School of Agriculture managed and staffed by French specialists, was not originally meant to train agriculturists, but merely to initiate a small number of peasant boys, sent from various provinces, into more scientific methods of tilling and irrigation. The girls' school was attended by some 400

females of all ranks and various ages, from the wives and daughters of the government clerks—who were compelled to send their womenfolk to school—to the girls of the Royal family including the daughters and nieces of the King himself. The writer had for a couple of years the privilege to give daily lessons to three of the young royal princesses in this school.

The French Educational Mission composed of four experts arrived in Kabul at the end of 1923. An agreement had been made between the French and Afghan governments, the terms of which were that the mission would organize and run a school in which a large number of Afghan boys would be trained by a joint French and Afghan staff in all the subjects up to the standard required by the French *Baccalaureat* degree within a certain number of years. The final examination would be held in Kabul by a Commission sent from Paris for the purpose, and the successful candidates would be qualified for entering without any further examination any French University or other High School. The whole course of studies was to cover twelve years, and the boys were to enter the lowest form at the age of 8. But in order that a first batch of students might be sent abroad after 5 years only, the best students of the age of 12 to 14 were selected from among the existing schools, and were placed at once in the 5th and 6th classes, while younger boys were put in the lower forms.

The head of the mission was Mons. Lucien Tenébre of Paris, an experienced educationist who had lived in Persia and knew the Persian language. His colleagues were distinguished teachers, selected by the French Ministry of Public Instruction with the approval of the Afghan Minister in Paris in conformity with the above mentioned *Educational Agreement*. Their first task was imparting to the young Afghan students a working knowledge of the French language, for this was to be the vehicular language in the six upper classes of the school. French literature, General History and Geography, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Geology, Botany, Zoology and Hygiene were taught through the medium of the French language. Arabic, Persian, Afghan History and Geography, and Religion were taught in Persian by Afghan teachers; but

the so-called foreign subjects occupied more than two-thirds of the week's curriculum.

A large set of buildings were supplied by the Kabul Municipality, and these premises were extended in the years that followed as the need for more space was felt. The students wore a uniform of European cut, and a cap of a somewhat military fashion; were they not Amanullah's soldiers for his crusade against ignorance and superstition? The school was called *Maktab e Amaniye* from the monarch's name. Not only uniforms, but also school materials and books, including of course French handbooks, atlases, dictionaries, etc., were provided for the boys by the Afghan Ministry of Education. Examinations were held every three months by the school authorities, and yearly by the Ministry of Education, with the help of juries formed partly from the members of the staffs of the two foreign and a few indigenous schools, and partly from Afghan personalities qualified by their education and experience. The discipline was also of a military character; when a teacher entered a class room, all the boys would stand up at their captains's call, greet him by words and gesture, and keep standing until given permission to sit. The habits the foreign teachers found most difficult to inculcate at the beginning were punctuality and regular attendance. In cases of grave insubordination bodily punishment such as whipping or beating with a cudgel could be resorted to. These were of course rare emergencies; but the chastisement could be inflicted equally on the Sardar's son as well as on the shop-keeper's, and the sturdy Afghan youths would bear it with perfect serenity.

The foreign headmaster of the school was responsible for the whole of the management, direction of the studies, framing or modifying of the programmes; he also played a prominent part in the discussion of the budget, and in all questions of appointments and dismissals of the staff members. The Ministry of Education very seldom interfered in matters of internal management.

All I have said of the French school, its foundation and its activities, apply with a few minor differences of detail to the German School, *Maktab e Amani*, started nine months

later by Dr. Yven, a well experienced German educationist, who like Mons T'enébre had lived for years in Persia and knew the language.

When Mons. T'enébre resigned his post in 1927, the French School had 540 students. His successor Mons. Boinet revised the programmes in accordance with the latest requirements of the French Universities, and enlarged the staff up to seven French teachers, most of whom were M.A.'s or B.Sc.'s (or rather their French equivalents). By the end of 1928 the students of the 9th and 10th classes had acquired a good knowledge of French; they could speak it fluently and write it correctly, for, as was said before, French was in the six upper classes the medium of teaching in every subject except Arabic, Persian, Afghan History and Religion. Had two years more been granted to us, a party of 30 or 40 graduates could have been sent to France and Germany every year, and Afghanistan would have been supplied thenceforward with a growing number of young men fully equipped in technical knowledge and able to serve their country in every capacity.

On the 20th of January, 1929, the robber-chief Bacha e Saqao, who had captured the Afghan capital, announced in his proclamation, that all the schools except the Medressehs were abolished. As a proof that king Amanullah was a confirmed kafir and traitor to Islam, it was proclaimed that he had, "founded boys' and girls' schools where writing from left to right was taught as well as foreign arithmetic, the names of kings who had ruled in non-Muslim countries, (history was meant) the names of towns and rivers outside Afghanistan (*i.e.*, geography) and many other kinds of infidel knowledge."

In his first attack on Kabul (14th December, 1928) he had held for a couple of days the premises of the School Habibieh, formerly a residence of Habibullah at the northern entrance of the town. The weather was pretty cold, so his men disposed of all available desks and black boards as fire-wood. The books printed in foreign languages and all books and writings containing illustrations were torn and burnt. All the bottles and phials of the laboratory were declared to contain whiskey and were smashed to powder. The maps, diagrams, apparatus and

an old skeleton were also demolished as impious and diabolic contrivances. Many of the resident boys, who had not been able to escape, watched the proceedings, and it is probable that the sight was one of the best object lessons they had ever received. It is doubtful whether Bacha e Saquo was really so pious and scrupulous towards certain injunctions of the Islamic religion as he seemed to be; but he was supported by the whole clergy of Kabul and probably acted from considerations of diplomacy as well as faith. When he took the capital for good, one month later, his troops were accommodated in the different schools. The library of the French School was looted, the cupboards were broken open and the books were either destroyed or sold to any passer-by. Many of the older students of the School, who had heard of the occurrence, at once came, clad no longer in their uniforms but in the orthodox Afghan way, and bought for a few pice piece big dictionaries or atlases that were offered to them by the soldiers.

In this lamentable way ended the efforts of five years during which the enlightened king had left no stone unturned to give his people the advantages of a systematic and progressive education. It is to be wished that the more civilized elements of the nation will some day or other understand how disinterested he had been, and that, far from undermining, or being a traitor to Islam, he was trying to make it more progressive and therefore more powerful.

It was inevitable that Amanullah had one portion of his people against him, more especially the clergy, whose privileges and influence he was obliged to curtail in order to introduce any reforms at all. I would not like to be misunderstood here. What I mean is this: in my opinion real education must rest on national traditions, must be national to a wide extent. But at the same time it should remain open to all beneficent outward influences. The student's mind can be enriched by as much of the intellectual treasures of the world at large as his brain can normally assimilate. Foreign methods can also be adopted with advantage, provided that they are adapted to local conditions. In the case of Afghanistan the educational problem was of a more special and practical nature; the country needed

engineers, physicians, agriculturists, skilful teachers, and the foreign education imparted to about one thousand Afghan boys was no danger to the Afghan national soul. On the other hand I think it no exaggeration to say that it was the narrow education which was in vogue in Afghanistan before Amanullah, a very exclusive type of purely sectarian instruction, which was responsible for what Afghanistan has remained for so many centuries, and what it is at the present hour, a country devastated by feudal and tribal strifes which benefit none except the adventurer and the thief. But a good seed has been sowed. The *elite* of the Afghan youth has had an opportunity to look beyond the narrow national walls, to hear about the rest of the world, where other men with other customs and beliefs live and labour. They have had a glimpse of the best the West has produced, its scientific spirit. The outlook of a whole generation has become broadened. This was a great achievement for a people which had for centuries lived apart from the rest of mankind, brave and jealous of its freedom, but also cruel, fanatical and narrow-minded.

My own experience enables me to say that the response from these Afghan boys was most encouraging. Many among the most patriotic have felt and confessed that their country was backward in several respects.

I may add as a conclusion to this sketch a few words about the mentality and character of the Afghan student as I knew him. He is never a dreamer. The toys of Western industry such as motor cars, railways, aeroplanes and machines of all kinds, attract and intrigue him, because they stimulate his curiosity and his spirit of intellectual adventure. The spirit of adventure formerly found its outlet in expeditions and warfare; to-day it can be led along channels more beneficent for himself and others. Amanullah's reforms failed simply because they could not be carried on long enough to be consolidated. The Afghan student has an instinctive sense of reality. Art and literature leave him cold. He does not lack intellectual gifts, but unlike the Indian student, he does not revel in stories of imagination and fancy. The young Afghan students learnt

foreign languages with an astonishing facility, and spoke them almost always with an excellent, and often with a perfect accent.

The student of a foreign school worked under great difficulties. Coming home from school, he would not probably find in his father's house a table to lay his school books on. If he belonged to a poor family, he would be obliged to sleep in his uniform. As I have said, every institution, even the foreign schools were provided with *mullahs* who were in charge of the religious instruction. Some of them showed quite openly their hostility towards the new state of things, and were horrified that Mahomedan boys should be taught by foreigners in a foreign language so many things that the Q'uran had not recommended. And the *mullahs* could read plainly in the eyes of many of the boys that good portions of the religious instructions were no longer readily acceptable to them. Quite often the Afghan boy felt perplexed when his science-teacher taught him one thing, and the priest preached the opposite. I remember two incidents which will illustrate this conflict of ideas. I had explained one morning in the geography class the shape and motions of the earth, the flattening of the globe at the poles, and so forth. I had avoided saying in plain terms that the earth was round, knowing that the *mullah*, my colleague, maintained in his religious lessons that it was flat. But I made two or three sketches on the black-board in which the earth was represented as a somewhat flattened ball. I then questioned the boys to see if they had understood. One of them repeated complacently without being asked, that the earth was round, round, round. Another boy then asked with an anxious look. "But sir, is not the earth flat, after all?" I answered unflinchingly, showing my sketch. "Yes, certainly, a little!" The whole class thereupon burst out laughing, showing unmistakably that they had understood my position, and were making the most of it.

Another time, I had been asked to inspect both the French and the German schools, in the company of a Commission of Afghan personalities, in accordance with the orders the King had issued just before leaving for Europe. The Commission was headed by a Chief Inspector, a holy and bearded gentleman

quite innocent of European languages. He spent the first morning in the headmaster's office of one of the schools, reviewing with some Afghan teachers the current town topics of the day. The second day I went of my own accord to the upper class, and attended successively a lesson in Mathematics, one in Chemistry and then one in Geology. During the last morning hour I visited other classes, and returned a few minutes before twelve to the upper class. There I found the Chief Inspector speaking in a lively tone to the boys, who were listening to him with a kind of smile on their faces. The oration was in high flown Persian and I could not make out exactly what the topic was. I asked the school interpreter who was present, and got the answer, "The *Mullah Sahib* is telling about the angels, explaining what different kinds of angels there are in Heaven." The spectacle of these boys who had a lecture from 8 to 9 about ellipses and hyperbolas, from 9 to 10 about Sulphuric Acid and Hydrogen, and from 11 to 12 were told all about seraphims and cherubims and the like, struck me as a faithful picture of the country where the old was at struggle with the new, superstition with reason and common sense, ignorance and sloth with knowledge and organisation. Let us hope the latter will finally prevail.

BRAHMANICAL GODS IN BUDDHIST BURMA:

(*An Introductory Statement*).

By NIHAR-RANJAN RAY.

Burma is professedly Buddhist and follows the Pali Canon of the Southern School. The story of the introduction of Buddhism into Upper Burma is well-known. It occurred in the third quarter of the 11th century A.D. when Pagan in Burma was gradually rising into importance. There is no settled system of chronology before this, and systematic historical records are completely lacking with the exception of a few important events which folk-memory had taken care to preserve in native chronicles. The earliest epigraphic records found in Burma (Hmawza, Prome district) no doubt date back to an earlier period, probably 5th or 6th century A. D. but no definite sequence of historical events can be reconstructed from them. As far as present knowledge goes, early Burmese history has its beginnings at a time when we are in the thick of the mediæval period of Indian history, and we are immediately introduced to a powerful dynasty of kings,—zealous patrons and devoted followers of an Indian faith, the Southern Buddhism of the Pali Canon,—ruling at Pagan. A Talaing monk of the Theravada School of Buddhism and an inhabitant of Thaton in *Rammannadesa* (Deltaic Burma), Shin Arahan came over to Pagan in 1056 A. D., and lived there in a solitary corner of the citadel when one day—so the story goes—he was taken to the court. He created a great impression on the king with his yellow robe, his sublime purity of life and lofty graciousness of speech. The king of Pagan, Anawrahta asked:—

“ ‘Master, of what race art thou? Whence comest thou? Whose doctrine dost thou follow?’ Shin Arahan told him, and Anawrahta entreated saying, ‘My Lord teach me somewhat, yea, though it be a little, of the religion preached by the Lord, the Master.’ Before long, the apostle’s first step was accomplished, he had won authority to his side. But Shin

Arahan had brought no sacred books, for writing was still a rare gift. His mission could not thrive without them and he urged Anawrahta to procure copies from Thaton where there were thirty complete sets of the Tripitaka, the Three Scriptures. Envoys were sent but returned with an insulting refusal. Stung to anger Anawrahta marched on Thaton with all his men.”(1)

At the end of a long siege Thaton ceased to be a royal city, and the victorious king of Pagan returned to the capital with the most valuable treasures of the Faith, a host of Buddhist monks, and with them thirty-two white elephants each laden with scriptures and relics, all belonging to Manuha, the Talaing king of Thaton. Thaton was annexed and Manuha kept a captive in Pagan; but, as has so often happened in history, the culture of the vanquished predominated over that of the victors, and the Southern Buddhism of Thaton gradually spread throughout Upper Burma.

The question now arises: When did Thaton, or more properly Rammannadesa, the land *par excellence* of the Talaings, adopt the faith of Theravada Buddhism, i.e., of the Hinayana form? Are we to accept the tradition—so insistent in Burmese records—of the Asoka mission of Sona and Uttara to *Suvannabhumi*, or should we rely upon the later tradition that Buddhaghosha, the celebrated Buddhist encyclopaedist, crossed over to Burma and preached there the religion of the Master? Available evidence is so meagre that the question cannot be answered satisfactorily, and recent criticism has thrown doubt on both the traditions. It is equally difficult to determine whether the religion was first introduced from Ceylon or from some other country. The only thing which can be asserted with certainty at this stage of historical research is that the introduction of the Faith must have taken place not later than the 5th or 6th century A. D., but the actual circumstances are totally unknown to us. The earliest epigraphic records discovered at Hmawza (old Prome) belong paleographically to the 5th or 6th century A. D. Mon. Finot's remarks on them are most valuable. “The language is Pali. The script has a very archaic aspect, it reminds one of the *Kadamba* script of the 5th century A. D.

We cannot be far out of the 6th or 7th century of the Christian era. It is interesting to find the Pali Canon in use in Lower Burma at so ancient a period when the rest of Further India was acquainted with Mahayana Buddhism and its Sanskrit text"(2). Hinayana Buddhism, thus, must have been known in Lower Burma about five centuries before it was introduced in Pagan—at a time which marked the growth of a great Hinayana movement with its centre at Conjeeveram or ancient Kanchi on the Madras coast.

But from where did Pali Buddhism first come to Burma? So long as the possibility of the penetration of early North Indian Hinayanism (as distinct from later Pali Buddhism of the South) into Burma directly from the North is not finally disposed of, it cannot be asserted that Burma originally received her Faith from Ceylon. It is true that the Buddhism of Thaton (Lower Burma) as well as of Pagon was of the Ceylonese form; but the earliest Pali inscriptions found at Hmawza (belonging to the 5th or 6th century A. D.), though unmistakeably Buddhist in character, do not exclusively refer to the Southern School of Pali Buddhism. The formula *phassa-paccaya vedana* ("sensation is caused by contact") is a well-known clause in the chain of the twelve Nidanas. The inscriptions are fragmentary, but they certainly indicate that they contained extracts from the Mahavagga, the first book of the Vinayapitaka, one of the earliest Hinayana texts *not* originating in the Southern School of Pali Buddhism. It seems fairly certain that there was a strong infiltration of Hinduised Mahayanism directly from North-east India at an early period.* It is possible however

*The existence of Mahayanism and Mahayanist Tantrikism in Upper Burma before the introduction of Pali Buddhism from Thaton has been definitely established by the discovery of the representations of some Mahayana gods (Avalokiteswara, Maitreya, etc.) and by the existence of the Aris (C. F. Duroiselle—*The Aris of Burma and Tantric Buddhism*. Arch. Surv. Ind. Rep. 1915-16.) a Tantrik Buddhist sect belonging to the Northern School. This is confirmed by Tibetan texts as also by the wall paintings of the Payathonzu and Nandamanna

that a still earlier stratum of Hinayanism of the Northern School had been lying dormant until its vigorous revival caused by the later penetration of the Southern School of Pali Buddhism from Ceylon, first in Lower Burma and then by the 11th century in Pagan in Upper Burma.

This is about all that we know regarding the coming of Buddhism to Burma. We must now turn to a still wider question. How far did the influence of Brahmanism penetrate into Burma?

We know that in South-east Asia all the countries which had been colonized by Indians or had close commercial contact with India were permeated with Brahmanical culture and its elaborate paraphernalia of rites and rituals, gods and goddesses, and myths and legends. In Java, where the Sailendras of Srīvijaya were a Buddhist dynasty and where Buddhism (no doubt of the Mahayana form) had the strongest hold, Brahmanism never lacked an influential position. The two religions flourished side by side, and if Buddhism with its clergy and laity and rules of conduct became dominant, Brahmanism with its gods and goddesses, and rites and rituals did not lack in popularity. In Champa, as well as in Kamboj, it was Brahmanism that had the larger following; the royal dynasties were mostly Brahmanical and the gods of the Buddhist pantheon had few followers. In Siam, which like Burma is professedly Buddhist, finds of Hindu deities in considerable numbers testify to the existence of a large Brahmanical population. It therefore appears unlikely that Burma alone escaped all traces of Brahmanical influence.

temples of Minnanthu in Pagan. Mention of the Mahayanist god *Lokeswara* along with *Maitreya* is frequently made in Talaing records—a fact for the first time noticed by Prof. G. H. Luce of the Rangoon University and very kindly pointed out to me. This led me during my second archaeological tour in Burma to make a close inspection of the more important temples of Pagan, and I may mention here that in at least two or three temples I could discover fresco-representations of this important divinity; one such temple is the *Kyaubaukkyi* at Myinagan.

In fact Indian elements are found in profusion in the early Mon inscriptions of Burma. The use of Sanskritic religious terms (*e.g.* *Svar* for *Swarga*, *Dharma*, etc.), royal names and styles, and certain religious and social observances occur frequently, but they are common to both Brahmanism and Sanskritic Buddhism. As to the use of Sanskrit terms it may also be urged that a form of Buddhism using Sanskrit as its sacred language had probably existed in Burma from early times. Even making all allowances there are strong reasons for believing that Brahmanism had its share of responsibility for the strong Sanskritic element present in the early Mon records.† The numerous references to Brahmanas in these records show their great influence in the Buddhist courts. Rituals and ceremonies performed by them are partly Brahmanical in character, and the god who is invariably worshipped has been identified as *Narayana-Visnu*(3). We also have the story of one of the most celebrated kings of the Pagan dynasty—Kyanzittha was his name—who in one of his former births was once a Visnu, and on another occasion was born in the family of Rama, king of Oudh(4). This legend has an unique interest in as much as it shows a distinct blending of the Buddhist theory of re-births with purely Brahmanical legends. It is also remarkable that in the same records we find mention of the “four castes” who are directed to perform their respective duties.

“A remarkable proportion of loan words in these records is of Sanskrit origin, not Pali..... As to the reason for their presence in early Mon, allowance must be made for the fact that Brahmanas, who are often mentioned in the inscriptions played a great part at all the Indo-Chinese Courts, from Burma to Champa. Vestiges of Hinduism have been found in Lower Burma, though they are not so common as in several other parts of Indo-China. But there is much reason to believe that some form of Buddhism using Sanskrit as its sacred language also existed there in former times, just as it did, for example, in

†Blagden : *Ep. Birminica*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 76. Indian Element in the Inscriptions.

Kamboja..... The soundest inference seems to be the one drawn by Finot that Sanskrit and Pali (and the several forms of religion with which they are respectively associated) were more or less concurrent influences in the Mon Country from an early period. Whatever may have been the channel or channels through which Sanskrit words came in, they are present in such numbers that the strength of the influences that introduced them must have been considerable and probably extended over a fairly long period.”

We shall here quote only a few selected passages from the records already referred to. Mon Inscriptions No. IX (found near the Tharaba gate, Pagan) (5) has the following passage.

“The Brahmana astrologers went (and) drew water..... and (bathed) the side pillars, the *yas* pillars, the *alas* pillars, etc., etc..... (At) All these seventeen places, they made a decoration of plaintains, adorned with young plantains (and) sugarcane (and set?) water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver (and) water (in) conch shells wherein (they) put cleaned rice (and) *dubba* grass (and) spread mats (with) golden flowers altar oblations and altar candles. Having (arranged them?); they made in honour of *Narayana*, decoration of plantains..... then the Brahmana astrologers worshipped *Narayana*.”(6)

We notice here the characteristically Brahmanical method of using plaintain trees to mark an auspicious occasion.

“At the auspicious time.....*godhuli* (being) lagna, the expert Brahmana astrologers bathed the side pillars, etc.....(7)

An essentially Brahmanical custom is made used of in a Buddhist coronation ceremonial presided over by Brahmana priests. The different pillars referred to above were bound by sacred Brahmanical threads.

“The thread wherewith they bound up the pillars, tender maidens, young damsels, daughters of Brahmanas, had spun (it and) made (it on) a hundred and eight spools. Then the Brahmana astrologers recited and sprinkled water and after that they bound up the pillars.”(8)

These and numerous other similar references clearly indicate the existence of a considerable number of Brahmanas in

Burmese courts as priests, astrologers, and experts in house building, who must have occupied positions of influence and importance. Not only were there the Brahmanas, there were also the other three castes of the Brahmanical fold. Thus we read the pious wish of a pious king :—

“All the monks shall be full of virtue and good conduct. All the *Brahmanas*, who know the *Vedas*, they shall fulfill all the Brahmana Law. All the princes shall carry out the law altogether. The *four castes* shall fulfill their law also.”(9)

Brahmanism was not the religion of the State nor of the people in general, but the records referred to above seem to show that there was a considerable number of followers of the Brahmanical religion, not exclusively Brahmanas, but of other three castes as well, who were free to perform their own religious ceremonies. The Brahmanical influence is also indicated by certain ancient place names (10) of both Upper and Lower Burma. Such a name is *Bissunomyo*, which is equivalent to *Visnupura* or the city of Visnu. The name was in ancient times applied to old Prome or Hmawza which had obviously been a centre of Visnuite influences. The tradition of the foundation of ancient Prome as contained in the *Mahayazawin*, a late Burmese chronicle, is associated with Visnu and his Vahana Garuda, as also with Chandi and Parameswara equivalent to Durga and Siva(11). The *Mahayazawin* does not mention the name of Visnu but refers to a Rishi. The name of the Rishi is supplied by the Great Shwezigon inscription(12) which records briefly the story of the foundation of Sisit (or old Prome). Old Prome or Hmawza is also referred to as Sri Ksetra (mentioned in early Mon records as Sisit or Srikset)—the sacred name of modern Puri on the opposite side of the Bay of Bengal and associated with a strong Brahmanical tradition. Taungdwin, a town said to have been founded in 837 A.D., was called Ramavati after the name of the epic hero Rama, who was recognised as one of the ten incarnations of Visnu.

But the surest test of the prevalence of Brahmanical influence in Burma is the existence of archæological discoveries

of Brahmanical gods and temples. Of such discoveries we have, though not at all comparable with other parts of South East Asia, an interesting record. Of Hindu temples in ancient Burma, we have only one, *Nat Hlaung Kyaung* that stands at Pagan. The main deity of the shrine is Visnu himself, four images of whom stand on the four sides of a square obelisk at the centre of the vaulted temple. Its walls and niches are adorned with stone images of the ten principal and other subsidiary incarnations of the main deity(13). This temple is most probably referred to in a Tamil inscription found at Myinpagan, belonging paleographically to the 12th century A.D. and purporting to record "gifts by a native of Magodayar pattanam in Malaimandalam, i.e., Cranganore in Malabar. His name Sri Kulase-Khara-Nambi stamps his as a devotee of the Vaisnava saint Kulasekhara from whose Mukundamala the opening verse (of the inscription) is derived. The recipient of the gift was the Visnu temple of *Nanadesi Vinnagara* at Pukkam *alias* Arivattanapura, i.e., Pagan.....Nanadesi Vinnagara means the Visnu temple of those coming from various countries. This name shows that the temple, which was situated in the heart of the Buddhist country of Burma, had been founded and was resorted to by *Vaisnavas* from various parts of the Indian peninsula."(14).

The existence of a Brahmanical population (mainly Vaisnavite in character) in Burma at an early period cannot, therefore, be doubted. It can be easily surmised that this Brahmanical community would have their own gods whom they could worship in accordance with their own religious rites. In those localities where the Indian element was permanently represented either by a more vigorous commercial intercourse or by settlement and colonization, it is almost certain that these gods also would have a permanent habitat in Hindu temples. These temples having been usually built of brick gradually fell into decay and finally disappeared, with the sole exception of the one that is standing at Pagan. But many of the images which had been once enshrined in the temples are now emerging out of the debris of centuries. Thus at old Hmawza, a locality known in ancient times as *Bissunamy*, at least three different

types of stone images of *Visnu* have been discovered, one of which belongs to the 6th or 7th century A.D.(15), and also images of *Siva*, *Ganesa*, and *Brahma*. At Mergui in the Tennasserim province images of *Visnu*, *Ganesa*, *Hanumana* and *Brahma* have been found(16). Three stone slabs belonging stylistically to about the latter half of the 9th century A.D. have in recent years been brought over from Thaton to the Rangoon Museum. Two of these slabs depict in bold relief the *Ananta-Sayya* episode of *Visnu* and the third represents *Siva* with *Parvati* seated by his side(17). At Thaton the walls of a pyramidal stage of a Buddhist pagoda are decorated with rectangular stone panels purporting most probably to depict a Hindu mythological story. Of the slabs that still remain, two certainly represent *Siva* with his trident. In Arakan where the Brahmanical influence had been more pronounced from earlier times, archæological exploration has discovered in recent years images of *Visnu*, *Durga*, *Surya* and other Hindu deities. Of these, the images of *Durga*(18) and *Surya*(19) undoubtedly belong to the late Gupta period, and can in no way be dated later than the 8th century A.D. Coins and terracotta tablets bearing the Saivite symbol of the trident and the representation of the bull *Nandi* have been found in large numbers at Mrohaung and other localities in Arakan as well as in other places of both Upper and Lower Burma. Coins with the Vaisnavite symbol of a conch-shell are not also infrequent.

The above references do not by any means exhaust the list of finds of Brahmanical gods and articles of worship in Burma. But it is sufficient to make us realise that they deserve a careful study. And such a study would throw a great deal of light on certain fundamental problems in the history of Indo-Burmese relations in early times. A detailed stylistic comparison with Hindu images in India would enable us to determine approximately the age in which historical relations between India and Burma became definitely established, and also the period for which the Brahmanical element continued to exert an appreciable influence in the peninsula. It would also indicate from which part or parts of India the Indian colonists of Burma were derived.

The comparative study of Brahmanical influence in Burma and in other countries of South East Asia has a still wider interest. We may notice here one or two points in this connexion. The finds of Brahmanical gods in Burma are much less important both in numbers and in types when compared to similar finds in the other sister Indian Colonies. The natural inference would be that Brahmanism played a more insignificant part in the life of the people in Burma. It is true that certain traces of Brahmanical rites and rituals and myths and traditions had come to be interwoven into the texture of the social and religious life of the country. The attitude of the Court as well as of the people towards the Brahmanical population and their gods was one of utmost religious toleration (otherwise Hindu temple could never have been erected), and Brahmanism was allowed to exist side by side with Buddhism which had an overwhelming following and was the religion of the State and of the people. Naturally enough the followers of the latter religion did not altogether escape from the influence of the former. Yet it must be recognised that this influence remained mainly superficial and did not affect the cultural life of the people at all deeply.

Why did Brahmanism fail to exert a stronger influence and touch the soul of the people deeper in Burma, as it had succeeded in doing in Java or Sumatra, or in other parts of Indo-China—in Champa and Kamboj? Here it is only possible to suggest a tentative solution for consideration. It will be remembered that everywhere in the Indian Colonies in the South-East, with the one exception of Burma, it is the Northern or Mahayana form of Buddhism that had any following. It will also be remembered that Mahayana Buddhism in its ceremonial aspect and in its attitude towards gods and deities had great affinities with Brahmanism. Both had a multitude of gods and goddesses and in certain ritualistic aspects they differed but little. It is this resemblance which made it possible for Brahmanism to exert a powerful influence on the followers of the Mahayana form of Buddhism. The gods belonging to both could mix freely, as the two pantheons were not separated by any marked difference in principle or practice. The Hinayana

form on the other hand had no pantheon at all, and it was definitely opposed to the very idea of gods and goddesses. This made it impossible for Hinayanism to accommodate Brahmanism within its fold. In Burma it tolerated Brahmanical rituals and ceremonials presided over by Brahmana priests, but never allowed the Brahmanical gods to trespass within its own sacred precincts. Burma thus lacked a congenial soil for the propagation of the Brahmanical faith. One indirect result was that there were no new converts into Brahmanism, so that the Brahmanical population remained a separate and isolated community from the very beginning, and was tolerated as such by the much more numerous Buddhist population.

This, however, does not minimise the importance of the study of the Brahmanical gods in Burma. Apart from the historical interest, a close study is likely to furnish types and forms that are unknown in India at the present time, types which are unique local renderings of Indian originals and which give expression to new artistic impulses independently of orthodox rules or which follow a different set of artistic canons yet unknown to us. In any case such a study is certain to advance the knowledge of Indian Art and Iconography.

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 - (2) Finot: Two Inscriptions in Pali. Arch. Sur. Burma. An. Report 1909-10.
 - (3) Ep. Birminica. Vol. III, Part I.
 - (4) Ibid., Vol. I, Part II, Mon Insc. No. I and III.
 - (5) Ibid., Vol. III, Part I.
 - (6) Ibid., pp. 42-42.
 - (7) Ibid., p. 36.
 - (8) Ibid., pp. 50-51.
 - (9) Ep. Birminica, Vol. I, Part II, Mon. Insc. No. I. Sec. G., 127.
- But regarding the mention of '*four castes*,' Prof. Blagden is of opinion that this merely conventional phrase used to denote "people in general." "There is no reason" he says, "to believe that apart from Brahmanas,

who were of foreign introduction, any real division into castes was recognised" (p. 75). But the quotation just referred to seems to support a contrary view.

(10) Duroiselle—Apocryphal Geography of Burma. Arch. Sur. Burma. An. Report 1923, p. 15.

(11) Archp Sur. Burma. An. Report 1910, p. 18.

(12) Ep. Birm., Vol. I, Part II, p. 90.

(13) Arch. Sur. India. An. Report.

(14) Hultzsch—Arch. Sur. Burma. An. Report 1902-3, p. 7.

(15) Phongyi Kyaung Museum Shed near Hmawza Ry. Station. Exhibit No. 23.

(16) Rangoon Museum Exhibits Nos. 1/6, 2/6, 3/6.

(17) Ibid., Nos. 8/6, 9/6, 10/6.

(18) Arch. Sur. Burma. An. Rep. 1926, p. 35.

(19) Ibid., 1923, p. 27-28.

IDEALS OF EDUCATION.*

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

The greatest man of modern India, Raja Rammohan Roy was born in Bengal and was the best friend of my grandfather. He had courage to overcome the prohibition against sea-voyage which we had in our country at the time; and he crossed the sea, and came into touch with the great western minds.

My father was fortunate in coming under the influence of Rammohan Roy from his early years which helped him to free himself from the sectarian barriers, from traditions of worldly and social ideas that were very rigid, in many aspects very narrow and not altogether beneficial. My father drew from our ancient scriptures, from the *Upanishads*, truths which had universal significance, and not anything that were exclusive to any particular age or any particular people. We were ostracized by society and this liberated us from the responsibility of conforming to all those conventions that had not the value of truth, that were mere irrational habits bred in the inertia of the racial mind. In my boyhood's dreams I claimed such freedom that we had tasted, for all humanity.

Nations are kept apart not merely by international jealousy but also by their own past, handicapped by the burden of the dead and decaying, the breeding ground of diseases that attack the spiritual man. I could not believe that generations of peoples, century after century, must have their birth chamber in a moral and intellectual coffin which has its restricted space-regulation for a body that has lost its movements. Civilization has its inevitable tendency to accumulate dead materials and to make elaborate adjustments for their accommodation, leaving less and less room for life with its claim to grow in freedom. There are signs of that in India, and I know to-day that it is more or less true in all races, for our mind has its inclination to grow lazy as it grows old and to shirk its duty to make changes

*Address to the Concordia, Tokyo, 3rd June, 1929.

in the rhythm of the changing times. In the very heart of this rigid rule of the dead, I was brought up in an atmosphere of aspiration, aspiration for the expansion of the human spirit. We in our home sought freedom of power in our language, freedom of imagination in our literature, freedom of soul in our religious creeds and that of mind in our social environment. Such an opportunity has given me confidence in the power of education which is one with life and only which can give us real freedom, the highest that is claimed for man, his freedom of moral communion in the human world. The ghosts of ideals which no longer have a living reality have become the obsession of all nations that carry an overwhelming past behind them perpetually overshadowing their future.

The reign of the ghost has strewn the path of our history lessons with mischief, with prejudices that ever obstruct the mutual understanding of nations, that helps in the cultivation of the thorny crop of national vanity and unscrupulousness in international relationship. From our young days our minds are deliberately trained with the aid of untrue words and unholy symbolism in the name of patriotism, to a collective moral attitude, which we condemn in individuals.

Persons who have no faith in human nature are apt to think that such conditions are eternal in man—that the moral ideals are only for individuals but the race belongs to that primitive nature which is for the animal. And according to them, in the racial life, it is necessary that the animal should have its full scope of training in the cult of suspicion, jealousy, fierce destructiveness, cruel rapacity. They contemptuously brand optimism as sentimental weakness, and yet in spite of that virulent scepticism an enormous change has worked itself out in course of the growth of civilization from the darkest abyss of savagery. I refuse to believe that human society has reached its limit of moral possibility. And we must work all our strength for the seemingly impossible, and must believe that there is a constant urging in the depth of human soul for the attainment of the perfect, the urging which secretly helps us in all our endeavour for the good. This faith has been my only asset in the educational mission which I have made my life's

work, and almost unaided and alone, I struggle along my path. I try to assert in my words and works that education has its only meaning and object in freedom—freedom from ignorance about the laws of universe, and freedom from passion and prejudice in our communication with the human world. In my *institution* I have attempted to create an atmosphere of naturalness in our relationship with strangers, and the spirit of hospitality which is the first virtue in men that made civilization possible.

I invited thinkers and scholars from foreign lands to let our boys know how easy it is to realise our common fellowship, when we deal with those who are great, and that it is the puny who with their petty vanities set up barriers between man and man.

I am glad that I have the opportunity to-day of letting my friends in Japan know something of my life-long cause and to assure them that it is not special to India but it will ever wait for acceptance by other races.

We in India are unfortunate in not having the chance to give expression to the best in us in creating intimate relations with the powerful peoples of the world. The bond between the nations to-day is made of the links of mutual menace, its strength depending upon the force of panic, and leading to an enormous waste of resources in a competition of browbeating and bluff. Some great voice is waiting to be heard which will usher in the sacred light of truth in the dark region of the nightmare of politics. But we in India have not yet had the chance. Yet we have our own human voice which truth demands. Even in the region where we are not invited to act we have our right to judge and to guide the mind of man to a proper point of view, to the vision of ideality in the heart of the real.

The activity represented in human education is a world-wide one, it is a great movement of universal co-operation inter-linked by different ages and countries. And India, though defeated in her political destiny, has her responsibility to hold up the cause of truth, even to cry in the wilderness, and offer her lessons to the world in the best gifts which she could produce. The messengers of truth have ever joined their hands

across centuries, across the seas, across historical barriers, and they help to form the great continent of human brotherhood. Education in all its different forms and channels has its ultimate purpose in the evolving of a luminous sphere of human mind from the nebula that has been rushing round ages to find in itself an eternal centre of unity. We individuals, however small may be our power and whatever corner of the world we may belong to, have the claim upon us to add to the light of the consciousness that comprehends all humanity. And for this cause I ask your co-operation, not merely because co-operation gives us strength in our work but because co-operation itself is the best aspect of the truth we represent, it is an end and not merely the means.

My friends, you are new converts to western ideals, in other words, the ideals belonging to the scientific view of life and the world. This is great and it is foolish to belittle its importance by wrongly describing it as materialism. For truth is spiritual in itself, and truly materialistic is the mind of the animal which is unscientific and therefore unable to cross the dark screen of appearance, of accidents, and reach the deeper region of universal laws. Science means intellectual probity in our dealings with the material world. This conscientiousness of mind is spiritual, for it never judges its results from the standard of external profits. But in science the oft-used half truth that honesty is the best policy has proved itself to be completely true. Science being mind's honesty in its relation to the physical universe never fails to bring us the best profit for our living. And mischief finds its entry through this backdoor of utility, and Satan has had his ample chance of making use of the divine fruit of knowledge for bringing shame upon humanity. Science as the best policy is tempting the primitive in man bringing out his evil passions through the respectable cover that it has supplied him. And this is why it is all the more needed to-day that we should have faith in ideals that have matured in the spiritual field through ages of human endeavour after perfection, the golden crops that have developed in different forms and in different soils but whose food value for man's spirit has the same composition. These are not for the

local markets but for the universal hospitality, for sharing life's treasure with each other and realising that human civilization is a spiritual feast the invitation to which is open to all, it is never for the ravenous orgies of carnage where the food and the feeders are being torn to pieces.

The legends of nearly all human races carry man's faith in a golden age which appeared as the introductory chapter in human civilization. It shows that man has his instinctive belief in the objectivity of spiritual ideals though this cannot be proved. It seems to him that they have already been given to him and that this gift has to be proved through his history against obstacles. The idea of millenium so often laughed at by the clever is treasured as the best asset by man in his mythology as complete truth realised for ever in some ageless time. Admitting that it is not a scientific fact we must at the same time know that the instinct cradled and nourished in these primitive stories has its eternal meaning. It is like the instinct of a chick which dimly feels that an infinite world of freedom is already given to it, that it is not a subjective dream but an objective reality, even truer than its life within the egg. If a chick has a rationalistic tendency of mind it ought not to believe in a freedom which is difficult to imagine and contradictory to all its experience, but all the same it cannot help pecking at its shell and ever accepting it as ultimate. The human soul confined in its limitation has also dreamt of a millenium and striven for an emancipation which seems impossible of attainment, and it felt its reverence for some great source of inspiration in which all its experience of the true, good and beautiful finds its reality though it cannot be proved, the reality in which our aspiration for freedom in truth, freedom in love, freedom in the unity of man is ideally realised for ever.

INDIA AND EUROPE.

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

No report has yet been published which correctly represents my views regarding India and Europe. Almost always the emphasis is put in the wrong place, and so the report becomes one-sided.

The one outstanding visible relationship of Europe with Asia to-day is that of exploitation; in other words its origins are commercial and material. It is physical strength that is most apparent to us in Europe's enormous dominion and commerce, illimitable in its extent and immeasurable in its appetite. Our spirit sickens at it. Everywhere we come against barriers in the way of direct human kinship. The harshness of these external contacts is galling, and therefore the feeling of unrest ever grows more oppressive. There is no people in the whole of Asia to-day which does not look upon Europe with fear and suspicion.

Yet there was a time when we were fascinated by Europe. She had inspired us with a new hope. We believed that her chief mission was to preach the gospel of liberty to the world. We had come then to know only her ideal side through her literature and art. But slowly, Asia and Africa have become the main spheres of Europe's secular activities, where her chief preoccupations have been the earning of dividends, the administration of empires, and the extension of commerce.

Europe's warehouses and business offices, her police outposts and soldiers' barracks, have been multiplied, while her human relationships have declined.

Towards those who are being exploited, there always is wont to grow up a feeling of contempt. For exploitation itself becomes easier, if we can succeed in creating a callousness towards those who are its victims. Just as whenever we go out fishing we are inclined to regard fishes as the least sensitive of all living creatures, so it becomes quite pleasant to loot the

Orient, if only we can make our own moral justification easy by relegating coloured races to the lowest groupings of mankind.

Thus modern Europe, scientific and puissant, has portioned out this wide earth into two divisions. Through her filter, whatever is finest in Europe cannot pass through to reach us in the East. In our traffic with her, we have learnt, as the biggest fact of all, that she is efficient, terribly efficient. We may feel astounded by this efficiency; but if, through fear, we bring to it our homage of respect, then we ourselves need to realize that we are fast going down to the very depths of misfortune; for to do such homage is like the crude barbarity of bringing sacrificial offerings to some god which thirsts for blood. It is on account of this fact, and in order to retain her self-respect, that the whole of Asia to-day denies the moral superiority of Europe. At the same time, to withstand her ravages, Asia is preparing to imitate that ruthless aspect which slays, which eats raw flesh, which tries to make the swallowing process easier by putting the blame on the victim.

Personally I do not believe that Europe is occupied only with material things. She may have lost her faith in religion, but not in humanity. Man, in his essential nature, is spiritual and can never remain solely material. If, however, we in the East merely realize Europe in this external aspect, we shall be seriously at fault. For in Europe the ideals of human activity are truly of the soul. They are not paralyzed by shackles of scriptural injunctions. Their sanction lies in the heart of man and not in something external to him. This freedom from the changeless, irrational bondage of external regulations, is a very big asset in modern Europe. Man is pouring forth his life for knowledge, for the land of his birth, and for the service of humanity. He acts thus through the urge of his own innate ideals, not because some revered pundit has ordained it.

It is this attitude of mind in Europe which is essentially spiritual. For true spirituality always brings freedom with it. The freedom that Europe has achieved to-day in action, in knowledge, in literature and in art, is a freedom from the rigid inanity of matter. The fetters, that we forge in the name of religion, enchain the spiritual man more securely than even

worldly ties. The home of freedom is in the spirit of man. That spirit refuses to recognize any limit either to action, or to knowledge. It is courageous enough to cross over the barriers of nature, and the limitations of natural instincts; it never regrets immediate loss that may, or may not, lead to gains in a far distant future.

When the aeroplane goes up in the sky, we may wonder at it as the perfection of material power; but behind this lies the human spirit, strong and alive. It is this spirit of man which has refused to recognize the boundaries of nature as final. Nature has put the fear of death in man's mind to moderate his power within the limits of safety; but man in Europe has snapped his fingers at Death and torn asunder the bonds. Only then did he earn the right to fly—a right of the gods.

But even here the adverse forces—the titans—are alive, who are ready to rain down death from the air. But the titans are not in sole possession. In Europe, there is a constant war between the gods and the titans. Often the titans are victorious; but the victory is sometimes with the gods.

We should not count the result in mere numbers. The calculation should be based on Truth, and on the inner reality of the victory. It is therefore that the *Bhagavad Gita* says that Truth, even though slight, preserves us from great calamity. The manifestation of the gods is on the positive side of Truth; on the negative side are the titans. So long as we have the least response from the positive side, there need be no fear. The war of the gods and the titans is only possible where the gods are active. There can be no war where both sides are equally feeble.

It is easy enough for us, when someone reviles us for our social evils, to point at worse evils in Europe; but this is negative. The bigger thing to remember is, that in Europe these evils are not stagnant. There, the spiritual force in man is ever trying to come to grips. While, for instance, we find in Europe the evil Giant's fortress of Nationalism, we also find Jack-the-Giant-killer. For, there is growing up the international mind. This Giant-killer, the international mind—

though small in size—is real. In India, even when we are loudest in our denunciation of Europe, it is often her Giant's fortress that we long to build with awe and worship. We insult Jack with ridicule and suspicion. The chief reason for this is, that in India we have ourselves become material-minded. We are wanting in faith and courage. Since in our country the gods are sleeping, therefore, when the titans come, they devour all our sacrificial offerings,—there is never a hint of strife. The germs of disease are everywhere; but man can resist disease only when his vital force is active and powerful.

So, too, even when the worship of the blood-thirsty and false gods of self-seeking are rampant on all sides, man can lift up his head to the skies if his spirit is awake. In Europe, the whole nature of man is awake. Both matter and spirit are active. They alone become entirely materialistic who are only half men, who cripple the native majesty of the spirit before the blind repetition of unintelligent activities; who are niggardly in knowledge and palsied in action; who are ever insulting themselves by setting up a meaningless ritualism in the place of true worship; who have no difficulty whatever in believing that there is special sanctity inherent in particular forms and peculiar rites, even when their significance is neither known, nor knowable. That is why they are night and day afraid of ghosts and ghouls, gods and demons, of the calendar and the stars, of inauspicious days and inauspicious moments. Being themselves weak in spirit, they are enslaved within and unfettered in the outer world.

(From an Interview given in Canada, and published in the *Canadian Forum*, Toronto, May, 1929).

HAVE THE MUNDA LANGUAGES ANY COGNATES IN EUROPE?

By JULIUS GERMANUS.

To-day's post brought a very interesting book to me : the work of F. A. Uxbond : *Munda-Magyar-Maori, an Indian Link between the Antipodes* (London, Luzac & Co., 1928, XII. 432 pp.) which I took up with a great eagerness, for it opens new vistas and treads on an unexplored ground. It comprises such a vast territory of research, that it bewilders one, and like a will o' the wisp is very apt to allure the curious reader deeper and deeper into the unfathomable depth of an unknown sea. The book asserts nothing less than that the peoples who speak Munda languages are closely related to Magyars, a people residing for more than thousand years in the fertile plains of the Central Danube, and differing from them in that while the Mundas have remained in their primeval culture safeguarding their language uncorrupted, the Magyars have developed a polished idiom with a literature inferior to none in Europe. This assertion—if it could be proved—would throw a new light not only on the relationship of two languages but would elucidate the arcana of pre-historic times in which the Munda-speaking peoples supposedly lived together with the ancestors of the Magyars. It would show the line and route of wanderings of the common stock, Westward and Eastward, one group changing into a Western white raced nation, the other into a tawny negroid jungle and hill inhabiting primitive populace which could not withstand the influx of newcomers into its original homes and is getting slowly denationalised or stagnating in its cultureless existence.

The task which Uxbond has set to himself is enormous. The field which his studies cover extend from the banks of the Danube as far as Easter Island, off the West coast of South America; it comprises anthropology, ethnography, folklore, linguistics, and history, and necessitates the acquaintance with a hundred languages and dialects. It is sure that on such a vast area no scholar may wander without stumbling over facts

or getting intricicated into meshes of misunderstanding, and it would be an easy matter to pick out such mistakes and blunders in details, discrediting thereby the whole structure. Such a proceeding would be most unjust to the assiduous endeavour and hard work of a scholar and injurious to the spirit which struggles through rash conjectures towards Truth. It would be further a most unmethodical proceeding. A scientific proposition must be judged not by the mistakes in its details but on the basis of the systematic stability of the complex edifice it builds up.

Sentiments too, must be vigorously excluded in judging theories brought forward for establishing an affinity between peoples so different in standards of culture. When the Hungarian scholar Arminius Vambéry first stirred the "putrid waters of Finn-Magyar relationship" with his theory of a Turkish affinity, not a few supported him because they thought that the chivalrous Magyar nation were not worthy of being descended from the "fish-smelling Finns." Uxbond too is not free from such sentimental propensities when he wonders (p. 170) "how anybody, with an exaggerated modesty, could see in this nation (the Magyars) even at the beginning of our era, simply a hunting and fishing nomad folk," and he does not believe in "the suggested closest relationship with the Suryan, Mordwin, Lapp, Ostyak and other anthropologically entirely different peoples." Such sentimental motives are dangerous to learning for they—as we shall see below—might unexpectedly lead to just the opposite results.

We shall not be guided by any such sentimental motives, and we shall try to weigh and judge Uxbond's arguments on the systematic basis of philology. Considered from the standpoint of philological method however, *the proposition put forward by Uxbond that the Munda family of languages has anything in common with the language of the Magyars must be definitely rejected.*

Uxbond, who believes in the Maori-Magyar relationship through the Mundas, starts his book with a comparison of the folklore of the Maori and Magyar peoples. He surveys similarities in the conception and observation of the celestial bodies, of religion, the cult of ancestors, love of fatherland, and

some vague customs and habits. All his assertions as to similarities crumble into insignificance as they are very vague and general, and are to be found among all and every people of the globe. Arguments of such vague a character are inadmissible in the case of subjects like the Maori and the Magyar who, even if supposedly (but not admittedly) should ever have had anything in common, have lived separated so widely and for such a long time that similarities of anthropological or ethnographical nature are more than problematic. The two subjects of comparison are anthropologically and ethnographically entirely dissimilar, their histories with totally different courses of evolution are so divergent that even if the most striking coincidences of folklore should be detected—as they are not, they ought to be subjected to a very minute scrutiny and philological control before being admitted as valid arguments. There is no hope of finding parallels in the measurements of human skulls of Magyars and of Maoris after a supposed separation of at least 3500 years! The Magyars surely had no existence at that early period of history. They have developed into a nation in the last 1500 years by a racial mixture of Finns, Turks, Caucasians, Slavs and Germans, etc. Should a dissimilar historic evolution leave such insignificant imprints on anthropological qualities that a comparison of measurements might be undertaken after 3500 years—how are we to account then for any anthropological change whatever? All that we can compare, even across numberless centuries, is : the historic evolution of languages which in spite of mighty changes wear their ancestral garments, worn off and patched up though they be, through all the vicissitudes of wandering and settled life. Language is the registry of human history, and consequently philological research must be based on the historic method which has elevated linguistics to the height of an exact science. On the basis of well established phonological rules, the development of various languages can be pursued and expounded, observing the changes in phonology and structure, and thus fixing the line of the germinal evolution (changes in phonetics from generation to generation, increase or decrease of morphological elements) and of accidental aggrandizement (loan words, etc.). Anthropology, even though its use may be

invoked in establishing historic relationships, is a very feeble tool, and may be excluded *ab ovo* in most historical discussions. The data of folklore, in spite of their extraordinary richness and usefulness for general ethnology, always limp after philological results and may be utilised only as minor or corroborating witnesses, after sufficient evidence had been accumulated by linguistic proofs. The Turkish nationality of the Huns had been long ago rendered *probable* ethnographically, but it was the result of linguistic research which established it as a *fact*.

Consequently it is fundamentally a *linguistic* problem whether Maori and Magyar peoples are related or not. If the astronomical legends, customs and habits, ornaments, etc., should suggest a remarkable similarity—as they in reality do not—or if anthropological similarity should be striking—although in reality the two groups of men are anthropologically diametrically opposed—we would still be not in a position to assert a common origin for the respective groups before *linguistic* evidence had not decided the question. Ethnographical elements may arise out of intercourse, peaceful or hostile, mutual borrowing from the same sources, or be reduced to Bastian's "*Völkergedanke*"; anthropology again wholly lacks the material necessary to argue across such a vast distance of time and space.

The anthropological characteristics of Indo-Europeans (for instance the Nordic and the Bengali) are widely divergent while the languages of both the groups may be carried back on the basis of the historical method to an imaginary common stock from which the representatives of the two groups had originated, and then branched off and evolved separately.

The descent of languages and their evolution is subjected to strict physiological and psychological laws, modified by factors of historical accidents (wanderings, admixture of races, etc.). Not a single descendent language can form an entity entirely isolated from its cognates or antecedents. No single language can therefore be brought—isolated from its kindred—into relationship with another *family* of languages. Comparisons can be effected between a family and another family only, or between certain groups of families, but in this case the cognate languages too must be taken into consideration. We may find that a certain

descendent language shows such special qualities as are deficient in the cognates or in the original stock, but in spite of such peculiarities in detail, the respective language can by no means be separated from the stock to which it belongs by affinity (shown by structure, vocabulary and evolution in accordance with phonological rules) and treated as an isolated unit. To isolate and then to compare such a "unit" with a whole family of languages is a grave methodological blunder.

Mr. Uxbond, after asserting a striking analogy between Magyar and Maori, for which assertion he has not succeeded in adducing one single argument which will stand the test of linguistic examination, continues to find a link between Maori and Magyar in the aboriginal inhabitants of India, in the Munda-speaking negroid race. In the second part of his book (pp. 111-187) he sets forth his arguments to prove that the Magyar language and the Munda idioms show a remarkable similarity, in forms which are found in *Magyar only*—apart from the other Uralian (Finnic-Turkish) idioms with which it has been up till now—according to Uxbond, *erroneously*, linked together. Unfortunately he ignores the historic method and confounds outward similarity with affinity. He forgets that kindred languages are grouped together in a family, not because they are *similar*, but because they have *sprung and descended from the same stock*.

The Magyar language is the result of a long historic evolution. The language itself carries the evidences of this evolution, and all the layers of this historical edifice, 1500 years old, may be pointed out in the structure, phonology and vocabulary, all the changes being accounted for by phonetic rules and historical evidence. This history shows that the Magyar language belongs to the Uralian agglutinative tongues. Its primary vocabulary is the same as that of Finnic peoples (numerals, parts of the body, elements, nature-words). After having attained to a primitive culture of fishermen and hunters one portion of the Finns separated from their brethren, migrated Southward, and came into the vicinity of Bashkir-Turks. From them they learnt primitive agriculture and cattle-breeding. These Bashkir-Turks belong to the "r" group of Turkish languages, as opposed to the "z" group, and the Turkish words in the

Magyar language—which took a distinctly new form by the amalgamation of Finns with Turks—bear the trace of this “r” group, for instance Magyar *ökör* (ox), *tenger* (sea) opposite to Western Turkish *öküz*, *deñiz*, etc. The Turkish words were modified according to phonetic laws and a kind of Finnic-Turkish dialect sprang up through the amalgamation of the two peoples. Thus the primitive notions of a fishing and hunting people were expressed by words which can be found in more or less varied forms in the Finnic idioms, (Cheremis, Mordwin, Vogul, Ostyak, Suryan) while the second layer shows words of Turkish origin belonging to agriculture and cattle-breeding. A subsequent removal of the now already Magyar people to more Southern countries brought them into contact with other Turks, who had become saturated with Persian influences, and the Magyars acquired the knowledge of tactics, weapons and metaphysical notions from them, most of these words being of Persian-Turkish origin. Further wanderings enriched the Magyar language with Aryan words (Alanian) and other Caucasian elements. The past tense in Magyar is Turkish, showing that the people developed a memory for history only at the time when they had already come under Turkish influence. All these developments were—I must again and again emphasise—subject to certain phonetical laws which cannot be ignored in the comparison of words.

The Magyar people, thus augmented and fermented by amalgamation has changed, parallel with the development of its language, into a Turk-like conquering nation of horsemen and when it arrived at the range of the Carpathians its language imbibed such a vast store of Slavic elements that as far as vocabulary is concerned it may be said, with a little exaggeration, to have become a slavised idiom. All these foreign elements however did not destroy the structure of the Magyar language which still continues to conform strictly to the type of the Uralian agglutinative languages. These foreign elements which entered into the Magyar language in the course of history in certain geographic situations betray the place and time when intercourse with the respective peoples had taken place.

An example of the wandering of Magyar words is given. Arabic *djezm* means cutting; (feminine): *djezme*: a piece of cut leather. Turks took the word over, added the suffix *dji* to it, meaning a noun of agency and changing the *dj* into *ch*, obtained: *chizmedji* bootmaker. This word was brought to the Balkans and the Slavs made a plural of it by adding an "a" and pronouncing it according to their phonetics: *chizmadya*, the bootmakers. The Magyars use the plural for singular and may add the Magyar plural suffix "k"—*csizmadiák* (bootmakers). This word alone would suffice to show by its elements the intercourse between Arabs and Turks, the influence of the Turks in the Balkans with the many new words and implements brought by them, and the influence of Southern Slavs on Magyars in the 15th-16th centuries.

Linguistic researches have shown that between the structure and elementary vocabulary of the Magyar language and the Uralian family there subsists an *indissoluble tie of affinity*. Therefore it is impossible to compare the Magyar language with another family of languages without establishing the same ties of linguistic affinity in its cognate and antecedent languages. In short, if we succeed in detecting in the structure and elementary vocabulary of the Munda languages a close affinity with the Magyar language, *this affinity must needs also appear in the other Uralian languages*.

Ignoring this principle, Uxbond does not include in his studies the Finnic and Turkish branches of the Ural-Altaic languages. It is characteristic that the word Turk occurs only once in his book, when he cites Grierson (Linguistic Survey of India I. 36): "the Munda recalls in many respects the Turk verb." In spite of Grierson's suggestion, Uxbond restricts his researches to the Munda and Magyar languages.

Such a procedure of isolated study would be legitimate if the Magyar accident and syntax or the history of the Magyar language showed such marvellous common features with the Munda languages, that from such resemblances we could either infer the Munda origin of the Magyar language and its intermediate position between the Munda languages and the Finnic-

Turkish idioms, or trace the very deep effects of intercourse in prehistoric times between the Mundas and Magyars.

The morphological similarities which Uxbond adduces as arguments are such as may be found between any two languages without either being descended from the other, or which result from misunderstandings. His attempt to collate Magyar and Munda must be condemned as *uncritical*, and on this ground alone his whole *theory must be rejected*.

We shall now examine the details of his argument merely to point out that they must necessarily be erroneous as the very basis of his work is unsound. We do not examine them with the hope of finding *Magyar-Munda* relations—this is practically out of question—but we may find by chance some points of contact between Uralian (Finnic-Turkish) and Munda languages.

Max Müller gave the name to the Munda language in his famous letter to Baron Bunsen (1854) in which he made a distinction between the Dravidian and the Munda family and classified them into two groups. Müller included them on account of their agglutative character in his "Turanian" family. Morphological similarities were the only criteria applied by him, and this was the source of innumerable mistakes which led to the birth of many an untenable theory, for this antiquated principle of classification lumps together languages which may display some outward similarity but do not descend from the same stock. Since the time of Max Müller's morphological classification, linguistics has developed a new technique that of the historic method which traces the *origin* and *growth* of the language and disregards accidental outward similarities. Research has shown that purely morphological similarities do not necessarily establish the common origin of the respective groups of languages.

The particular characteristic of Munda languages in which they show an outward morphological similarity with Uralian languages is agglutination. Agglutination may be defined as the principle of grammatical modification effected by *suffixes* and

affixes¹ attached to the unchanged root. More than one suffix or affix may be added to a root and consequently very long words may arise. In Turkish we may form from the root *oku* (read) the word : *oku-ya-ma-yadjak-lar-im-i* which means : the things which I shall not be able to read. In Magyar *legeslegmegvesztegethetelenebbeknek* (to the most unbribable ones), in Santali : *dapal-acho-akan-tahen-tae-tiñ-a-e* (he of his will continue letting himself be caused to fight).

Another similarity is the vocal harmony or harmonic sequence which is the tendency to make the vowels of consecutive syllables agree.

As to structure, there are no other similarities between Munda and Uralian languages and a careful comparison will show that the real character of the two languages is *radically dissimilar*.

(I) AGGLUTINATION.

Agglutination is very strictly carried through in Uralian languages. The modification of words is effected by fixing a large number of endings to the unchanged root. It must be borne in mind that all these suffixes and affixes are attached to the root in a certain well established order of sequence, which can by no means be changed. Affixes which are attached to nouns cannot be added to verbs and *vice versa*. That is, there are well defined parts of speech in the Uralian languages which have strictly differentiated endings by which they can be distinguished as nouns, adjectives, adverbs or verbs, and certain suffixes form augmented forms by being attached to strictly distinguished categories.

Uralian languages are purely *suffixing* languages, while Munda languages may be described as *prefixing*, *infixing*, and *suffixing* languages.² *There are no infixing and prefixing*

¹ Strictly speaking we may distinguish between suffixes and affixes. The suffixes form new categories of speech (adjective from a noun, noun from a verb etc.) while the affixes are endings indicating tenses, persons, cases, the word remaining in the same category.

² The Munda grammatical material used in my article is taken from Grierson's *Linguistic Survey* vols. I and IV, Skrefsrud: Santali Grammar, Bodding: Mat. for Sant. Gramm. I do not cite them in detail.

modifications in Uralian languages. This marks a fundamental difference in morphology.

In Santali a prefix "a" is used to form a kind of causative: *sän* (go), *a-sän* (to lead), *ñu* (drink), *a-ñu* (to give to drink).¹

There are several *infixes* in Santali words which modify the meaning. Such infixes play a great role in the formation of Santali words and their importance has apparently been still greater in earlier stages of the language.

A *k'* is inserted after the first vowel of the word. The vowel is in monosyllabic words repeated after *k'*. It is usually also perceptible, though very faintly sounded in other words, especially in those which begin with a vowel. In this way intensives are formed from verbs beginning with vowels, and from some which begin with a consonant. Thus *äl* (write), *äk'äl* (write quickly); *agu* (bring), intensive: *ak'-gu*, etc. From some numerals distributives are formed: *eae* (seven), *ek'-eae* (seven each); *iräl* (eight); *ik'räl* (eight each); *nui* (this man here); *nük'úi* (just this man here).

An infix *p* is used to form collective nouns and reciprocal verbs. Thus *mañjhi* (headman); *mapañjhi* (a collection of village headmen); *radja* (king); *rapadj* (a group of kings); *dal* (strike); *dapal* (strike each other).

An *n* is often infixed after the first vowel of a word, the vowel being repeated after *n*. Thus *bar* (two), *banar* (both); *dapal* (to cover), *danapal* (a cover).

An infix *t* is inserted to form nouns from verbs: *núlm* (to name), *nutum* (the name); *ähâp* (to belong), *ätâhâp* (the beginning).

This system of infixing is entirely alien to Uralian languages.

We must bear in mind that while in Uralian languages, just as in Aryan idioms we find a classification of words into nouns, adjectives, and verbs, etc., with their special structures and endings, such a classification is totally lacking in the

¹ In Magyar a kind of prefix is to be found, which however does not constitute an exception from this rule. These prefixes correspond to prepositional words similar to English: *be*-witch, *back*-bite, *for*-sake, etc.

Munda languages. Every word can perform the function of a verb, and every verbal form can, according to circumstances, be considered as a noun, an adjective or a verb. If we adhere to the grammatical terminology customary for other languages it has been done merely for convenience's sake but does not exactly correspond to the true state of affairs. The words in Santali *are not* nouns or verbs, but they may *perform the function* of nouns or verbs without special endings.

This characteristic of Munda languages marks a cardinal difference of structure between them and the Uralian languages. Uxbond misunderstanding the nature of the Munda languages, and ignoring this difference goes so far as to find this quality expressed in some Magyar verbal forms, used occasionally in a figurative sense, as nouns, or nouns used metaphorically as adjectives.* It is interesting to note that Uxbond, although he draws attention to this supposed similarity, passes it over in one sentence (pp. 33, 147), without observing however that this very thing, far from being an argument in his favour, constitutes an organic difference between the two families of languages.

Natural gender does not play any role in the suffixing of nouns, but there are two genders, one denoting all *animate* nouns, the other comprising all *inanimate objects*. Different suffixes are attached to each group. The differentiation of natural gender in Munda is an Aryan influence: *kórá* (boy), *kúrí* (girl).

No such distinction between animate and inanimate nouns is to be noticed in Uralian languages.

The Santali has three numbers: singular, dual, plural. The personal pronouns have separate forms for the dual and the plural. The pronoun of the first person has moreover two forms each in the dual and in the plural, one excluding and one including the person addressed. If, when giving orders to your cook, you say: we shall dine at half past seven, you must be careful to use *ale* for "we" not *abon*, or else you will invite your cook also to the meal.

*Like English: writing (verb), the writing (noun), writing table (adj. pass.), writing machine (adj. act.).

Nothing of the sort exists in Uralian languages.

The suffixes of dual or plural are not exclusively attached to the noun, but to the verb or another word, for instance *in-ren-kin hapan* (of me two son), my two sons (and not : *inren hapan-kin*; *kin* being the suffix of the dual).

hola gai-y-ä kiriñ-ket'-kin-a (yesterday cows he bought them two), yesterday he bought two cows. The suffix of the dual is affixed to the verb.

This peculiarity goes so far that the genitive case of suffixes, though sometimes employed in connexion with nouns as *orak-tiñ* (my house) is principally used in connexion with the verb, *ti-sab-tiñ-mä* (hand seize-my-thou), take my hand; *gâch'-en-tiñ-a-e* (died mine he), he who belongs to me died.

The nominative abridged pronoun is affixed to the last word before the verb, or to the final *a* of the verb, e.g., *hech-en-a-ko* (come have they) they have come. O : *ale-ren hâpân-then-ko hech-akan-a* (we of son to they come have) to our son they have come.

This peculiarity originates in the special character of Munda languages which makes no difference of categories of nouns or verbs. Nothing similar can be found in the structure of Uralian languages.

Now I come to a peculiarity of Munda conjugation which finds no parallel in Uralian nor in any other language. We have already seen that every independent word can perform the function of a verb, and every verbal form can in its turn be used as a noun or an adjective. There are certain suffixes which added to the root express the modification of the root by time, and correspond to the tenses of other languages. Such compounds consisting of the root and a tense suffix cannot as such be used in the function of a verb in an independent sentence, because it only gives the idea of an action at such and such a time without adding whether this action really takes place. It is therefore necessary to assert the reality of the action, and this is done by means of a suffixed *a* which at once changes the inflexional base (root and tense suffix) to a finite tense. This *a* has been called by Boxwell the categorical *a*, and it is of the greatest importance in Santali grammar.

By simply adding this *a*, any word can be turned into a verb for the time being.

(II) PHONOLOGY.

The most striking feature of Munda phonology is the existence of the so-called semi-consonants: *k' ch' t' p'*. The phonetic system of Munda and Mon-Khmer languages agree in several points and after the researches of Schmidt must be classified in the same group. The semi-consonants, similar to the Indo-Chinese final consonants which are often checked or pronounced without the offglide, thus forming what is sometimes called by Chinese scholars the "abrupt" or "entering tone", are formed in the mouth in the same way as the corresponding hard consonants: *k ch t* and *p*, but the sound is checked, and the breath does not touch the organs of speech in passing out. While this peculiarity is to be found in *Sakei* and connected *Mon-Khmer* languages, there is nothing similar to be found in Uralian languages.

The harmonic sequence or vocal harmony forms a very characteristic feature of Uralian languages (most minutely developed in some Turkish idioms), and a superficial observation may find it a basis of comparison with the Munda languages. In *Santali* and in *Mundari* and apparently also in *Kurku* there are traces of the working of this vocal law. There is however a cardinal difference between the Munda and Uralian harmonic sequence.

In the Uralian languages the vocal harmony affects only the suffixes and affixes while the tone of the root remains unchanged. The roots are divided into two classes: (a) high-toned, and (b) low-toned roots which take high or low toned affixes respectively. The tone of the root dominates the affixes. This high toned vowels are short or long *e i ö ü*, the low-toned ones: *a ä o u*, etc. Turkish *gel-mek* (to come), *kal-mak* (to remain); Magyar *kör-ből* (from the circle), *kar-ból* (from the arm) are words with high, and low tonality respectively. Every affix and suffix has at least one form for high and one form for low-toned words. Magyar affixes for

a locative case are *ban* and *ben* (*ház-ban* in the house, *kéz-ben* in the hand). Turkish affixes for the genitive case are: *in*, *un* and *in*, *ün*, e.g. low-toned: *bâs-in* (of the head), *kol-un* (of the arm); high-toned: *el-in* (of the hand), *göz-ün* (of the eye).

In the Munda languages the principle of the harmonic sequence is different. The vowel affected by this tendency is sometimes the preceding and sometimes the following one. In Santali the facts are as follows:

There is a set of vowels which Skrefsrud calls *neutral* and marks with a dot under the respective letter: *a e i o u*. They are something like a short indistinct vowel sound which English *r* assumes in words such as “*here*”, or the final *e* in German “*Ruhe*”. The most common of these sounds, which plays a prominent role in the language is the neutral *a*. It has a deep guttural sound. The neutral *i* and *u* are only used as the second component of diphthongs beginning with *a*. The neutral vowels are apparently always due to the influence of an *i* or *u* in the preceding or following syllable.

The general rule of Santali harmonic sequence is that *i* and *u* *neutralise* all vowels which come under their influence. That is to say that if an *i* or *u* stands in the vicinity of an *a e* or *o*, these letter sounds change into short or long *a e* or *o* or often into short or long *e, i, u* respectively, e.g. *húá huká* and: *húê huké* (jackal's cry), *kôrâ* (boy), *kôri* or *kuri* (fem. girl); *kala* (deaf), fem: *kali*; *ach'-ak'* (his), *iñ-ak'* (my), *bako* (not they), *bañ* (from *ba-iñ*: not I), etc. If an *a e* or *o* must be retained for grammatical reasons in the neighbourhood of an *i* or *u*, those latter sounds must be changed; thus: *dâl-êñ-kan-â-e* instead of *dâl-iñ-kan-â-e* (he is striking me).

When followed by *a* or *o*, the *e* is generally substituted for *ä*, and *o* for *â* in the demonstrative bases *ün* (this), *ân* (that), *ântä* (just these), but: *en-ka* (just so), *en-ko* (these), *ântä*, but: *onka* (thus). The pronominal bases *än*, *ân* accordingly become *en*, *on* respectively, and they are further replaced by *in*, *un* respectively, in words such as *in-i* (this very), *un-i*

(this). In a similar way \hat{e} is substituted for the \ddot{a} in the suffix $r\ddot{a}$ in the genitive suffix $r\acute{e}ak$.

The vowels of dissyllabic words will accordingly usually be found to agree with each other. If one of the syllables contains an i or u the other usually contains a neutral \dot{a} , \dot{e} , \dot{o} , \dot{u} , or closed e or o , vowel and *vice versa*. If one of the syllables contains an \ddot{a} or \ddot{a} the other syllable cannot as a rule contain an e or o , and *vice versa*. For instance: $dal-ok'$ (to be struck), $s\ddot{a}n-\acute{a}k'$ (to go). In some isolated cases this ok' becomes uk' after i and u . Thus: $hijuk'$ (come) instead of: $hijok'$; $gujuk'$ instead of: $guj-ok'$ (to die). In a similar way, the pronominal suffix \ddot{a} (he, she) becomes e after a or o , and i after \dot{a} or \dot{u} ; thus: $dal-a-e$ (he strikes), $handua-i$ $utu-let'-a$ (bamboo shoots she curried) she has made curry of bamboo shoots.

It is evident from the above rules and examples that, while the harmonic sequence of Munda languages is a mutual euphonic arrangement of syllables irrespective of their high or low tonality, the vocal harmony of Uralian languages is based on the difference of high and low tones. Such a differentiation does not exist in Munda.

These essential differences which subsist between Munda and Uralian languages and which I have described, are more than sufficient to decide negatively the question: whether the two families of languages have any real morphological similarities. It is clear that the similarity is purely restricted to outward appearances, and has no connexion with any organic resemblance whatever. To class the Munda and Uralian languages together must therefore be considered even on the basis of pure morphology, as erroneous, and here we have another instance of how misleading the appellation "Turanian" used by M. Müller is likely to prove in practice.

Languages originating from the same stock preserve at least the skeleton of their original structure and vestiges of common words appertaining to a primitive culture. As the supposed unity of Munda and Uralian languages ought to date back more than 4,000 years, when the respective peoples lived somewhere in a hypothetical prehistoric "Urheimat," only

such words could be adduced as fit for comparisons as are likely to have denoted the most primitive notions of the human intellect. Consequently the great bulk of words which Uxbond puts forward for comparison must be brushed aside on *a priori* grounds, for they could not possibly have formed the vocabulary of a primary people.

It would have been sufficient to collate the elements of nature, parts of the body, primitive functions of man, numerals, etc. Uxbond does not even try to study the problem in this critical way, but promiscuously compares Munda and Magyar words belonging to a very advanced culture in which state the two languages had been already subjected to foreign influences—and stumbles into Aryan loan-words on one side, and Slav or German borrowings on the other.

I crave the indulgence of the reader to follow me a few steps further in order to show that the arguments which Uxbond adduced are as erroneous as the methods he followed.

In what follows I pass over his etymologies of Magyar-Maori words, and restrict myself to the Magyar-Munda comparisons, which lead the author to state that "Magyar is much more closely allied to the Austric Munda languages than to any other family, and that it should therefore be classed with it, instead of with the Finno-Ugrian (Uralian) family, even though it may possess some common features with the latter" (p. 147).

On page 130 seq. Uxbond refers to the theories advanced by Caldwell, C. Mueller, Lepsius and a Hungarian scholar, G. Bálint de Szentkatolna to establish the affinity between Finnic-Turkish and Dravidian languages. "It would be *very easy* to find for the same words," says Uxbond, "corresponding Maori terms, just as it would be equally easy to show an affinity between certain Magyar terms and Sanskrit." "We have here a good example of *how inadequate is the mere comparison of words to prove the relationship of two languages.*"

In spite of this recognition of the general principle Uxbond claims a special and exceptional consideration for his Munda-Magyar theory. He cites Schmidt who pointed out, as the most intimate characteristic of the Austric languages,

certain terminal sounds which appearing without exception in each branch of them always give rise to the same signification.

"The most striking feature to our mind"—says Schmidt, and after him Uxbond—"when investigating the Austric languages is the constant reappearance of the terminal sound "p" in roots, etc., denoting: to embrace, to contain, to squeeze, to pinch; further to bite, eat, chew, in general to indulge in anything; also to drink, to cover and "together", in general: to shrink, to shrivel, to become defective. In an analogous way the terminal sound *m* has the same meaning for words which express: assemblage, a mass, whilst the terminal sounds *p* and *m* very often are interchanged."

"If thus attention is attracted and researches extended to other terminal sounds, it will be also at once realised that the *c* sounds denote "away," "below," then: to decrease, to decay, to deteriorate; similarly it is found that the terminal sound *s* serves as an expression for removing, a scratching off, rubbing away, and others, and that both these sounds also are interchanged."

"Perhaps even more striking is the regularity with which words with the terminal sound *n* express the meaning of: from one another, pell-mell, into one another, there and back; and especially practically all verbs denoting weaving or plaiting end with this sound. In the figurative sense the terminal *n* sound is found in expressions indicating unrest, inward agitation, anger, yearning."

"Finally the terminal sound *t* appears in words which represent the idea of: into anything, insertion, intersection; then cutting in general, and also cutting off."

"These criteria", continues Uxbond, "which apply *neither to the Uralian nor to the Altaian languages, are very explicitly shown in Magyar, as may be proved by examples such as the following.*"

I have shown above that the isolation of the Magyar language is entirely uncritical, and therefore on a *priori* grounds we do not expect that Uxbond would be able to prove his assertion. In Uralian languages words are formed by suffixes only and not by terminal sounds. The Magyar

language makes no difference in this respect. All the words adduced by Uxbond are erroneously and forcibly cited. They may be used to prove anything or nothing.

I take some examples at random (a) in connexion with the signification of the sound *p* :

English

Magyar

to grip, squeeze, pinch

csip

It is remarkable that this *p* in the Magyar word which holds, according to Uxbond, a unique position, also occurs in the English word : *grip*.

to seize, to grasp

kap

The English *grasp* ominously also ends with *p*, and strange enough the Latin *cap*-ere, which, by the way, has the same meaning also ends with *p*. The Magyar *kap* is identical with Turkish *kap*-mak, (to seize, to grasp). How can this *p* prove the unique position of the Magyar language?

mash

pép

This is not a Magyar word but the German *Pappe*, and its exact English equivalent is not *mash* but *pulp*—also ending in *p*.

to dance

rop.

This word originally does not mean to dance but to *crack*, and imitates, as an onomatopoetic verb the sound of specially Hungarian dancing ; in reference to dancing it may be translated by *to hop*. (again with a *p*).

to sip

hörp

The English word also has a *p*

the drop

csöpp

The English word also has a *p*

the tap

csap

The English word also has a *p*

headgear

kalap

Unfortunately this is a Slav word.

English

to beat

Magyar

csap

Its correct translation is to strike, to cut, or perhaps to *chop*.

to whet

kop

This word does not correspond to English : whet, but is identical with Turkish *kop*-mak, to drop, to fall off, to chip off. (drop and chip also have the *p* !)

(b) The group of the sound *m*

drinking bout

iszom

This word is a finite verb, the *m* being the affix : Present, 1st person singular, exceptionally used as a noun, in a jocose way.

soot

korom

is identical with Turkish *kurum*

mill

malom

This is not a Magyar but a Latin word : *molinum* (also ending with *m*).

(c) The group of the sound *c* and *s* (*sz*, *z*, *cs*)

to carry away

visz.

This is a finite verb, the sound *s* being an affix, English : *carries* may prove the same.

to take away

eltesz

a finite verb, the *s* being a suffix corresponding to English *takes* (Also ends with *s*)

guide

kalauz

is identical with Turkish *kılâghuz*

match

kanóc

is a Slav word.

dirt

dancs

is the English *dung*, the Magyar and Turkish *dancs* resp. *dindj* means : strong, mighty.

(d) The group of the sound *t*

English
garden
is the German *Garten*.

Magyar
kert

furrow
is a Slav word.

gerezd

I have taken the above examples at random, without searching for others in an etymological dictionary, but the rest will, at closer inspection, similarly prove untenable for the same reasons. Many of the Magyar words quoted as examples in support of this peculiar characteristic of the Austric languages were manufactured by the Hungarian purists at the end of the XVIIIth century!

Quite apart from the form of words, how does the terminal sound *p* or *b* in the words: *szab* (cut), *rab* (prisoner), *tép* (he tears), *bab* (bean), *zab* (oats), *szép* (beautiful), *kolomp* (bell), *köp* (he spits) *záp* (molar tooth, or foul egg), *táp* (food), *ép* (sound, complete), *kép* (picture), *nép* (people), *púp* (hump), *gyep* (lawn), etc. express the meaning of; to embrace, to contain, to squeeze, drink, cover, etc.?

How far is this compound of signification covered by the words: *zöm* (main body), *tom* (feast), *nem* (species, gender), *alom* (litter), *korom* (soot), *gyom* (weeds), *nyom* (track), *hám* (harness), *gém* (crank)?

I cannot believe that any Magyar can perceive the sense of the meaning: to decrease, to decay, to deteriorate, to scratch off, in the words *sarc* (ransom), *mécs* (wick), *kanóc* (match), *kúsz* (to crawl), *ősz* (autumn), *ősz* (hoary) *kész* (ready), *csupasz* (bare), *rossz* (bad), *motoz* (to rummage) *csúz* (gout), *görcs* (cramp), *kevés* (little), etc., etc.

The terminal sound *n* is supposed to express the meaning of: from one another, pell-mell, weaving, plaiting in these Magyar words (*nota bene*: exclusively in Magyar words, all other Uralian idioms being shut out of this privilege) *mén* (goes), *vadon* (wilderness), *rokon* (relative), *külön* (separate), *von* (pull), *szán* (sleigh), *szán* (to regret), *kín* (ache), *halaván*

(pale), *sován* (meagre), *hiún* (useless); the *n* is a suffix! *magán* (private; manufactured word!) *fen* (to whet), *kalán* (spoon; really: *kanál*, the English: spoon is nearer to the Mon-Khmer group!), *bün* (sin!), *gyón* (to shrive), *ösztön* (instinct), etc., etc.

The sound *t* is supposed to represent the idea of: into anything, insertion, cutting, in the following words: *kezd* (start!), *betét* (deposit!), *önt* (pour), *keret* (frame), *kert* (garden), *gyűjt* (collect!), *vet* (to sow), *harmat* (dew), *bot* (stick), *rud* (rod!) *fakad* (germinate, shoot!), *tát* (spread), *hasít* (split!), *arat* (to cut!), *kard* (sword!), *sért* (hurt!), *hat*, (penetrate), *hint* (disseminate).

I italicised the terminal *d* or *t* in the English equivalents, and I think that with some effort the English language also could be grouped among the Austric languages by the same method! I must apologize for having bored the reader with the comparisons of Uxbond on which he lays great stress, but the compilation of which seems much more to be a child's play than a serious chapter in a linguistic work.

In the XIIIth chapter Uxbond draws a parallel between the Magyar and Munda grammar. In reference to phonetics his only remark is that the Magyar and Munda words cannot begin with two or more consonants. This is not an exclusive characteristic of these two families, the Bengali language displays the same peculiarity, besides such a quality is not an argument for comparison. He ignores the great discrepancies pointed out above.

Uxbond goes simply after outward similarities in comparing Munda and Magyar suffixes. The Magyar affix of dative is *hoz*, *hez*, *höz* (subject to vocal harmony). Uxbond collates it with Santal *honte*, *hontere* (there, yonder). The Santal dative, like the other cases, are really locatives, and its suffix is *then* and *te*, and has nothing to do with *honte*. Further on, he compares the Magyar suffix *lag*, *leg* (corresponding in its comparative and restrictive sense to the English "like"—and which is said to have originated from the noun *alak*, i.e. shape, figure) with Mundari *leka*, the English *like*. Why not compare it with English "like" instead of Magyar: *alak*, which,

parallel with the Turkish (a language which Uxbond isolates from Magyar) *kilik*, i.e., form shape, figure, is a suffixed form of the verb: *kil* (to make, to create) like the Magyar *alk-ot* (to create).

A Santal suffix *tät' tet'* (Uxbond forcibly cites: *tat*, but I find in Grierson *tät'* in Skrefsrud; *tet'*) is used to form abstract nouns. In Magyar *at*, *tat* forms nouns from verbs. Uxbond does not hesitate to find an affinity between the two. The particle *tät'* is affixed to words and adds emphasis or definiteness. It is also employed to form abstracts. It is a kind of definite article, for instance *hende-tet'* (the blackness), *marañ-tet* (the greatness), *chalak'-tet'* (the going). Magyar *at*, *tat* can be added to a verb only.

In Santali *an*, *n* forms possessive adjectives; this *n* may be affixed almost to any word, e.g., *up'-an hor* (hairy man), *eto-n dañgra* (breakable bullock), bullock fit to be broken in (*eto*, break).

In Magyar *an*, *en on* is a suffix forming adverbs from adjectives, verbal adjectives, and numerals. *Vak* (blind), *vak-on* (blindly), *tárt* (open), *tárt-an* (openly). The similarity is only apparent. This *n* cannot—as Uxbond asserts—be added almost to every Magyar word ending in a single vowel. The example given: *kicsi* or *kicsin*, *piczi* or *piczin* (small, little) is a word used only in children's language, *piczi* seems to be derived from French *petit*.

Uxbond compares Munda *khon* which he translates more, with the Magyar dative suffix *hoz*, *hez* (antiquated form: *hon*). Strangely enough *khon* is the Santali suffix of the ablative, for instance in sentences of comparison, *iñ-khon am-em marañ-a* (from me thou art great), you are greater than I. There is no connexion between *khon* and *honte* (there) alluded to above by Uxbond as the equivalent of Magyar *hoz*. The Santals are now slowly taking to form the numerals between ten and twenty (under the influence of the modern schools, where they are trained to the reckoning by *ten* and not by *twenty*) in a manner different from their original way: *gäl-khon-ponea* (ten more four) 14 Uxbond grasps this *new* form of Santali numerals as an argument for comparing it with Magyar *tiz-en-*

négy (ten-on-four) 14, comparing the Munda *khon* (more) with Magyar *en* (*on*, *ön*). He ignores that the Magyar *en* (resp. *on*, *ön*) is a regular suffix, attached to nouns and numerals, equivalent to the English preposition: *on*, *upon*. *Tiz-en-négy* means: on ten four. This *en*, *on*, *ön* has nothing to do whatever with Santali *khon* or *n* which is a suffix and *infix*. "This *n* occurs" says Uxbond, "in the formation of Santal collective numerals and in a similar way we shall find in Magyar, from *négy* (four)—*négy-en* (all the four), from *hét* (seven)—*heten* (all the seven)". Uxbond again confounds, in his quest for similarities, a regular Magyar suffix with this ominous Santali infix *n*. In Magyar—as we have seen above—the suffix *on*, *en* forms *adverbs*, answering to the question: how, in what a way, how many, etc. *Négyen*, *heten*, etc. simply means: by four, by seven. *Hetén vagyunk*: We are seven; it is an adverbial numeral.

The Santals are not far advanced in mathematics, their numerals only going up to *twenty*. Uxbond tries—in spite of this well-known fact—to collate Santali higher numerals with Magyar. The Santali unit is *twenty* for decimals, *e.g.*, *mit isi* means: one score (20), *bar isi*: two score (40), *pe isi*: three score (60), etc. This *isi*, or as Uxbond cites it: *hisi* is not a Santal word but has been borrowed from Arabic, respectively Hindustani: *hisa*, portion, share. Thus *mit isi* (or *mit hisi*) means: one share. It is obvious that it cannot be compared to Magyar: *húsz* (20).

Uxbond holds the Magyar *száz* (100) and Santali *sae* for the same word. It is a pity that he overlooked the respective passage in Grierson (Ling. Surv. IV. 42), where he would have found the Santali *hajar* (1,000) also corresponds to Magyar *ezer*. As a matter of fact, the Santali higher numerals *isi* (20), *sae* (100), and *hajar* (1,000) are Aryan loan-words.

As to Magyar higher numerals they were borrowed by the Magyars from the Persians together with many other words which form a specified layer in the edifice of the Magyar language. Magyar *száz* is the Persian *sad*; Magyar *ezer*, the Persian *hezár*. The Persian *tumán* (10,000, myriad) remained in the Magyar word: *töméntelen* (innumerable).

An important Santali infix is *k'*; inserted after the first vowel of verbs it has an intensitive effect. In this way intensives are formed from verbs beginning with vowels and from some which begin with a consonant. It is also inserted for the same purpose in demonstrative pronouns beginning with an *n.*, e.g., *nui* (this man here), and *nuk'ui* (just this man here); *âl* (write), *âk'âl* (intensitive); *agu* (bring), *ak'gu* (intensitive). Uxbond asserts that: "some Magyar verbs are intensified also through the infix "*k*", for instance *ri* (to cry), *rikit* (to scream), *rikolt* (to yell)." This is an obvious mistake. The verbs *rikit*, *rikolt*, are not derived from *ri*. There are some few other Magyar verbs whose roots end with *kit* or *kolt*, but no shorter root exists from which they could be an augmented or an intensified form. They are onomatopoetic verbs meaning to yell, to scream, like: *sikit*, *sikolt*, etc. in which the *k* expresses the sound of screaming. His other examples are still more curious. Magyar *ad*, *ád* (to give); Uxbond forcibly derives from it *okád* (to vomit). In *okád* the *k* is not an infix but an important sound of the root, the Turkish equivalent of which is *kus-mak* (to vomit). *Ad*, *ád* and *okád* have nothing to do with one another.

Uxbond does not observe the working of phonetic rules in comparing words and is thus at liberty to venture on the most stupifying etymologies.

It is characteristic of Uxbond's unmethodical procedure that in his endless list of Magyar-Santali etymologies (p. 197—p. 432) most of the supposed *Santali* words are *Bengali* loan-words. We give just a few specimens which may indicate the value of the rest of his comparisons.


Santali : *hat* ; is the Bengali : *hât* হাত (hand, forearm) ; Sanskrit : *hasta* हस्त. Santali : *bad* is Bengali : *bâd*, বাদ (enmity, deduction, infamy); Sanskrit : *vâda* वाद (speech, dispute, plaint-in-law). Santali : *bikol*; Bengali : *bikol* বিকল (confounded, bewildered); Sanskrit : *vikala* विकल. Santali : *buj* ; Bengali : *bujh* বুঝ (understanding, intellect); Sanskrit : *buddhi* बुद्धि. Santali : *gorob*; Bengali : *gourôb* গৌরব (heaviness, weight, pride); Sanskrit : *gaurava* गौरव. Santali :

jhar; Bengali: *jhārā* জারা (a stream of water from the perforated bottom of a pot); Sanskrit: *jhārā* झारा. Santali: *joe*; Bengali: *joy* জয় (victory), Sanskrit: *jaya* जय. Santali: *ghori*; Bengali: *ghori* ঘড়ী (watch, clock). Santali: *kincit*; Bengali: *kiñcit* কিঞ্চিৎ (somewhat, something, a little); Sanskrit: *kiñcit* किञ्चित्. Santali: *arpa*; Bengali: *arpan* অর্পণ (giving bestowing); Sanskrit: *arpayati* (caus. of *ar* to go. Santali: *mot*; Bengali: *mata* মত (method, way); Sanskrit: *mata* मत. Santali: *sal*; Bengali: *śālā* শালা (house, apartment, room); Sanskrit: *śālā* शाला. Santali: *sobha*; Bengali: *śobha* শোভা (beautiful); Sanskrit: *śobhā* शोभा (light, beauty, grace). Santali: *abod*; Bengali: *obodh* অবোধ (foolish, silly); Sanskrit: *abodha*. Santali: *adai*; Bengali: *ādāy* আদায় (receiving, obtaining, collection, realisation); Sanskrit: *ādāya* or perhaps has the verbal form *ādāya* आदाय (having taken) which occurs very often, erroneously, as a noun in Bengali. Santali *akāsok*; Bengali: *ākāś* আকাশ (sky); Sanskrit: *ākāśa* आकाश. Santali: *anjan*; Bengali: *añjan* অঞ্জন (a black paint, besmearing); Sanskrit: *qñjana* अञ्जन (ointing, smearing with). Santali: *anman*; Bengali: *anumān* অনুমান (inference, conclusion); Sanskrit: *anumāna* अनुमान. Santali: *ar*; Bengali: *āro* আরো (more), and Sanskrit: *apara* अपर (another). Santali: *asin*; Bengali: *āsin* আশ্বিন (September-October); Sanskrit: *āsvina* आश्विन. Santali: *asa jawa*; Bengali: *āsā jaoa* আসা-যাওয়া (coming and going). Santali: *balok*; Bengali: *bālok* বালক (male, child, boy); Sanskrit: *bālaka* बालक (Magyar *balek* is a Turkish word: fish, Magyar *balek* means: a dupe). Santali: *bhitor*; Bengali: *bhitor* ভিতর (inside, within); Sanskrit: *abhyantara* अभ्यन्तर. Santali: *bisoe*; Bengali: *bisoy* বিষয় (object, regarding); Sanskrit: *visaya* विषय. Santali: *bote*; Bengali *bote* বটে (certainly, correct, true); Sanskrit: *varate* वर्तते. Santali: *guru*; Bengali: *guru* গুরু (teacher);

Sanskrit : *guru* गुरु. Santali : *kal*; Bengali : *kāl* কাল (time);
 Sanskrit : *kāla* काल. Santali : *kichu*; Bengali : *kichhu* কিছু
 (a little); Sanskrit : *kiñcit* किञ्चित् (a little). Santali : *mag*;
 Bengali : *māgh* মাঘ (January-February); Sanskrit : *māgha*
 माघ. Santali : *mon*; Bengali : *mon* মন (mind, spirit);
 Sanskrit : *manas* मनस्. Santali : *oboso*; Bengali : *aboṣo*
 অবশু (certainly), Sanskrit : *avaśya* अवश्य. Santali : *pasu*;
 Bengali : *poṣu* পশু (beast); Sanskrit : *paśu* पशु. Santali :
sima; Bengali : *śima*; मैत्रा (limit, border); Sanskrit : *sīman*
 सीमन, etc., etc., etc.

A favorite argument of his is that the Magyar and the Munda languages display a "bewildering mass of conjugational forms." Grierson and Skreftsrud make the same observation upon the Turkish verb, from which Uxbond applies it to the Magyar. Agglutinative languages naturally have more conjugational forms, for the qualities of the action are expressed by the verb, but the Magyar language, on the other hand, is very poor in tenses. In the Indicative Mood it has only one present, one imperfect (which is never used), one perfect, and one pluperfect (very seldom used), and finally one future tense (which is never used) and one which is formed on German model. The Turkish verb has 13 tenses in the Indicative Mood. Italian and French 8 tenses, all in use, against the *three* Magyar tenses used in conversation and literature. But anyhow, it is futile to waste time over this, as the *number* of conjugational forms is no proof for or against affinity.

The details of Uxbond's linguistic comparisons hopelessly break down as was to be expected from the uncritical formulation of his proposition.

After the complete failure of the linguistic evidence advanced by him no weight can be attached to the anthropological, ethnographical and historical data gathered from legendary chronicles and the like which, even according to the author himself, belong to "slippery ground". He exclaims, after having tried to find a Magyar explanation for geographical names in India, 'but all  have just discussed is, somewhat

in the nature of guess-work; let us consider less speculative things" (p. 161).

He cites Huszka's *Magyar Ornaments*, and believes his assertions corroborated by the scientific researches of this scholar who proved that "the ancestors of the Magyars must have lived for centuries together with nations of the second Persian empire". This is perfectly true; besides linguistic evidences there exist a mass of old weapons, iron and steel instruments and other ornamented remains which display the work or influence of Sassanian smiths and artisans. But this is all. The Sassanian-Persian culture spread its beneficent influence Northward as well as South and Eastward, and this influence of its art had not ceased even after the fall of the second empire in 642 A.D. and continued during, and in spite of, Islam. Magyar ornamental art is just one evidence of this wide-spread and late influence. But if the Magyars were indeed in India between the IVth and the VIIIth century A.D., why should only the Sassanian-Persian ornaments be a proof of this (which could have been assimilated in the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea just as well), and why did the Magyars not bring along with them any other Indian memories: Brahmanism or a faint light of Buddhism, or the chewing of betel-leaves? Considering the tenacity of linguistic influences they surely ought to have brought Indian words in their language. A stay in India for several centuries—as Uxbond imagines—surely would have changed the anthropological and ethnological character of the Magyars and have left an indelible imprint on their language. Nothing of the kind can be discerned.

Uxbond calls the witness of legendary chronicles, although he himself admits that "how far descriptions of the old homeland given by ancient Magyar chronicles may be accepted as historical truth, and whether certain instances are not simply borrowed from chronicles of other nations and attributed to the Magyars, cannot be examined here" (p. 164).

The Magyar chroniclers describe the old homeland as an earthly-paradise, where huge beasts, rhinoceroses, tigers and snakes dwell, and pearls are lying on the ground. In the ima-

gination of the chroniclers the chivalrous Magyars could possibly not come from a less blessed land—but we can hardly believe that if indeed this land had been such a “fertile soil, where groves, woods, and meadows flourish, extremely rich in all kinds of game, a country, where the natives are fond of a quiet life” they would ever have abandoned it. Besides, apart from rhinoceroses, tigers and snakes, this country could hardly be India. Quintus Curtius probably described Cashmere by: “the air is very healthy, and the heat of the sun is tempered by the coolness of the shade and by abundant springs.” The climate of India is totally different.

In this connection I cannot help pointing at a very rash inference of Uxbond (p. 165). He emphasises the fact that the Magyar chroniclers often allude to tigers and that the Rigvedas do not mention this beast, as it lives only on the banks of the Ganges in Bengal, and was not met with by the Aryans who wandered into India from the North-West. On the other hand, the Magyar chroniclers make no mention of the lion in spite of the fact that lions are to be found Eastward from the lower course of the Indus and the Sutlej river. This circumstance and the custom still prevalent among Hungarians to wear panther and tigerskins led him “to the conclusion that the general line of Magyar migration passed from Bengal up the Ganges valley, along the slopes of the Himalaya and to North-West India and thence to regions beyond the Indus.” He mentions further (p. 168) that the Magyar chroniclers speak of a *torrid zone* in the old Magyar fatherland, and in ancient Magyar sagas snow plays little part. What evidence can he adduce for this? Has he any linguistic proofs for the tigers and panthers and the torrid zone? As far as I know, in the torrid zone of Bengal, wherefrom the Magyars are supposed to have migrated Northward, no living being has ever worn furs of any description. The wearing of animal skins rather points to a more temperate and Northern zone than Bengal!

Linguistic results also justify such a supposition. The word denoting tiger in the Magyar language is *kaplony*, the Turkish *kaplan*; the Magyar word for lion is *oroszlán*, the Turkish *arslan*, panther means *pars* in Persian (and borrowed

by Turks) from which the Latin *pardus* and the Magyar *párduc*, is derived.

One word more! Uxbond considers the representatives of the Finnic languages as "anthropologically an entirely different people" (p. 170). How can he assert that the *negroid* Munda-speaking aborigines of India, who have unlearned their culture altogether, if they ever had one, who still use bows and arrows and are a primitive but unwarlike hill and jungle people, can with a much greater verisimilitude be brought into racial relationship with the Magyars of yore who paraded on their richly caparisoned chargers, adorned with Sassanian weapons and ornaments and drove like a furious lightning irresistibly across the battlefields of Europe?

I put down the book with a disappointment as great as the eager interest with which I had opened its pages. The extensive learning, great industry and earnest endeavour of the author have, for lack of method, led to no tangible results.

SANTINIKETAN,
August, 1929.

TRAVELS IN INDIA.

(*A Review**)

“Eastern Asia can be said to encompass three distinct spheres, in each of which life political and social has evolved separately, *viz.*, India, China, and Japan. Three races characterized by the highest gifts of spirit and mind have realized, in the course of centuries, the strength and plentitude of their faculties, each of the three working along its own individual linesYet, numerous points of contact can be detected in the three cultures.....Whoever surveys in their artistic features such towns as Peking, Kioto, and Delhi, will at once acknowledge the close relationship that links the Chinese and the Japanese capitals with the Indian..... As a matter of fact, Indian influences can be traced in almost every department of art, religion, and social life of the two former cities..... But how could India acquire this position of a cultural inspirer of the Far-Eastern countries?.....The answer is:Through Buddhism.....”

Such considerations which the author sets forth in the introductory chapters of his book probably induced him to devote only a fourth of his space to China and Japan, where he spent more than two years (1902-4), while the other three-fourths are occupied with his travels in India, where he stayed less than six months (1905).

He does not expect his book, he says, to take place among the many monographs on art published by specialists in Germany and elsewhere in such profusion and variety in recent years. He has in view that class of lay readers who prefer a certain vividness of impression to the dry accuracy of technicalities and statistics. He aims at, and certainly succeeds in imparting to his readers, through his objective descriptions and also a luxurious set of illustrations, an interesting glimpse of the religious and artistic life of India. His records are conscientious and thorough enough to be of use even to the scholar as a valuable source of information.

The pleasure and profit we get by visiting new countries do not consist merely in the new sights we actually see, but also in the reactions of these new objects on our former views and standards of value, and the way we orient them in the field of our previous experience. We must

**Indische Fahrten* (Travels in India) by Joseph Dahlmann, S. J. 2 Vols. Herder and Co., Freiburg. 1927. 2nd Edition.

not of course hunt for only such facts as are needed to confirm our preconceived theories (and this is done unconsciously by a good many travellers). But this is by no means Father Joseph's method. The light in which he presents the facts shows the fairness and moderation of an open-minded and unbiassed observer of men and things. He has of course his own point of view as everyone has. We may disagree with a few or many of his conclusions. But this does not lessen the interest and enjoyment one derives from his book. You visit my country. You have a perfect right to write a book on it, and judge it according to *your* standards, tastes or opinions. I may know my country better than you do ; still your judgment and interpretation of it may be wiser than mine. And were they not, they still would be of value to me. All I have the right to do is to enlighten you about facts that are more familiar to me, or discuss your view of them by contrasting it with mine. On the whole Father Joseph has surveyed India with an impartial eye.

Space does not allow us to follow him in his wanderings from Calcutta to Benares, Budh Gaya, Sanchi, Bombay, and the Caves (1st volume), then to Delhi, the Punjab, Rajputana, Gujrat, Southern India, and Ceylon (2nd volume). We shall simply note a few points which have struck us while going through his record. His visit to Calcutta begins with an account of the "Black Hole" episode. He gives the official version of it and does not mention others. Non-official versions are available which show that there is "another side of the medal." The sight of modern Calcutta led him to think that "British statesmanship has created an India rich and great as there never was one before." Here again, the kind Father seems to see only one side of the problem. He may be right if by India he means the Indian Government. But what of the Indian nation, the Indian people?

But other monuments soon attract the Father's attention. "Better than the written word, the achievements of art betray the soul of a people." Let us take this principle for granted. Now Father Joseph is rather severe on Indian architecture and sculpture. "We do not find," he says, "the slightest trace of that noble, lofty and measured spirit which expressed itself in the creations of classical (Greco-Roman) art. The sense for harmony, picturesqueness, and plastic beauty is wanting. A decided preference for the colossal, the grotesque, and the absurd prevails ; a craving for animal or hybrid forms, for caricatures and monstrosities." In the sculpture of certain temples the good Father reads nothing

but a "code of erotics," but besides giving vent to his indignation he does little to solve this psychological riddle. Still he concedes that "the Brahmanic temple, as it shows itself in Northern and Southern India, is a mixture of noble artistic forms with the raw produce of sensuousness."

In Benares Father Joseph comes across parties of Sannyasies. The sight of their penances shocks him. He compares their type of asceticism with Christian austerities. "Indian asceticism," he says, "is a disease carried on for centuries. It has grown into a fanaticism of self-mortification which degrades man to the level of the beast. Nothing is more characteristic of it than the fact that it runs parallel with the orgies of the most voluptuous licentiousness.....Compared with it, Christian asceticism is a heaven of truth, light and life, in which the penancing, world-renouncing souls float like angels bathed in God's radiance..... At its highest Indian asceticism is a caricature of Christian ideals of penance.....The two types move in fundamentally different planes, and can only be compared together by superficial observers." And Father Joseph concludes with the pun, "In the Indian cult the beast, owing to the belief in transmigration, is raised to the level of a god, while man sinks to that of a beast; thus beast-worship has become a beastly worship!"

It would take a volume to discuss the resemblances and differences between the two schools and decide which is better. We shall only point out that Father Joseph compares two incommensurable things. He puts side by side the ideals of Christian asceticism and the actions of a party of Benares ascetics who may or may not be imposters for all we know; naturally the *ideals* eclipse the actual.

As a last example of Father Joseph's somewhat circumscribed point of view, we shall mention the final sentence of his work. He sees "India's only hope of salvation in her joining the fold in which the three main civilizations of history, Israel, Greece and Rome have met, *viz.*, Christianity." Now suppose we should reverse the position and say, "The only hope of salvation open to Western civilization lies in Europe's conversion to Buddhism!" The former suggestion seems as reasonable, as desirable and as feasible to the enlightened Indian, as the latter does to the average European.

But it would be unfair to Father Joseph to put too much emphasis on some passages of his book in which he interprets things from a too Western point of view, or explains in a hasty way aspects of Indian life

that require prolonged study, local experience, and insight. His book written in the form of a diary simply records the impressions of a traveller. It is thorough, rich, and honest. The author genuinely admires the many beauties acceptable to him and occasionally deplores dark sides of the pictures he notices here and there. He never feels called upon as many tourists do now-a-days—and it seems to have become quite a fashionable sport—to decide what the Indian nation is worth and able to do, what India should do and not do, what should be given or not given to her, and so forth.

There is something in the innermost soul of India which every student and lover of the country comes to understand better and better the deeper he goes into his studies, and Father Joseph seems to have had a glimpse of it. It is this that in India every thing good is hidden. Indian languages, arts, religions require years of patient initiation before the outsider can see his way into them. Indian music speaks low and without obvious effects, Indian pictures are small and delicately coloured, Indian wisdom is mostly silent. That on the other hand vice, noise and charlatanism should be everywhere visible on the surface to the most careless gaze of the patronizing or interested globe-trotter is not even to be deplored, it is in the nature of things. People seek for what they like and always find it. Father Joseph's book shows what an average traveller, fair-minded and serious but not entirely free from his own racial prejudices, can make out of India even in a short cold-season tour. Of all he saw he has understood a good deal, and what he understood he has interpreted at its best.

FERNAND BENOIT.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S VISIT TO CANADA AND JAPAN.

By P. C. MAHALANOBIS.

The invitation from Canada.—The Poet had been repeatedly invited to visit Canada by the National Council of Education of Vancouver, but had always declined to do so for a variety of reasons. This year however it was represented to him from certain influential quarters that he should accept the invitation for the sake of a better understanding between the peoples of India and Canada, and he finally agreed to do so.

Departure.—The Poet accompanied by Mr. B. W. Tucker of the American Mission, working at that time as a teacher in Santiniketan, and Mr. Apurva Kumar Chanda left Calcutta on the 26th February, 1929, and sailed from Bombay on the 1st March by the *S. S. Naldera*.

I. ON THE WAY TO CANADA.

The Federated Malay Straits.—After very brief halts at Colombo on the 4th, and Penang on the 8th, Singapore was reached on the 9th of March. In spite of the bad weather a large number of local residents including Mr. R. Jumabhoy, the President of the Indian Association, and other members of the Association went on board to welcome the Poet. *The Straits Times* and *The Malay Tribute* of Singapore published on the 11th March long articles and interviews from which we reproduce a few extracts.

“It was, Tagore said, his happy experience, to discover that Indians overseas retained in full measure their warmth of feeling for their native land, and that in spite of the stress of their labours and pursuits after wealth in lands overseas they had not grown cold in their interest and love towards their motherland. The wonderful and extremely gratifying response to his appeal for the support of the *Visva-bharati*, which he maintains at Santiniketan, amply proved that Indians in Malaya as elsewhere were as loyal and as anxious to be helpful towards

Indian institutions and aspirations as those who stayed in their homeland."

"He referred to the misrepresentation of facts regarding certain of his observations on the occasion of his last visit to this country, which he said pained him exceedingly, but of which he did not wish to complain. There were people everywhere who were apt to allow their imaginations to run riot in a desire to produce sensational matter out of which to benefit themselves at the expense of others."

A luncheon was given by Mr. M. A. Nemazee which was attended by prominent members of the Indian Community.

Hongkong.—The party reached Hongkong on the 15th March. *The South China Morning Post* published a poem of welcome by Gladys Jackson and also a long article on the life and works of the Poet. He was met on board by many members of the Indian community headed by Mr. J. H. Ruttonjee, and the whole party stayed in Hongkong for one day as the guest of Mr. H. M. H. Nemazee.

The Poet lunched with His Excellency the Governor Sir Cecil Clementi, and was the guest of honour at a tea party given by the Sindi Hindu Merchants' Association at the China Building on the evening of the 15th. Mr. Melwani, the Secretary, in his speech of welcome expressed the hope of seeing the Poet again on his way back from Canada and the United States. On behalf of the Association he offered to the Poet a sum of money contained in a silver box, as their contribution towards the fund for the Women's College at Santiniketan.

Shanghai.—On the 19th the Poet reached Shanghai, and stayed there for two days with the young Chinese poet Hsu Tsemou who himself had visited Santiniketan in October, 1928.

In an interview with the United Press correspondent at Shanghai the Poet commented that education instead of revolution is what India must look to in solving her manifold troubles.

"All my life I have devoted to the cause of education, and I do not see any factor which will lighten India's load except

the free and intensive dissemination of learning among the lower classes. In this programme I look to America and Canada for aid, since it is in these countries that education has attained its highest form and the student class has the greatest freedom."

"He spoke scathingly of Katherine Mayo's Mother India. He referred to it as 'that tissue of lies' and intimated that its chief appeal was to those of indiscriminating taste and to those who did not want to know the truth about India."

At Shanghai the Poet had lunch with the General Chaing Fang Chen and met a number of leaders of Chinese thought. A dinner was also arranged by the Indian residents of the place.

Japan.—Passing through Moji on the 22nd and Kobe on the 24th the Poet arrived in Yokohama on the 26th and left by motor for Tokyo after attending a dinner given in his honour at the Indian Club.

He had luncheon at the Tokyo Ashahi as the guest of that newspaper, while the Nichi Nichi was his host at tea. In the evening he was the guest of honor at a dinner given by the Japan Women's University.

The following extracts are taken from *The Japan Advertiser, Tokyo*, of the 28th March, 1929.

"Dr. Tagore gave a brief public address at the Asahi auditorium at 7-30 o'clock yesterday evening, immediately before a reception in his honour. The auditorium was filled even beyond capacity, all standing room being taken and the corridors packed with spectators who had no chance either of getting a glimpse of the speaker or hearing what was said. The audience was a representative one, consisting not only of students but of representatives of most other classes as well."

"The aged philosopher was greeted with loud applause when he took the rostrum. Speaking in English which was interpreted at intervals, the sage first told his audience that he was coming before them not as a philosopher nor a teacher but as a poet. Poetry, he said, has a universal appeal which even language barriers cannot entirely eradicate and is understood to some extent by all. He finished his talk by reading several of his poems in English."

II. IN CANADA.

The Triennial Conference of the National Council of Education of Canada.—The fourth session of the Triennial Conference of the National Council of Education was held in Victoria and was presided over by His Excellency Lord Willingdon, the Governor-General of Canada.

The Conference was attended by distinguished educationist from different parts of the world which included Sir Aubrey Symonds, K.C.B., Permanent Secretary of the British Board of Education, Sir Charles Grant Robertson, Principal of the University of Birmingham, Mr. Ernest Raymond, Miss Winifred C. Cullis, President, British Federation of University Women, from Great Britain; Comte Serge Fleury, and M. and Mme. P. Suzor from France; Dr. Bruno Roselli from Italy; Prof. Matousek from Czecho-slovakia; Prof. L. Kempff and Dr. Ludwig Müller from Germany; T. Kawasaki and T. Fukuma from Japan; Sir Archibald Strong and Mr. L. B. Franklin from Australia; Sir F. Milner from New Zealand; and the Poet's party from India. The gathering was a representative one of Canadian educationists and also of Canadian business men and professional leaders, and included the Hon'ble Henry Cockshutt (President, National Council of Education), Professors G. M. Wrong (University of Toronto), L. S. Klinck (President, University of British Columbia), Carlton Stanley, A. S. Lamb (McGill University), G. W. Kerby (Principal, Mount Royal College), G. H. Ling (Dean, University of Saskatchewan) and a large number of Ministers, Deputy Ministers and Directors of Education from the different provinces of Canada.

The general theme for discussion at the Fourth Triennial Conference was 'Education and Leisure' under the sub-heads of (a) Literature, (b) Music and Drama, (c) Organised Recreation, Hobbies and Handicrafts, (d) Health (in relation to Leisure), (e) The Radio, and (f) The Cinema.

The following statement is taken from the official programme of the Conference:—

"Education in any country must necessarily fail to achieve its full purpose unless it maintains the closest of contact with the world at large. Isolation educationally will inevitably lead to intellectual stagnation and to dearth of ideal. Each nation has its contribution to make and each much to learn from others. For this reason the co-operation of other countries at the Conference is being sought."

It will be seen from the above statement that the Visva-bharati and the National Council of Education of Canada have one important object in common, namely, International Co-operation in Education, and it was a fitting thing that the President of the Visva-bharati should represent India at the Conference.

Arrival in Canada.—On the 28th March the party left Japan for Canada by "the Empress of Asia," in which a special suite had been arranged for the Poet by the National Council of Education, and arrived at Victoria at 7 a.m. on the morning of the 6th April.

Special articles were published in all important newspapers before the arrival of the Poet.

The following extracts are taken from the leading article in *The Daily Colonist*, Victoria, B. C., of the 6th April.

"Among the most notable personalities of the Orient to-day is Sir Rabindranath Tagore who comes from Bengal for a few days on a visit to the Occident. India's greatest poet and taking high rank among the lyric poets of the world,.....a social reformer of the first rank, a religionist and philosopher whose writings have had wide influence both in East and West, in later years he has been an educationist whose experiments in child culture are being watched with much interest..... The greatness of Tagore lies in mental breadth and poise, spiritual insight, tropical imagination, all of a rare order and harmoniously fused with a sincere and kindly personality. He was immersed in his youth in the Indian renaissance and his culture was extended by travel and study of world literature. Tagore is a love-poet, but more than this he is a Nature-poet. In a rare degree he lives in intimacy with Nature, One writer avers that no poet who ever lived has had a more constant and

intimate touch with natural beauty. The most cursory reading of his writings shows how overwhelmingly fecund is his nature imagery. At Santiniketan the chief teachers upon whom he places his main reliance are the open spaces around the groves, the trees, dawn, evening and moonlight, the winds and great rains....."

"As a social progressive Sir Rabindranath has had a great influence on social reform in India. Breaking away from the Hindu tradition he opposes caste.....holding what he calls the *sudra* habit to be the chief of India's manacles. He turns his powerful irony upon the evils of child marriage. Essentially this great Indian belongs to the order of the spiritual men of all ages. He is thus fighting against the dominance of the materialistic in modern civilization. For him there is no real education without religion.".....

"He comes as a preacher of international good will, the doctrine of Santiniketan, 'the Abode of Peace'."

The Daily Times, Victoria, B. C., reported on the 6th April:—

"The 'apostle of illumined freedom' reached here from the Orient by the R. M. S. *Empress of Asia*."

"When the ship docked here this morning, Sir Rabindranath was met at the wharf by a delegation representative of the local Hindu community.".....

"A garland of Easter lilies and roses, an emblem of welcome, was presented to the poet on behalf of Hindu community by Kartar Singh."

"The Hindu philosopher had anticipated arriving in Victoria in the evening and plans were made for his reception."

"These plans were dashed to the ground to-day following the reception of a radiogram.....that the ship would not reach quarantine here until 6 o'clock Saturday morning".....

"Since it was first broadcast that the picturesque Indian figure would attend the Conference of Education here, he has been deluged with invitations by cable and telegraph to speak before various universities, clubs and literary organizations throughout Canada and the United States."

Mr. C. F. Andrews joined the party at Victoria, and stayed with the Poet until his departure for Japan.

LECTURE ON "THE PHILOSOPHY OF LEISURE."

The Poet gave his first address on the Philosophy of Leisure to the Conference on the evening of the same day,

The Daily Colonist, Victoria B. C., 7th April, 1929, reported :—

"If the National Council of Education Conference in progress here had accomplished nothing more than the awakening of the interest it has in India, a lasting benefit would have been accomplished."

"Long before the arrival of Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon and party and Sir Rabindranath Tagore the theatre was packed to overflowing. Hundreds were turned away Even after Sir Rabindranath had started his speech, which was covered by fourteen reporters from various parts of the North American Continent, large crowds waited outside in the hope of getting in if any one should come out. Ushers were continually busy preventing people from crashing exits and other devious ways of securing entrance to the building."

"The entrance of Sir Rabindranath Tagore into the theatre was the signal for loud applause from the entire audience as the famous scholar took his seat in one of the boxes. As he unfolded the theme which he enunciated, at times his face lit up with wonderful ardour, and the scene was translated into one in which the great gathering hung on the words of an ancient seer who had all the accomplishments of a patriarchal age. . . . The audience was lifted from the selfish and material things so prominent in Western life for a time while the seer, steeped in the culture of the Orient, unfolded in poetic language, avenues for higher living, for the appreciation of idealism and the avoidance of spiritual slovenliness."

The Daily Province, Vancouver, 7th April, 1929 :—

"Sir Rabindranath Tagore, the great mystic of this generation, whose voice is a voice of the ancient Orient, delivered here to-night his message to the Occident—at once a warning and a rebuke to western materialism."

"The poet of India came half way across the world to make this single speech and into it he put the full power of a personality which has caught the imagination of all nations."

"In his long robe, with white beard and long curls falling upon his massive shoulders, he was an arresting figure as he stood on the stage of the Royal Victoria before delegates to the National Council of Education's Conference and an audience which filled the theatre and lined up in a large queue outside. His features, with their dark glowing eyes, aquiline nose and fine mouth appeared to be of great beauty and there was an air of calmness and utter detachment about him as he told western civilization what he thought of it."

"The subject of his address was the "Philosophy of Leisure," but under the title he grouped a wide variety of reflections on life. While warning the western peoples against tendencies which, he said, would be their intellectual and spiritual ruin, he treated their problems with a broad sympathy."

The authorized text of the address on the "Philosophy of Leisure" will be found on pages 5—12. We give the concluding portion of the speech at the Conference as reported in the Canadian Press.

"It is imperatively necessary that man should add, at every age, a new mansion to his palace, in order to welcome with proper ceremonies the new guests who come with gifts that have to be harmonized with his past inheritance. But he has no time. Busy day and night exporing the work which is non-human, solely for gains that are non-spiritual, his sense of the human reality shrinks into utter insignificance in a world whose pride is in vastness and in which all manifestations are predetermined in details. He seeks the cradle of all that is great in him in the lightless nursery of the dust, and mocks himself with a sinister laugh, taking defiant pleasure in self-insult. He allows his freedom to ferment into frothy license, coarsens his soul into obscenity, smothers with marketable commodities the perspective, the detachment needed for the amplitude of his dignity, and thus obscured he obscures the vision of his God, for he has no time."

"Man has grown old in spirit, for sharp shocks of quick time brings on the weariness of decrepitude, while unencumbered peace and a large expanse of life is needed for blossoming of youth, the youth that must not only have the courage to do,

the intellect to know, but also the sympathy to understand and the faith to create."

"The space enclosed within walls and the time cornered by the money market have been appropriated by the business office which there buys and sells, pays and charges rent by the yard and by the hour. Outside is the assembly of stars. Undivided space and unclouded time are realized by me through my sense of joy in the boundless. This immensity is suprefluous for the purpose of mere physical life, as is proved by the worms that burrow underground. There are also in this world human beings for whom a dearth of sky and closed up time is no privation, for in them has been killed the mind that cannot live without stretching its wings outside the urge of necessity. It is tyranny of the ghost of such dead souls that frightened the poet into the prayer 'Doom me not to the futility of offering the eternal gifts of joy to the callous'."

"The realm of this joy has been known to the dwellers in the land of leisure and they have said: 'Covet not, do not nourish the longing for an acquisition which is solely for thee, for the Supreme Lord dwells in the all and therefore have thy joy for Him through the sacrifice of self.' This is the Divine Spirit, the great Soul who is active in the world's activities, who dwelleth in the hearts of the peoples—those who realize Him with a sure comprehension in their heart—their mind reach immortality."

"This is the realization through which all our activities, divested of greed, achieve dignified detachment. They lead us to the great souled union with the all, and thus to the truth that knows not death—the death which belongs only to the isolated self."

PUBLIC COMMENTS ON THE LECTURE.

The address on the Philosophy of Leisure attracted wide attention and leading articles and comments on the Poet's views appeared in almost all the newspapers.

The Daily Province, Vancouver, B. C., published the following article on the 8th April under the heading "*Tagore asks us why.*"

"What are we after in this civilization of ours? What are we giving to it, and what are we getting from it in return for our service? Where are we bound and why? What are the things that matter in this our earthly life, and what do we really believe about them? These are some of the questions, and the sort of question, that Sir Rabindranath Tagore has come from India to ask us. They are very interesting questions, and the fact that we are not ready with an answer to them need not make us impatient that they should be asked. Perhaps they will turn out to be the sort of questions which men have put to themselves about their wisdom and their destiny in every generation, and perhaps the only certainty in this mysterious game of life is that men will go on asking them. If the National Council of Education thinks it is relevant in the hurly-burly of our contemporary Canadian life to hold a conference on the meaning and the uses of leisure, that, we think, is a notable portent". . . .

"He tells us that 'time is money, but leisure is wealth,' and he asks us, in effect, what it will profit us to gain the whole world if we lose our own soul in the process. He tells us, somewhat as Wordsworth told us, that "the world is too much with us." He seems to think that really we are spending all our time in the "business office," and he reminds us, in language apt to the uses of a poet, that outside the business office is the 'assembly of the starts.' "

"It is the fashion to speak of such admonition as this of the venerable Indian seer's as the voice of the immemorial East in its traditional questioning and indictment of the West and its achievement in history. We are not certain that that is the just dealing with Tagore's criticism, and we are very sure it is not the helpful one. No contrast of the Orient against the Occident serves us very much in this matter, which is essentially a question which goes down among the roots of our common human nature. We can see that on the surface of events, and for our contemporary purposes, the West is imposing its way of life upon the East. When Tagore tells us that time is not the same thing as leisure, and that our civilization, which makes us rich in mechanical devices is leaving us poor in the commodities of time and leisure both, he is uttering a complaint which is as valid to-day among the temples of Benares as in the streets of Vancouver, he is asking a pointed question which comes home as much in China as in Europe or America."

"The fact is that the nature of our civilization is one thing, infinitely various in its manifestations, perhaps, but not to be appraised rightly in any view which closes our eyes to our work when it looks at our leisure. The present conference is to consider the uses of leisure. It will inevitably be obliged to consider them in relation to the objects of our work. Tagore is on sure ground when he says that our age of machinery has not given us any more leisure than our fathers knew. It is doubtful even if it has given us more time. We go faster than the men who built the Gothic cathedrals, and wrote the poems of Shakespeare, and discovered America, and painted the pictures of Michael Angelo, and received the messages of Isaac Newton and Giordano Bruno—it is not certain that we are on our way to a better life than was theirs. We have delivered our time into the keeping of the engineers, and the men who make machines for the making of more machines. Perhaps the essential problem for this generation, or the next, is that it shall find a way to establish the domination of man over the machine he has made. Perhaps we have to learn that splendour and riches and power must be put in the second place, and that the things that matter are only beauty and courage and kindness. Anyhow, it is good for us that we should stay for a moment and ask ourselves questions about the business of human life."

The Daily Times, Victoria, B. C., published a leading article on "Tagore's Message" on the 8th April. After a long quotation from the address came the following comments.,

"While there is a great deal of truth in this indictment of modern creative genius, there are enough striking exceptions to justify a hopeful outlook for the world. If much of that genius is being employed unworthily, much of it also is being dedicated to the loftiest purposes. In many directions science and research are improving the welfare of humanity without regard to material profit. Every day we find, somewhere, examples of splendid sacrifice in the cause of the great principle of which the illustrious Indian poet is so eloquent an advocate. Never in the history of the world has the spirit of philanthropy been more manifest than it is to-day. If much of the material wealth which springs from the creative genius and mental resources of mankind is being squandered, much also is being diverted to man's spiritual and intellectual betterment. There is, therefore, a silver lining to every cloud that

the poet sees on humanity's horizon. The world is still moving upward. Hope 'still sees a star and listening love can hear the echo of a wing'."

"There are limitations, too, imposed by Nature upon man's opportunities for the cultivation of a beneficent leisure. This is especially true in young countries like Canada and Australia. In them a large number of people are engaged in a battle with natural conditions, overcoming physical and climatic obstacles in establishing their homes. It is difficult for the pioneer who is carving a little settlement out of the wilderness to apportion any of his time to the pursuit of undisturbed, orderly leisure, or for the countless thousands engaged in the development of the resources Nature has placed before them to cultivate the arts and sciences, or to meditate upon anything else than the problems which confront them from day to day."

"Man must live first before he can hope to live well. Countless millions in India find it difficult to live at all. Incidentally, the use of leisure in a general sense cannot be standardized. Some people must have physical recreation after their working hours to enable them to keep fit for the serious affairs of life. Others require some other form of diversion. Indeed, exercise in a bowling alley might be more useful to some people in their time of leisure than anything else. Even the motion picture comedy, by acting as a mental stimulant, might be more helpful to many superior natures than a peaceful contemplation of the moon and stars."

The Gazette, Montreal, Canada, published the following leading article on the "Spirit of Progress" on the 9th of April.

"By common consent we live in an age of progress. No topic is more attractive to our minds than the evolution of mankind from barbarism to civilization; and in especial we are wont to contrast the wonderful achievements and privileges of the twentieth century with the conditions of social life in bygone generations. Such review inevitably prompts the question as to whether our boasted progress is as sound and real as we assume it to be. Speaking upon this subject before the Educational Conference at Vancouver, Sir Rabindranath Tagore, the Hindu poet and philosopher, voiced a salutary warning against the engrossing devotion of modern civilization to material ends at the expense of those moral and spiritual factors which are vital to the communal welfare. As he sees it, the spirit of progress is neither moral nor immoral, but it can

operate in two entirely different ways, either in mastering the powers of nature to torpedo the world into a "blood-oozing abyss of torment," or to reclaim a new world of life from the void. The forces brought within human reach and under human command are like gunpowder which can be used either as a medicine or again as a deadly explosive. We live in an age of inventions, of speed, of mechanism, of multiplied tools, of money and expanding markets, of schools, suffrages, international conferences, and social reconstruction schemes; and modern life is crowded with a thousand interests and problems of life trying to condense centuries of thought into the hours of a single afternoon. But the emphasis of all this tumultuous energy and stir is frequently misplaced."

"To quote the words of Sir Rabindranath Tagore, in which he points out this grievous faulting of modern civilization: 'The modern world has not allowed itself time to evolve a religion, a profound principle of reconciliation that can fashion out of all conflicting elements a living work of art, its society. The creative ideas of life necessary for giving expression to the fullness of humanity, were developed centuries ago. But we fail to adjust them into a comprehensive completeness. Invention, construction, organization, are spreading fast along the high-road of history. But the creative genius of man is every day losing its dignity. It accepts cheap payments from the multitude. It is engaged in keeping irreverent minds amused. It makes faces at things men hold sacred, and tries to prove that the ideals of social life which had given us grace, the majesty of self-mastery, and the voluntary acceptance of suffering, are false coins made current by the weak for purposes of self-deception.' Such is the severe indictment of progress by this Eastern sage. Perhaps the shadows are blocked into the picture too deeply. But there is some truth in his criticism. Sir Oliver Lodge, in milder fashion, has said that modern society, in the development of its enormous energies, has lost its poise, its balance, its rightful sense of proportion; and the aesthetic and moral elements have therefore not kept pace with the advancement of intellectual skill and the growth of sciences. Here lies the real danger. Progress has been defined as man's conquest of his environment, but it is even more important to the welfare of human society that man should master himself than assert his mastery of outside forces. As Goethe truly says, 'Intellectual emancipation, if it does not give us at the same time control over ourselves is poisonous.' And although we are not

bound to believe with the Greek sophists that all nations forever toil in a vicious circle, and granting that there is 'a frightful interval between the seed and the timber' of human progress, it nevertheless remains true that this age is in many important aspects, and in its educational activities and its moral tone, a distinct improvement upon what has gone before. Alike in its institutions, its social amenities, its 'material developments, and its spiritual connections, we have just reason for gratitude. And if we have not sufficiently reduced our materials to rhythmic stroke with a genuine creative order; if we have not as yet sufficiently realized that human improvement comes from within and not from without; at least it may be confidently affirmed that there never has been a period in human history when the kinship of man to man was so broadly recognized. Nor has there ever been a time when the sense of justice so strongly prevailed, or when the charities of life have found such release and scope, as are to-day manifest through all the ranks and divisions of modern civilization."

The Morning Leader, Regina, Sask, published an article on "A Poet and the Modern World" on the 9th of April.

"Sir Rabindranath Tagore, Hindu poet, philosopher and mystic, has been telling the National Council of Education in session at Vancouver that the Western world is too hurried to find time for spiritual inspiration. He warned the western nations against tendencies which he said might be their intellectual and spiritual ruin because they did not find the leisure in which to develop their souls."

"These are fine ideals. Many a meditative person has paused to wonder about the rush of modern life, the passion for material comfort, the struggle and competition for gain. And yet Sir Rabindranath Tagore's own country, which has largely escaped the rush of the modern world and where some of the ideals he has been outlining at Vancouver have been in operation for thousands of years, makes no powerful appeal to the people of Western nations. It is possible that many Canadians will applaud what the Indian poet has been saying. But would they take a chance on living in India for the remainder of their lives?"

The Star, Saskatoon, Canada, published the following leading article on the 9th of April.

"East and West. It has been said there are two ways to happiness. One way is to reduce desires until they correspond to possessions. The other is to increase possessions until they fulfil desire. The first is oriental, the second western. The philosophic Hindu or Chinese, in a spirit of resignation, accepts what comes to him and is content. The bustling citizen of the western world is always unsatisfied, finding his keenest pleasure in the free play of the acquisitive instinct. These are very broad generalizations but they are roughly true. Consider the careers of Mahatma Gandhi and of Henry Ford."

"Sir Rabindranath Tagore, the Indian poet and philosopher, brought a message from the east to the west in his address to the education conference at Victoria last week. As he has done many times before, Sir Rabindranath warned the occidental nations against materialism and feverish competition for the world's goods. We are losing spiritual calm and mental poise, he says, and forgetting that true wealth consists not in physical goods but in leisure to think, to arrive at a philosophy and to enjoy beauty."

"All of that rings true and yet in a sense the Hindu mystic, when he speaks to western people, is a voice crying in the wilderness. The western nations are committed absolutely to the machine. They have built a mechanical system which produces goods in a stream of unbelievable speed and volume and which permits everyone, although working only half as long as his grandfather, to enjoy material comforts and amusements such as the richest man could not command two generations ago. Such a world can not possibly be converted to the view that the striving and pushing are in vain even if, as Tagore says, they destroy serenity and dignity. Along with the serenity and dignity of the oriental dreamer goes a great deal of physical discomfort, misery and disease such as western people cannot regard as admirable or desirable. 'Mother India' was not entirely fictional."

"Still, it would not be quite fitting to quote 'east is east, and west is west, and never the twain shall meet,' concluding that Tagore has nothing to tell us. Leisure is the machine's most priceless gift and it is a leisure much more comfortable and richer in opportunity than the oriental enjoys. What is to be done with the spare time denated by the machine? Considered as an answer to that question, Tagore's remarks on the life of the western world are very much to the point."

It is evident that there were criticisms also of a different type, making kindly fun of the "highbrow" character of the Poet's lecture. The following comment by Clifford Dowling on certain criticisms of this kind is interesting.

"A lady journalist, writing in a local paper, found occasion the other day to poke some kindly fun at Sir Rabindranath Tagore and his audience. Dealing with his first lecture at the Vancouver Theatre she gave what she considered might be the average person's reactions to a certain address by the poet which was highly abstract and compact in its nature. The article was delightfully humorous and made excellent fun of highbrow and lowbrow alike."

"Now I understand that there are a great many ardent admirers of Tagore who have taken this article deeply to heart and have waxed very hot because they believed it to be an attempt to belittle the poet. Nonsense! Or even supposing it was, what of it? Tagore is a great man but it does not follow that he must be made immune from criticism or ridicule.....It is the price of greatness that it must be the ready target for every man's wit and comment."

Vancouver.—On the afternoon of the 7th, the Poet with his party left Victoria by steamer and reached Vancouver on the evening of the same day.

LECTURE ON "THE PRINCIPLES OF LITERATURE."

The second lecture to the Conference was given at the Vancouver Theatre on the 8th of April.

The Vancouver Star, 9th April, 1929, reported :—

"Sir Rabindranath Tagore, introduced by Prof. George M. Wrong, of 'Toronto University, as 'a prince in his own land, a poet and lover of world peace,' was the chief speaker Monday night at the National Council of Education Conference."

* *The Vancouver Sun*, 9th April, 1929 :—

"Thousands sought to see and hear.....Tagore Monday night, but could not gain admission. They stood in long lines for hours outside the theatre, and even after he had commenced speaking, they waited before the theatre doors reluctant to leave. Before 8-30 o'clock the line of those who waited for admission extended up Granville Street, down

Georgia, past the Hotel Vancouver, so far as the Counthouse..... More than any other delegate to this Conference he seized their imagination. They paid him the respect due to intellect, and knew him as the living voice of an East of which the West has little understanding..... They saw in him a leader of thought who had the secret gift of the born artist. They found in him an intellectual who yet had the touch of human kindness which somehow linked him with his audience."

"To the two thousand persons who crowded the Vancouver Theatrethe picture of a serene old man, in whose mind burn the unquenchable fires of genius, enunciating his credo, will outlive his words. He carried his audience far beyond the outposts of every day thought, past the details of and immediate activities of life, into the realm of pure aesthetics."

"A voice from the ancient East.....recalled for the Christian West that the key to the infinite lies in self-forgetfulness and self-sacrifice. In this philosophy.....Tagore, poet and artist, finds the meaning and joy of the arts which give men contact with truth. This message came from the heart of an artist who found in its old truth the ever-new thought which is revealed, he said, to those who have the 'divine gift of immortal youth.' "

"As he crystallized for all the joy and adventure of thought, although few may have remembered his exact words, the address fell within his own definition of true art. They followed voice and gesture to grasp his theory. Finally he crystallized for the imagination in one simple story the essential point of his address, that the perfection of art is that it grips the mind with a sense of absolute truth. Then he closed the book from which he was reading, his voice ceased, and the teacher turned away from the radio microphone so strangely incongruous beside the apostrophe of the spirit. The pause which followed this simple conclusion was probably the greater homage from his listeners, that significant moment when people sat reluctant to break the spell of his words."

"He made no compromise with his subject or with his audience, and while portions of his address were difficult to follow yet, when he came to the point he wished to emphasize, the simplicity of it was impressive. A child's story served to point his conclusion."

A summary of the lecture as reported in the Canadian newspapers is reproduced below.

Reported Summary of the Lecture.

The poet Rabindranath Tagore, in opening his lecture stated that an immediate consciousness of reality as an end to itself gives us joy, and this joy has its expression in art. We try to make permanent in our art expressions the recognition of the intimate relationship of our own being with anything that is before us.

There is a perpetual desire in us to become fully aware of ourselves, which is fulfilled when an emotion is aroused in us by any fact that has a special value of reality for ourselves. Emotions give colour to our consciousness; we see ourselves truly when our mind is excited by any feeling.

The Poet went on to say that this was the reason why all emotions in their purity are truly delightful. For instance, in a story of adventure the emotion of fear is utilised to give us delight. The same is true with regard to all emotions. All arts have their function in giving us the stimulation of reality which excites our imagination to a consciousness that reveals to us our own personality in a coloured light of emotion.

The lecturer gave an instance of a Chinese friend who while travelling through the streets in Peking suddenly called his attention to a donkey. It was nothing that could be called particularly beautiful or rare, it did not symbolise any idea of utility or metaphysical truth, it had no other justification to receive any acknowledgment except its own entity in a world where he himself had his fellowship of existence with it. The behaviour of his Chinese friend at once reminded him of the Chinese poems in which the sense of reality was so simply expressed because of this sensitiveness of the poets to the bare facts of life. Our modern mind, he added, was like a hasty tourist in its rush over the miscellaneous. It ransacked cheap markets of curios which were mostly delusions. It seldom had the patience and earnestness needed for a comprehension of joyous sympathy. The literature that it produced seemed always to be poking her nose into out-of-the-way places for things and effects that were out of the common. She racked her resources in order to be striking. She elaborated inconstant

changes in style, as in modern millinery, and the product suggested more a veneer of polish than the bloom of life. But through all true arts, literary or otherwise, man had expressed his feelings that were usual in a form that was unique and yet not abnormal. When Wordsworth for instance described, in his poem, a life deserted by love, he invoked for his art the usual pathos expected by all normal minds in connection with such a subject. But the picture in which he incarnated the sentiment was unexpected, and yet every sane reader acknowledged it with joy when the image was held before him of

'Mid its own bush of leafless eaglantine.'

There is, said the Poet, a great amount of dexterous activity in some phase or other of the present day art producing novelty in order to poke out into a sudden glare the sensation of the unaccustomed. The fact seems to have been ignored that the ever-new is revealed in the heart of the ever-old to those who have the sensitive vision of the young; and all true-born artists have the divine gift of youth. When we find that the literature of any period is laborious in the pursuit of this spurious novelty in its manner and matter, we must know that it is the symptom of old age, of anaemic insensibility which seeks to stimulate its palsied taste with the pungency of indecency and the tingling touch of intemperance. It has been explained to me that these symptoms mostly are the outcome of a reaction against mid-Victorian literature which developed a mannerism too daintily saccharine, unmanly in the luxury of its toilet and overdelicacy in its expressions. It seemed to have reached an extreme limit of refinement which almost codified its conventions making it easy for the timid talents to reach a comfortable level of literary respectability.

This explanation, the Poet stated, might be true; but unfortunately, reactions seldom had the repose of spontaneity, they often represented the obverse side of the mintage which they tried to repudiate as false. Literature as an art expressed the responses of the human mind to all the stimulus of the personal world of man. The Cuckoo of ornithology exclusively belonged to the bird-world, it merely satisfied curiosity.

The Cuckoo of Wordsworth's poem represented a reality which was personal.

"I know" said the Poet, "the line of a song sung by some primitive folk in our neighbourhood which I translate thus :

"My heart is like a pebble-bed hiding a foolish stream."

"The psycho-analyst may classify it as an instance or repressed desire, and thus degrade it to a mere specimen advertising a supposed fact, as a piece of coal may exhibit within its dark shape the flaming wine of the sun of a forgotten age. But it is literature, and what might have been the original stimulus that startled this thought into a song, the significant fact about it is that it has taken the shape of an image, a creation of a uniquely personal character. The facts of the repression of desire are numerous common; but this particular expression is singularly uncommon. The listener's mind is touched not because it is a psychological fact but because it is an individual poem, representing a personal reality."

The Poet said that when he used the word creation, he meant that through it some imponderable abstractions had assumed a concrete unity in its relation to him. Its substance could be analysed but not this unity which was in its appearance. No one could ever find out through dividing and measuring why water at all was water to himself. The mystery became all the more poignant when they found that while they pried into the contents, it hastily disappeared leaving intact all its parts. Literature as an art offered the same mystery which was in its unity.

For instance the following poem might be recited :

*"Never seek to tell thy love,
Love that never told can be;
For the gentle wind does move
Silently, invisibly.
I told my love, I told my love,
I told all my heart,
Trembling cold in ghastly fears
Ah, she did depart."*

*Soon as she was gone from me
A traveller came by;
Silently, invisibly,
He took her with a sigh."*

Such a poem had its grammar and its vocabulary ; but if we divided them part by part and try to torture out a confession, the poem which was a unity evaporated like the gentle wind silently, invisibly.

After dealing with various other aspects of the subject the Poet continued as follows : "The immediate consciousness of reality in its purest form, unobscured by the shadow of self-interest, gives us joy, as does the self-revealing personality of our own. What in common language we call beauty which is in harmony of lines, colours, sounds, or in grouping of words or thoughts, delights us only because we cannot help admitting a truth in it that is inevitable." "Love is enough" the Poet said, "it carries its own explanation, the joy of which can only be expressed in a form of art which also has that finality. We love our own self, because in it we are ever conscious of a unity which may not be beautiful or good or strong but is undoubtedly real. Our love for others radiantly reveals the reality of its objects, though these may lack qualities that are valuable or brilliant."

"The value of him who has not reached for me the luminous stage of reality is only judged by his ability to satisfy my curiosity to know, or to be exploited for some gain, for some service that I desire. My friend is real to me, but not my slave. In my friend I realize myself, or in other words, an expansion of my own reality. In a slave we miss the full significance of reality, and therefore joy ; in a friend we find it. This is the meaning underlying the spiritual message of love proclaimed by all prophets which has the guidance for us from the unreal to the real, from the darkness that obscures to the light that reveals. The fact that we exist has its truth in the fact that everything else does exist, and the 'I am' in me crosses its finitude whenever it deeply realizes itself in the 'thou art.' This crossing of the limit produces joy, the joy that we have in

beauty, in love, in greatness. Self-forgetting, and in a higher degree self-sacrifice, is our acknowledgment of this our experience of the infinite. This is the philosophy which explains our joy in all arts, the arts that in their creations give us an intense touch of the unity which is the unity of truth we carry within ourselves."

"In the *Upanishad* it is said in a parable that there are two birds sitting on the same bough, one of which feeds and the other looks on. This is the imagery of the mutual relationship of the infinite being with the finite self. The delight of the bird which looks on is great, for it is a pure and a free delight. There are both of these birds in man himself, one busy with its needs, and the other with its joy of vision. The latter has its activity in act, which represents not the good, not the beautiful, but the real, the manifest."

"A child comes to me and commands me to tell her a story. I tell her of a tiger which is disgusted with the black stripes on its body and comes to my frightened servant demanding a piece of soap. It gives my little audience immense pleasure—the pleasure of a disinterested vision—and her mind cries out, "It is there, for I see." She knows a tiger in the book of natural history, but she sees the tiger in this story of mine. I am sure, that even this child of five knows that it is an impossible tiger that is out on its untigerly quest of an absurd soap. The delightfulness of this tiger for her is not in its beauty, in its usefulness or in its probability; but in the undoubted fact that she can see it in her mind with a greater clearness of vision than she can the walls around her, the walls that brutally shout their evidence of certainty which is merely circumstantial. The tiger in the story is inevitable, it has the character of a complete image, which offers its credential of truth in itself, not in any corroborative testimony from outside. Her own mind itself is the eye-witness, whose direct experience could not be contradicted. A tiger must be like every other tiger in order that it may have its place in a book of science; there it must be a commonplace tiger to be at all tolerated. But in the story it is uncommon, it can never be reduplicated. We *know* a thing because it belongs to a class;

we see a thing because it belongs to itself; not because of its success in self-identification but because of its distinct individuality."

The Poet concluded his lecture by saying that music was the most abstract of all arts as mathematics was in the region of science. In fact, these two had a deep relationship with each other. Mathematics, as the logic of number and dimension, was the basis of our scientific knowledge. When taken out of its concrete associations with cosmic phenomena and reduced to symbols it revealed its grand structural majesty, the inevitableness of its own perfect concord.

In the pictorial, plastic, and verbal arts, the object and our feelings with regard to it were closely associated, like the rose and its perfume. In music the feeling, distilled in sound, became itself an independent object. It assumed a tune-form which was definite, but a meaning which was indefinable and yet gripped our mind with the sense of absolute truth.

Impressions and Interviews.—We give below Clifford Dowling's impressions of the lecture from *The Daily Province*, Vancouver, 11th April, 1929.

"Monday night I sat in the front row of the Vancouver Theatre and listened to Rabindranath Tagore. I went there highly sceptical.....
..... sceptical not of the greatness of Tagore but of the treatment he was likely to accord the subject in hand. It had been so often said that 'East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet,' that I rather expected to hear a long train of mystical abstractions, beautiful, perhaps, but hardly related to reality as we know reality in the Occident."

"But, scepticism is gone and there is a great admiration in its place. Tagore is a terrific figure. There was nothing of mysticism in his address the other evening and his dealings were with reality in the realest sense of the word. It is common criticism on the street that he talked over nine-tenths of his audience's head. So he did, but what of it? If he had talked so that the nine-tenths of his audience had understood him, the common criticism would have been, and justly enough,—that he had nothing to say that was worth saying, that he had spoken nothing that had not been spoken before."

"Do not think from this that Tagore was intentionally obscure in order to appear profound. He was not. Where he overshot the heads of his audience, the cause lay in the overweight of meaning in every one of his sentences and in the condensation that resulted from the tremendous content of his words. He spoke constantly in epigrams, not with the intention of being clever, as is often the case with epigramists, but because there is a natural tendency on the part of fertile minds to revert to epigrams in order to say a great deal in a short space."

"That the greater part of Tagore's audience Monday evening did not grasp his meaning is no reflection on their intelligence. His subject and the treatment of it was such that unless you had pondered and been deeply interested in it beforehand, you would not have been likely to have understood either the logic of it or the conclusions. The lecture was not in the nature of an intelligence test, but a specialized study. To those who take art and its wherefore casually it was, perhaps, unintelligible, but to those who have pondered art seriously, it was an illumination and a sensible explanation to hitherto inexplicable conundrums."

Mr. Clifford Dowling also had an interview with the Poet and published a long article in the *Vancouver Star* from which we take a few paragraphs.

"The other day I spent an hour in the company of Sir Rabindranath Tagore, famous Indian poet-philosopher....."

"My first sight of Tagore was over the arms and back of a huge easy chair. It is not necessary, that a poet shall look a poet, but surely it is an advantage if he does..... I believe Tagore is the first poet I have seen who combined completely the reality with the appearance."

"He is very easy to listen to, is Tagore, and best of all you know that he is not in the least impressed with his own importance. Like all true thinkers he has got beyond the stage of thinking of himself—or at least of thinking of himself in front of others. He talks carefully and pointedly and with a gentleness that creates something of an air of reverence among those about him. His philosophy must surely be one that begets a great placidity of spirit. The man is critical, yet I could never imagine him waxing vitriolic in his criticisms. *He deals

with divine abstractions and treads so aerily above the heads of the people on the street that he is in no danger of stepping on their toes....."

"Tagore has been called a mystic, but I think the name is a misnomer. His intellect is far too logical and penetrating for the demands of mysticism. An idealist, yes, but a mystic—I don't believe it..... Tagore is against materialism and he abhors the ugliness of machinery. But his objections to these things are not mere prejudices. He prefers the banks of the Ganges, tree-laden and green as they were in his youth, to the banks of the Ganges, factory-lined and smoke-laden as they are to-day. Yet one feels that his preferences here are not, as is so often the case with elderly men, due to any blind conviction that the old is always better than the new."

"I mentioned above that Tagore begets an air of reverence among those about him. Here is an example of what I mean. During an ordinary interview I should have preferred smoking a cigarette to twiddling my thumbs. Yet the thought of lighting a cigarette and offering one to the poet never entered my head. It would have seemed as incongruous as smoking in a church. Write this down as plain foolishness if you will. I don't doubt but that Tagore would have written it down as foolishness himself....."

An Interview in Vancouver.

We give below extracts from the report of an important interview published by Noel Robinson in *The Vancouver Star* on the 12th of April.

"Although I had heard him address Monday evening from the front of the house, and had studied his every action and voice inflection closely, this had not prepared me for the wonderful attractive combination of majesty and charm in the man when met at close quarters.".....

"The rather highpitched voice of the poet when he is addressing an audience can give no idea of its musical cadences in conversation. Despite his picturesque appearance, nothing about him struck me more than the singular absence of pose. I had carried away with me an impression of simplicity, combined with intellectual power. The following notes are a brief summary of the poet's answers to a number of questions put to him."

"We started in humorous vein, as the result of a question recalling to him his lecturing tour in the United States in 1916, from the strain of which he never fully recovered."

"I had an agent", he volunteered, smiling, "who took me in hand and got out of me as much as he could. He told me afterwards that the tour was a phenomenal success, but we had different points of view on that matter. However, it helped to get money for my University, which was badly in need of it at the time. I was speaking on 'Nationalism' most of the time, which was not a popular subject. Often the people came, I think, determined not to be pleased, but they gave me a very good hearing. When I spoke occasionally upon 'the World of Personality', afterwards published in one of my books, I fear it was too abstruse for a popular audience."

"The poet added, in reply to a question, that he had found his audiences at Victoria and Vancouver remarkably attentive and was touched by their enthusiasm at the close."

"When I pointed out to him that, while it was felt that it was well that one had come from the immemorial East to tell the West that it had gone astray from its better way, the statement had been made in the press that the spiritualism of India was not a remedy for the materialism of the West, he made quite a spirited response."

" 'Very many people seem to think that I am always talking about the materialism of the West, and setting it against the spiritual qualities of my own people. I do not do this, and my own people know it. I have known the West and have found there a deep substratum of spiritual thought in your civilization. There are many men in the West with highest ideals and I have known many of them.' ".....

" 'In every department of life, men are struggling to make big profits. Authors have the ambition to become very rich; too frequently they do not write for the love of writing. Intellectual life has been invaded by this desire for riches. This is not so strong in scientific life as in literature. Satan has entered as in the day of the Garden of Eden, in the guise of ambition. In the Middle Ages, people looked down upon money-making. If a man had no other interest than to make money—such as the money-lenders—he was despised. The shadow of profit-making is over the mind of humanity, not

only in the elder and newer Western nations, but it has invaded Eastern continents.' "

"Parenthetically, Tagore drew a picture of the epidemic of ugliness everywhere, factories springing up on the banks of the Ganges in many parts, beautiful spots where as a youth he had been able to roam in freedom of spirit. He spoke of the beauty of Japan, where the cult of beauty had been so much of which has now been invaded by this enormous greed. Science had opened the storehouse of Nature and had made possible production on a tremendous scale. There is an aspect of sublimity in this, but, unrestrained and not properly guided, it could only lead one astray."

"Science to-day has offered humanity a bribe whose proportions are so magnificent that man is not ashamed to accept it,.....sell everything for it which is of higher value....., his home, his philosophy, his happiness, and he becomes a tenant in the office room of his own making."

"I do not say that mentalities are not spiritual in the West. We have seen that, for the sake of truth and knowledge, men are ready to defy death and danger. There is the triumph of the human spirit over the world of matter. In Europe you find it in every department of life. But this spirit has been humiliated by accepting a bribe from the Kingdom of the Dust."

"At this point I asked the poet if he felt that the situation was hopeless. 'I do not think so,' he replied, 'I do hope that science itself will bring about the remedy for what science has unwittingly brought about. It was not the function of science to spread materialism, for truth is never materialistic. Truth, which should save and heal humanity, is being used to kill man. At present you do not know where you are proceeding. You are on the edge of an abyss.' The poet made it clear that there was no turning back. He realised that factories had come to stay. Inventiveness of man was a reality and we must avail ourselves of its opportunities, but some other force must come into the field which would give another aspect to civilization."

“‘There must be a reconciliation of industrialism with the spirit of creation. I hope to see established a harmony between creative man and inventive man. This is the problem. We have said for long ‘We must conquer the air’ and you have done it. In the same way you must conquer the moral problems.’”

“It was at this point that Tagore prepounded his remedy. ‘You can never rescue humanity from this condition by organizations and institutions’, he observed. ‘It is individuals who have always helped humanity. Civilization is the creation of great individuals. It has not been created by big institutions. It is possible that the spirit of redemption is at work now, that there are far more individuals working for this end than we have any idea of, people of great aspirations. The great change will come almost without our knowing it. There was a time when the West believed in witchcraft, but no organization of institutions was necessary to fight it. Gradually, through education, the number of those opposed to witchcraft grew and it disappeared. After long and careful preparation suddenly the change comes almost in a night’.”

“Apropos of this line of thought, I asked the poet his attitude regarding the League of Nations. He was hopeful but had grave misgivings.”

“‘Directly you build up a machinery for accomplishing anything, the ambitious people, who are very clever, try to capture the machinery for their own selfish interests, and if this League of Nations ever obtains some real power like the monarchs of the Old World, then the courtiers will surround it and try and use it for their own selfish ends. Our efforts must be directed towards organizing such a body of public opinion among all the nations of the world that it will be overwhelming in its strength. Then nothing will be able to withstand it. I have faith in the reality of ideas. But you have to go to the root. That is the mission of all idealists. They must appeal to the humanity of man, not by making outward adjustments but by overcoming inner obstacles. And this applies, too, to religious organizations where cant and hypocrisy prevails and the spirit is smothered and truth obscured

simply because the law of the average prevails and becomes antagonistic to higher ideals'."

"The poet looked at his interviewer with one of those rare, almost inspired expressions of his luminous eyes as he said: 'Miracles do happen. I am not a student of history, but I know that there have occurred great changes in the spirit of man. Think what happened to Europe when Christianity made its appearance there, how quickly it overcome those great strong pagan heathens, the Teutons and Scandinavians who had overrun the whole of Europe. The human mind is always desiring for something more satisfactory, and when favourable conditions prevail, everything is suddenly changed'."

"Throughout this interview I had been wanting to ask Tagore his ideals in regard to the future of India. When I did, he paused for a minute before replying. 'The position of India,' he replied, 'is very difficult; it is unique. It is a world problem in miniature, because in no other civilized country are there so many different races and influences. It will be long before we shall come to realize true national unity in India. Yet national unity is our task. You in the West always insist on getting rid of differences either by extermination or by forcible conversion. In the United States they transform their citizens into hundred-per-cent Americans. You don't respect differences in others, and so try to make the whole world monotonous. You simplify the problem by eliminating it. You do not solve the problem: how to respect the differences and yet achieve unity. We are too suspicious of differences in race and culture. Science, is however, helping us to bring us together, just as science has made it easy for me to come to you. India will find her solution just as the world will find peace and equilibrium. Spiritual unity is much more difficult of attainment. That is our mission. and its field is the whole of the world not only India alone. And it is the mission of Science to help us in our endeavours'."

"And on this note, that of his beloved India, it will be well to close. As I left the poet, a little boy of 5 was brought in and introduced. My final recollection of Tagore is that of his splendid head bent forward toward his new visitor, his face

lighted up by smile of welcome and his hand placed upon the little fellow's head."

VISIT TO THE SIKH TEMPLE.

On the 11th of April the Poet visited the local Sikh temple. We take the following report from the *Vancouver Star*, 12th April, 1929.

"Worshippers at the Sikh Temple on Second Avenue have never welcomed so distinguished a guest as they did Thursday night when Sir Rabindranath Tagore paid them a visit..... The ceremonial, strange to Western eyes, was picturesque and impressive, and the welcome accorded the poet by his Vancouver countrymen was enthusiastic. As the imposing robed figure of the visitor, surmounted by its noble and almost leonine head, passed up the centre aisle amid the swarthy, turbanned Sikhs, there was, to Western eyes, a suggestion of unreality about the scene, as though it had appeared from the pages of a picture book."

"Upon Tagore's arrival a welcome song accompanied by Indian music, was played, and flowers were presented. The Poet and his companions, Major Fred Ney and Rev. C. F. Andrews, had divested themselves of their shoes upon entering the temple, which had been specially decorated for the occasion. The place was crowded with both men and women, along with little children, all seated close together on the ground. In the centre was the shrine itself, where the sacred Scriptures were placed upon a cushion covered with a richly embroidered cloth, with a canopy overhead and many lights burning. Behind the sacred book the Sikh priest waved the chauri slowly over the Book itself while the song was being sung. Ratan Singh then welcomed the Poet in a few happy sentences."

"Tagore, replying, recalled how, when a boy, he had journeyed with his revered father to the Himalayas and the Amritasar. His father used to take him every day, at the hour of evening worship, to the Golden Temple. His father knew the Sikh scriptures and admired greatly their freedom from idolatry and their pure worship of the one living God. He could chant, and sing much of the Sikh scriptures. The poet went on to say how great was the value of their bond of religious faith and worship to the Sikh community of Canada."

"Their religion was very noble, and its first founder, Guru Nanak had bidden them to conquer their enemies by love rather than by force. The Sikh was a pure Theist in his religion, and beloved by the Mussulman as well as by the Hindu."

"He urged them not to depart from their church or to grow slack in its obligations—only so they could hold together, and by their quiet and responsible life they could make known to the world the dignity of the Sikh religion."

"Following the poet's address, Mr. Andrews was called upon to speak and emphasized similar points, urging them to make the Sikh community respected in British Columbia. After Major Ney had expressed himself delighted at what he had seen, the ceremony concluded with a hymn and the poet returned to the Hotel Vancouver, where he is resting."

Farewell Address to the Conference, 14th April.—On the 14th of April the Poet gave his "Message of Farewell" to the Triennial Conference of the National Council of Education of Canada at Vancouver. The text of this address is given separately.

Departure from Canada.—Just before his departure from Canada the Poet accompanied by Messrs. C. F. Andrews and A. K. Chanda went to the Canadian Northern Depot and met Their Excellencies the Governor-General of Canada and his wife, Lord and Lady Willingdon. The interview which was private lasted about an hour. The party left Vancouver by train for Los Angeles on the 16th April.

Comments on the Canadian Visit.

Leading articles were published by all the important newspapers on the occasion of the Poet's departure from Canada.

The Daily Province, Vancouver, April 15.

Farewell to Tagore.—"They sang the song in the theatre on Saturday night which old Issac Watts made of the Ninetieth Psalm, and we are told that Tagore, the poet of India, joined in. He had been bidding us farewell, our people and our country and our town, and the

strains of that splendid old hymn, strong and confident and unshaken, came like an echo of his parting message to Canada. He could join in the singing of "Oh God Our Help in Ages Past," for he had been telling us to hold fast to the promise of our youth, and he had been telling us that the strong hope of a nation is to build itself upon the eternal verities of truth and justice and human sympathy."

"It becomes us that we should acknowledge this valediction of our notable visitor. He came from an old country to a young, and from a culture and a tradition with its roots in immemorial days to a civilization in which the new wine of invention is breaking the old bottles. He came, as he said, from a 'sunburnt leisure,' and from the steadfast meditation of the 'slow, languid hours', and he brought us the gift of his friendship and counsel, as we paused in the hurry of our work in the world, to consider for a moment what we were about, and whereunto we were bound. And, first of all, he advised us not to spend all day in the pursuit of material things, and to remember that outside the business office was the 'assembly of the stars'."

"If Tagore had come and gone and had left us nothing more than that, he would still have been very welcome, and there would have been wisdom and profit for us in his coming. But we like best of all to hear the word he gives us as he says goodbye. He tells us to prize above all other things the gift of youth, to rejoice in the unfolding miracle of our destiny, to hope and believe the high assurances that we can be equal to the task of building a noble and abiding civilization in this Canada of ours. And he tells us that we need not succumb to the 'malady of disillusionment and scepticism,' that we can confront the despair of a barren infidelity with the courage of our morning and our springtime, that it will be well with us if we build the foundations of our nationhood in the strong faith of truth and justice and sympathy."

"Some of our citizens, perhaps, have found it hard to understand what this poet of India has been telling us about the meaning of culture in our lives, and of how literature and art are related in our ways with the daily labour of our heads and hands. But there is nothing hard to understand in the simple, friendly message which bids Canada to keep the courage and the hopefulness and the high purpose of her youth. We thank Tagore for that word, and we thank him for coming, and we bid him Godspeed as friend parts with friend."

The Vancouver Sun, April 17.

The Thinker and the Message.—"He has a lean and hungry look ; he thinks too much such men are dangerous.' So spoke Julius Cæsar of Cassius, and the dictum survives even to this day."

"Thinkers have always been the disturbers of somebody's peace of mind ; they have dared to attack the sanctity of established customs and the validity of accepted theories, and rarely, in their own day and generation, have their messages not been away over the heads of the masses.".....

"Tagore has brought to us a message that embodies a view of life and its possibilities to which, generally speaking, we have given little thought. To understand the true nature of this message involves a great deal more serious thought and reflection than could be devoted to it in the time required by the speaker to deliver it."

"Tagore's addresses represent the results of a lifetime of study and reflection, and it is not to be wondered at that much of the presentation was above our heads, but to leave it at that is to confess mental incapacity, or indifference to the whole matter.".....

"When this old world ceases to produce thinkers who tower high above the generality of mankind, stagnation and decay will quickly claim it for their own."

An Ontario paper on the 20th of April published the following article over the signature of Hamilton Spectator.

Tagore's Message.—"The message given by Sir Rabindranath Tagore to the people of Canada,.....on the eve of his departure from this Dominion, is one which deserves to be earnestly pondered. He speaks of the mission of Canada as that of fashioning a 'new world.' As the early pioneers subdued the wilderness, so the present generation has an even greater pioneering work to do—no less than the clearing away of the 'debris of the dead past' and the establishment of a new spiritual order. Only a young nation, free from the sophistication and cynicism of older races, can undertake such a task with any hope of success, and the Indian poet-philosopher looks to Canada with the highest hopes. He is regarded by the delegates to the National Council of Education Conference in Vancouver and by all who have heard or read his address as a modern prophet, bringing to the Western World the penetrating insight of the East. His speeches have been of a peculiarly inspiring

character, dealing with eternal spiritual values. In one of these addresses he said: "What gives us cause for anxiety is the fact that the spirit of progress occupies a great deal more of our mind to-day than the deeper life-process of our being, which requires depth of leisure for its sustenance. In the present age the larger part of our growth takes place on the outside, and our inner spirit has not the time to accept it and harmonize it into a synthesis of creation. In other words, the modern world has not allowed itself time to evolve a religion, a profound principle of reconciliation that can fashion out of all conflicting elements a living work of art—its society." There is more 'depth of leisure' in these days, but little time is devoted to considering the profound truths of which the Indian seer speaks. His contribution to the discussion of the right use of leisure, which was the keynote of the Council's Conference, has been of lasting significance. In this period of the world's history, when speed is all-in-all, the message of the philosopher, on the value of quiet introspection—the precious harvest to be reaped from 'the deep soil of leisure'—is of the utmost value."

Noel Robinson published an article in *The Vancouver Star* under the heading "Tagore: A Reflection."

"Now that the poet Tagore has gone from among us and his visit is just a memory—though, in many cases, a permanent memory—it will be interesting for a few minutes to reflect upon the man and his message....."

"Whatever else may be said of the impression which he has left behind him, one thing is certain—he has made us think. He has, as it were, pulled us up midway in our career as individuals and forced us to ask ourselves the Why and the Wherefore of our present civilization. He has set an ideal before us—practical or impractical, as we choose to regard it—the ideal of beauty and truth, individual, national, international, as a counter-balance to the materialistic philosophy which is, admittedly, the danger of this age of discovery and commercialism. Opinions will differ as to the soundness of some of his criticisms of the trend of modern life in certain of its aspects, but there can be no two opinions as to the positive necessity that we should have among us a few great spirits of his type and influence, who by their speech and writings can reach a wide public, if we are to keep our heads in a world which, in the matter of mechanical development, has travelled a hundred years in ten."

"What of the man himself? It would be an entire misconception of his personality to regard him—as so many seem to do—as one who has lived out of the world, as one who, because he was once rich, has known none of the buffetings of chance. He was born into circumstances which did not necessitate work, but those familiar with him and his story are aware that few men have wasted less time than he. He still takes very little sleep and a twelve or fourteen or even sixteen-hour day of work has been with him the rule rather than the exception.".....

"He has known and overcome much opposition, for especially in his earlier life—he was a man of pronounced views and he has upon at least one occasion plunged into the political arena.....He has held certain principles and fought for them."

"And, in the closing years of his life, broken in health, we find him leaving his home thousands of miles away, venturing into a cold climate at an inclement season of the year in order, not to make money, but to deliver a message the splendour of which has not been dimmed by his conception of a world in travail. Of the beauty of his character there is no question."

"What of Tagore the poet-philosopher? Exception has been taken here and there by those who believe his admirers place him upon too high a pedestal. Perhaps there is some justice in the view of these critics. The verdict of posterity alone can answer that question. At this time of writing it is only possible to judge by the verdict of informed contemporary opinion. And that opinion has given Tagore a very high place.".....

"Some would regard the greatest philosophy as that of the seers and poets. The philosophy of Shakespeare and Shelley is regarded by some as greater than the philosophy and prose logic of Kant. Professor A. S. Eddington, one of the ablest minds of our century, in his latest published work, 'The Physical Nature of the Universe,' towards the end has told us that the mystics of the world who can gain a vision of Reality are probably of the greatest importance in the solution of the final mystery of the universe. They have, he observes, sounded the depths of Reality and may give us a clue to what lies beyond the microscope."

"Tagore is not a metaphysician, but he is an amazingly clear thinker. That was very apparent to me when I spent an hour interviewing him the other day. I asked him many questions. He paused before replying to each and then his reply flowed lucidly and in perfect English until he

had answered each question. No word had to be changed. Only a mind of great clarity could have responded in this way to the unexpected. The compressed sentences—often epigrammatic and full of meaning—of his first address in Vancouver when he was dealing with the Philosophy of Art was over the heads of most of his audience. But that was one Tagore. His final address and message to Canada and the interview to which I have referred disclosed another."

"From a religious point of view, Tagore may correctly be described as a Universalist, so broad is his conception of religion. His religion carries him beyond the stars. But—and here his mysticism is balanced by the practical—he has tremendous faith in the vital necessity for an informed mind in a healthy body."

"That is why he has, in his University at Santiniketan, seen to it that, not only is the Philosophy of Art and the way of life taught, but that the students are trained in deftness of hand and eye and the best methods of agriculture as well. Such faith has he in the principles which he desires to inculcate that he has devoted all the money from the Nobel prize, all the money from his books, and as much money as he has been able to spare from an impoverished estate, to that purpose. With the object of getting money for his beloved university he made a strenuous lecture tour of America in 1916, the physical effects of which he has felt ever since."

"Where this child of his devising is concerned he has spared no effort. He speaks of it lovingly. He regards it as a practical exposition of all he stands for. And one of its chief aims is to try and establish a living relationship between Occident and Orient in order to promote the good-will and unification of mankind."

"Tagore is the type of man into whose presence it is impossible to come without feeling the better for it. He is very human, has a keen sense of humor and is without pose. Those who come into personal touch with him, if only for a few minutes, benefit by it. Even a newspaper man like the writer, who has interviewed all sorts and conditions of men, felt stimulated to further endeavor as a result of this brief contact."

"Not all the glamor of the East, which he brought with him, nor the impressiveness and beauty of his person, nor the sense of intellectual power which he conveyed, was responsible for this. It was the life of the man radiating through his personality."

The following report will also be interesting :—

"A somewhat unusual sermon was preached Sunday evening by Rev. W. E. MacNiven, pastor of Wesley United Church, who has just returned from the fourth triennial conference of the National Council of Education in Vancouver."

"The latter part of the sermon was devoted to a summary of the character of Sir Rabindranath. While not a Christian, since he did not believe in the divinity of Our Lord, the preacher continued, Sir Rabindranath Tagore was a devout admirer of Jesus.....'He is of no particular creed,' Mr. MacNiven said, 'but, nevertheless, a truly religious man. Through all his words, lyric, poems, novels, symbolic plays, one can detect the influence of a profound devotion.' "

The Poet's views on India and Europe.—Before leaving Canada the Poet gave an interview on *India and Europe* which we are publishing separately.

Better understanding between India and Canada. The visit of the Poet to Canada has served in a remarkable degree to promote a better understanding between India and Canada, and is likely to have important social and political results. We reproduce below extracts from a letter from a Vancouver correspondent published in *The Statesman* of Calcutta on the 29th May, 1929.

"Sir Rabindranath Tagore was the central figure at the Conference of the National Council of Education, which attracted delegates from Great Britain, Canada, Australia, India, South Africa, New Zealand, Japan, France, Germany, Italy and Czecho-Slovakia."

"During the early days of the Conference, in which he was the chief speaker, the newspapers of the Dominion reported him fully. No other person occupied the same position at the Conference, with regard to the general interest of the public or of the delegates themselves."

"It became obvious, as the Conference proceeded, that the welcome given to the Poet was not merely a personal homage to his greatness but also a testimony of good-will from Canada to India itself. Thus, those who introduced him or spoke about him, referred to these greater issues, and spoke of India as a sister nation with which Canada wished to come in closer contact....."

"In eastern Canadian centres and, in larger measure, at Vancouver and Victoria, the people showed that the visit of Tagore had made a distinct difference with regard to their own attitude towards India and especially the Indians from India settled in their midst. His visit is thus likely to have important social and political results as well as the educational success, which was obvious to all."

"In the Conference itself, intellectually also, Tagore was the outstanding figure. His lectures and addresses were of a class by themselves, and had a literary quality peculiarly their own. Although difficult to follow, on account of their condensed thought and compressed expression, yet, by virtue of the illustrations which illuminated them, they were very deeply appreciated. Above all, however, the presence of the poet, with his singularly beautiful countenance and his voice, which rang clear through the building, impressed huge audiences—thousands were turned away every time he spoke—and gave them a pleasure which had rarely been experienced in Western Canada before....."

"Tagore avoided the usual public luncheons and other functions, and kept to his room, on account of the state of his health. Even in his seclusion, however, he was able to see, day by day, leading members of the Conference and to help them in various ways with his own counsel and advice on educational matters."

"A singular incident happened by chance towards the end of the Conference which showed the state of public opinion in regard to his visit in the city of Vancouver. While a lengthy film, which described the youth movement in Germany, was being exhibited, the screen recorded scenes surrounding the tour of young German students in India and their visit to the poet's home at Santiniketan. Suddenly the well-known figure of the poet appeared on the film, giving them a kindly welcome. The audience, many of whom had seen the poet on the platform, delivering his lectures, recognized him and cheered again and again as for nearly three minutes the film continued to show him in his own 'Home of Peace.' "

"There was a remarkable demonstration when Tagore took leave of Vancouver at the close of an address in which he delivered his message to Canada. He told a great audience in the Vancouver Theatre of his belief that, unlike older civilizations, whose self-toxin of fatigue

caused them to be cynical and spiritually insensitive, Canada was yet in her creature youth, her faith fresh for building a new world."

" 'And so,' he concluded, "the time has come for me to take my leave from my kind friends, whose hospitality I have gratefully accepted and enjoyed.' The Poet of the East gazed pensively across at a sea of human faces reflecting the kindly beams in his own. The spell held till he moved slightly; it broke with recurring peals of appreciation and applause."

III. ON THE WAY TO JAPAN.

Los Angeles.—The Poet had received invitations from the Universities of Harvard, Columbia, Washington, California, and Detroit to visit these institutions and if possible give talks and lectures. Other invitations were also coming in, and it was proposed that he should stay for sometime in Los Angeles, and then gradually visit as many cultural centres in the United States of America as possible before proceeding to England and Europe where also numerous engagements had been provisionally accepted.

The Poet accompanied by Messrs. C. F. Andrews and A. K. Chanda reached Los Angeles on the morning of the 18th April. An unfortunate incident had occurred just before this. The Poet's passport appears to have been mislaid which led to some kind of unpleasantness with the immigration authorities of the United States. The Poet was extremely tired by the long journey from Vancouver, and there was a mild recurrence of the heart trouble. He gave a short address to the students of the Los Angeles University on the 19th April, but finally decided to abandon his proposed tour in the U. S. A. and accompanied by Mr. Chanda sailed for Japan by the *Taiyo Maru* on the afternoon of the 20th April. Mr. C. F. Andrews at the same time left for British Guinea.

The Passport Incident.—The incident in connection with the passport has given rise to a good deal of public comment in the press in India as well as abroad, and it will be desirable to reproduce here the statement made by the Poet himself in this connexion.

THE POET'S STATEMENT.

A representative of *The Japan Adviser* (an American owned paper published in Tokio) came to interview the Poet shortly after his arrival in Tokio (11th May, 1929) with a view to find out the truth about the various conflicting and sensational accounts in the newspapers regarding the Poet's sudden departure from America.

"I know there is a good deal of misunderstanding about my not staying in America and I shall try to explain to you why I came away from there."

"I had a delightful time in Canada and we had very successful meetings. The Canadian people were eager to keep me in their country for a longer time and I was invited to visit Toronto, Montreal and other eastern cities. Canada is a young country, sensitive to the appeal of finer things and not at all sophisticated. I was drawn towards the Canadian people and had a very great desire to know them better. So, I was tempted to accept their invitation."

"But I was under the impression that a previous engagement to lecture to an American University in the third week of April had been made on my behalf and I thought it would not be fair to put off this engagement in order to visit the cities of Canada. Some American friends in India represented to me that they were approaching me on behalf of an American University and I accordingly agreed to deliver a series of lectures in April and May."

"I was asked by the U. S. Immigration Authorities at Vancouver to go to their office in person with my papers. My secretary had asked the Immigration Officer to fix an hour for the examination and at the appointed hour, I went to the office. After I had waited for about half-an-hour, the officer came to the door, saw me, and without taking any notice of me, went on talking to some one who had then come. After finishing that, he silently beckoned to me to come into the room and then curtly pointed to a chair with a nod of his head. I was then asked the usual questions about my ability to pay my passage, whether I had independent means of livelihood as long

as I remained in the States, and I was warned of the penalty that I shall incur if I overstayed in the States the period of time allowed to me by the officer."

"I had visited the States before but I never had such experience. I thought of cancelling my proposed visit to the States; but I had already reserved my accommodation in the train and said good-bye to my friends. I arrived at Los Angeles and I felt something in the air—a cultivated air of suspicion and general incivility towards Asiatics. I was assured that the Immigration Regulations were made in the application particularly humiliating to all Asiatics. I felt that I should not stay in a country on sufferance. It was not a question of personal grievance or of ill-treatment from some particular officer. I felt the insult was directed towards all Asiatics and I made up my mind to leave a country where there was no welcome for ourselves."

"I have read books written by the best authors of the States, I have great friends in America and I have great regard for your people. But I have also my responsibility towards those whom you classify as coloured people of whom I am one. I am a representative of Asiatic peoples and I could not remain in a country where Asiatics were not wanted."

"I would like you to understand that in my mind I make a distinction between the people and the immigration laws and the method of their application and administration. The particular immigration officer had acquired the habit of treating all Asiatics rudely because of the regulations which he was administering. I am very glad that the officer did not treat me differently because I might have some reputation but treated me as an Oriental and as a coloured man. The ordinary civility between gentleman and gentleman was lacking in his treatment, but this was entirely due to the fact that he had been dealing with Asiatics and the Immigration Regulations had given his attitude of mind."

"I did not want to create a sensation because I hate publicity, so, I said nothing about this at all. But I had an American companion who was evidently indignant at the treatment that I had received and it was he who told the newspaper-

men about this business, after I had left Los Angeles; he used some strong American epithets which I never use and that is how it appeared in the newspapers. I am sorry, for I think it somewhat undignified and moreover in the newspaper reports the wrong emphasis has been put."

"You must make it quite clear that I have no antipathy or bitterness against the American people, but I must say that the Immigration Regulations against and the manner of their application towards eastern and coloured people are uncivilized and barbarous."

An Interview at Honolulu.

There was a brief halt at Honolulu where the Poet gave a short interview; extracts from which are given below.

"I find that an unfortunate experience of mine in an American immigration office in Vancouver has attracted prominent notice in your papers and you have ascribed to me strong language—which I am never in the habit of using—against the officer of that department. I confess that during my former visits to the United States I was not subjected to the indignities which your recent regulations impose upon all Asiatics coming to your shores. At the very entrance to your land you make us feel in the rudest manner by the most absurd questions that we are undesirables and must be treated with suspicion and discourtesy. It naturally discourages me from claiming hospitality from unwilling hands and remaining in the country on sufferance for the strictly limited period of time allowed to me by an ungenerous contract which carries in it a humiliating attitude. And as it is not in Thibet or in the continents which you describe as dark, the shock comes to us with all the greater violence and surprise."

"The very first question that has been asked to me directly I came to your land was what I thought of Miss Mayo's book *Mother India*. I suppose you realise that the publication of this book has done more in poisoning our mutual relationship than anything in recent happenings. It almost has the same effect as your immigration regulations in creating a barrier against American lady visitors who try to come to our homes,"

“What surprises me is not that the book could at all have been written but that it could so readily be accepted by such a vast number of your readers. We all know that India never occupied a very prominent place in your mind even when she fully merited it; but directly a woman of your nationality villifies our country with a malignity which is indiscriminate in its wholesale aspersions, your people voraciously devour its contents, and India at once offers the largest possible target to the fury of your attention. Could it be because the welfare of my country has ever been the loving object of such a vast multitude of your countrymen, or is it because all accounts of vice and sexual perversity offer you a mental food for which you have cultivated an eager avidity? I cannot help suspecting that it was a shrewd business instinct in the authoress which induced her deliberately to misquote me and impute to me opinions which I never hold, to use information from a book written over a century ago and cleverly omitting to mention that important fact, to use for the material in her book private conversations with no guarantee whatever that they were honestly recorded.”

“I am informed by my friend Mr. Andrews that when he claimed from the writer the authority of her statement that I had expressed my scepticism against western medical science she told him that it was reported to her by a well-known medical man of her own country to whom—and to no one else in the world—I had confided this secret of mine. I refuse to believe that the United States could produce a male malefactor of her calibre. I must for the sake of my faith in her country, believe that this medical man was a fiction, like many other fictions supplied by her for her readers; or that his conversation had been turned out of shape by the authoress for her own nefarious purpose. I do not feel any enthusiasm in contradicting this book, knowing that most of her readers are not interested in truth but in a piece of sensationalism that has the savour of rotten flesh. Now that this woman has discovered a mine of wealth in an unholy business of killing reputations, no appeal to truth will ever prevent her from plying a practised hand in wielding her assassin’s knife, carefully choosing for her victims

those who are already down. Curiously enough she offers her justification for erecting such a scyscraper of calumny, a tender partiality for those whom she knows or imagines to be under-dogs: she must have laughed in her sleeve when she made such a statement, for she was perfectly aware that, like the Phillipines, India is one of the under-dogs of the world which could be molested with impunity for the delectation of all super-dogs, and these super-dogs have enjoyed her performance and amply rewarded her."

Poet's Birthday.—On the 6th of May the Captain and Officers of the Japanese steamer *Taiyo Maru* and other passengers made arrangements for the celebration of the Poet's 68th birthday.

IV. IN JAPAN.

Arrival in Japan. The Poet reached Yokohama on the 10th, and Tokyo on the 11th of May.

An Interview in Tokyo.

In Tokyo he gave an interview to Mr. Mathews, the correspondent of *The New York Times*, from which we give a few extracts.

"Tagore said that with only a few per cent. of the populace literate, with its mixture of races and religions, with its poverty, its disease and its starvation, India has a long, uphill road to travel before she can even begin to think hopefully of independence from foreign rule. Nevertheless, he feels that India will some day overcome its difficulties and emerge as a great nation, taking its rightful part in the world of the future."

"While stating his belief that the British make better rulers than any other foreign nation would, and that he found them nearly always to be individually fair, and well-meaning, Dr. Tagore deplored the machine-like quality of their administration, which has lost all human contacts with India's people, and works, he said, in a heartless, callous fashion that is bringing humiliation and misery to the masses. Their rule has brought law

and order, he continued, but it took away the system of life which centred about the villages."

" 'The fundamental cause of India's poverty,' he said, 'is the dislocation of ancient resources, which were contained in the villages. The people have lost their centre of balance. There is unbelievable misery in the villages. The people have lost their zest for life, and thus fall easy victims to anything that comes along—famine, cholera, malaria, influenza. They passively allow themselves to die. It was the change in the economic system which dislocated the whole structure of Indian life. At first this was not so apparent, but every day the sign of decay is becoming more and more evident and discontent is spreading. Of late, the Government has begun to realize the truth of what I have said. The Royal Commission on Agriculture and such like movements are visible signs of the awakening'."

"His own attitude toward Gandhi, Tagore said, is one of great personal admiration for Gandhi's sincerity, patriotism and high ideals, leavened by a considerable degree of scepticism as to the practical value of his theories."

"Tagore stated that while it is quite possible that the Bolshevists are making inroads in India, he had no personal knowledge of them doing so in his province of Bengal."

" 'I find that in every country now, whenever you dislike a thing, it is the fashion to label it Bolshevism,' he said, 'just as during the war and shortly after it, everything that you disliked you called pro-German. So Bolshevism is the latest cry. I do not know of it in Bengal, but it may be concealed, and people who are better able to speak about it may have found traces. When you have so much misery and poverty as we have in India, the door is left open for subversive propaganda. Many people in India have reached the point where they feel that any change is desirable, no matter what it may be.' "

"To the now perennial question of what he thinks about 'Mother India', Tagore said that while it has undoubtedly hurt India, it has hurt America more."

“ ‘I am not surprised that the book was written,’ he said. ‘The author had her personal and financial reasons for doing so. But I am surprised that so many thousands in your country read it. I cannot believe that the multitude of readers were genuinely interested in India. They voraciously swallowed all the statements, believed them, and enjoyed them. India never occupied your attention even when she fully warranted it, but directly a tale of vice and cruelty and sexual perversion was dished up before you, you lapped it up with tremendous gusto. I am sorry for your readers, for the author has catered to something which is wrong in their psychological make-up.’ ”

“ ‘The book is a conglomeration of detached and fragmentary facts, sprinkled with innumerable mis-statement which were never corrected in later editions. Do you think that one could not collect enough facts as damaging, or even more so, about America? Do not you yourself realize that the raking of the gutters of your country would supply ample data for such a book? But one could not generalize from these facts, even though they would be documentary. Miss Mayo did.’ ”

“ ‘You Americans seem blind to the fact, for instance, that you have your own caste system, quite as rigorous as ours, in your treatment of the negro, but you ignore that and point the finger of shame at us without understanding the profound ethnological and historic reasons which have brought about the caste system in India.’ ”

An Interview with a Chinese Delegation.

On the 14th. of May an important official of the Chinese Legation in Tokyo, accompanied by two other members of the Legation and an interpreter, came to visit the Poet at the Imperial Hotel, Tokyo. The principal object of the the visit was to extend to the Poet, on behalf of the Nationalist Party of China, an invitation to visit Nanking and other parts of China as their guest on the occasion of the official ceremony of the removal of the body of Sun Yat San to Nanking. The interview lasted well over two hours. The Poet regretted that it was not possible for him to go over to China towards the

end of May as he had already accepted various engagements in Japan; but he hoped that he would be able to visit China before he left for India. (This project, however, had to be given up as the Poet had to return home abruptly on account of ill-health).

In the course of the interview the conversation turned to the recent outbreak of fighting in China, the Poet said, "It is most unfortunate that there is this constant struggle going on in China when what your country most needs to-day is a period of settled government which will enable you to undertake the work of reconstruction and nation-building. I hope your country will find some way to arrive at a reconciliation of the various conflicting interests and thus take her rightful place as a great world-power. Ambitious people are always fighting, mostly for self-aggrandizement; this is most unfortunate."

The Chinese Delegation then said that it was difficult for young people like themselves to reconstruct the world. They wanted the Poet in China, they had need of some one like the Poet, to guide them. They want to do something great; and though the general condition of the people in China to-day was worse than the condition of the people in England or France at the time when these countries had their revolutions, they had hopes that the youngmen of China, under proper guidance, would be able to realize their dreams.

The Poet : I myself should be very happy if it were possible for me to come into contact with the young minds in your country, those which were open to conviction and not blinded by prejudices of party-politics.

Chinese Delegation : The civilization of Europe becomes increasingly cruel and oppressive for India and China. We hope the youngmen in the two countries may do something together.

The Poet : I suppose you know that it is my mission to train the minds of our youth, through proper education, into an attitude of sympathy and co-operation with other races. I have chosen this as my own field of work. In my Institution, Visva-bharati, I have the help of a Chinese gentleman who is holding classes in Chinese for our students. I hope for the re-

establishment of the ancient relationship which existed between our two countries when China looked to India for spiritual guidance. But, let me know, what do you expect of me? Is there anything that I can do which will be of help to your People?

Chinese Delegation : Can the ideals that you preach be used for the reconstruction of civilization in the face of difficulties all round?

The Poet : Whatever we may do in the immediate present, we can lend the spirit of our idea to all our works and make it possible for its fullest realization in the times to come. We have a difficult path to cross, and in the process martyrdom has to be faced. I work for my own people but if this work has any truth, it is working for the world. There is the same great problem in India as in China. It concerns not the upper classes, not the ambitious people seeking power, but it is about the real people, the people living in the villages; the problem is to make them strong, self-reliant. The village is the cradle of the nation; but the villages are being drained of their life-sap by the extortionate towns which are eating up the resources of the land. It is the great multitude, the common people, who bear the burden of civilization. They toil and live a poor life so that a small minority of us can have leisure, leisure to enjoy life and to cultivate the mind. We are the parasites whom they maintain with their own blood. The country can only be truly free when the real people become conscious of their own selves. Until then they will always be exploited, and their lives overlaid with misery and ignorance will drag the whole country down with themselves. It has become my life's work to try to restore the fullness of life to those of my race who have been deprived of their own proper share of physical and intellectual opportunities and to open the inner path of communication with other nations for the purpose of establishing perfect human relationship which is the real goal of civilization. Some years ago, when talking to the Governor of Shansi, I said, 'My task is to lift up the people who are submerged under centuries of obscurity, to help them to find themselves and be freed from their position of indignity. The country where the vast human

power mostly remains ignored has not come to itself, it is like an island that has not risen up above the level of the sea'. The multitude of people in China and India are sunk in ignorance and superstition. We must educate them, go to the very root and make them conscious of their manhood; they must be taught to know their mind and exercise their will. To-day the difference between them and the upper classes is not merely that of degree but of kind. We belong to two different times and two different worlds. In fact, in our countries the educated minority lives in a solitude of illimitable inertia. It is a region which is hardly populated. And therefore, when we talk of freedom, we mean real freedom for an insignificant few. And yet the life-force, the strength of will needed for the attainment of freedom lies hidden in the unfathomed soul of these very people who to-day are as good as non-existent. In a land where the greater part of human resources lies buried and unused, you can never hope to realize the great human wealth which is freedom.

Chinese Delegation : What are the young people thinking of in India?

The Poet : Whatever the educated young people may think, they cannot think for the whole populace, for the people's mind is not entire, it is divided by a great gulf. The unlighted part of the community is all the more vague because of the partitioned light of a limited section. This is the reason why the educated few forget that freedom depends upon certain essential conditions, the most important of which is that there should not be an overwhelming disproportion between those who have an intelligent notion of their national function and those who have not. Even in those parts of the West, where the masses are comparatively unenlightened, a desirable amount of self-government has not been achieved. For self-rule has its basis upon the intelligent will and disciplined mind of the people. Where they are steeped in the helplessness bred of ignorance and superstition, the clever, the ambitious will ever fight for power and use them for their own self-interest. This is what is going on to-day in China and the only restraining power that could effectively have checked the contending parties lies

hopelessly dormant in the people who are not conscious of their own strength. Japan has taken the true path by giving education to the people at large. With the awakening of mind, the people have realized their dignity and therefore they proudly claim what they know to be their due. This knowledge comes from education, the power to claim comes from self-respect which also is the result of education. Where this knowledge and this dignity are lacking, there to dream of freedom is something that the whole history of mankind contradicts.

Chinese Delegation : What would you advise us now?

The Poet : You in China have certain advantages which we in India lack. You are not under foreign subjection which naturally gives a negligibly subordinate place to all those things that are of vital interest to the people, such as education, sanitation and material prosperity, when in the interest of the Empire is spent the best part of the revenue for military organization and an excessively expensive civil administration. But you are suffering from a conflict of ambitions harassing the whole country, and it seems to be following an interminably vicious circle. With all their strength of determination and power of self-sacrifice, let your people effectively decide to have a long period of settled government even if it is not the best government possible. Let it only give you sufficient time completely to irrigate the mind of your people, to develop its potential wealth and thus enable your nation to realize the majesty of its humanity.

Tokyo.—On the 12th May a reception was arranged by the Friends of Tagore Society at the Zojoji Temple. In the evening the Poet delivered his lecture on the "Philosophy of Leisure." A crowded programme followed during the next few days with a reception and lecture at the Japan Woman's University on the 13th, an address at the Indo-Japanese Association on the 15th, an address at Miss Tsuda's School on the 16th, a lecture at Mito on the 17th, and a reception at Marquis Okuma's on the 18th. The lecture on the "Philosophy of Leisure" was repeated on the 21st and again on the 24th.

There was another lecture at the Nichi-Nichi on the 23rd, and a Garden Party at Mr. Fujiyama's on the 25th of May.

The strain proved too much for the Poet, he fell ill and all engagements were cancelled under medical orders. Fortunately after a week's rest his health recovered and he attended a Garden Party given by Viscount Shibusawa and gave an address to the Concordia which we are printing separately.

The Poet had lunch with the leading Indian residents at Yokohama on the 7th, and on the 8th of June embarked on the French mail boat "*Angers*".

V. RETURN TO INDIA.

French Indo-China.—On the 21st of June the Poet arrived at Saigon, where the Chief Secretary came on board to welcome him on behalf of the French Government. A reception was held in his honour by the Mayor and the leading citizens, followed by a lunch. In the evening there was another lecture and an address of welcome at the Municipal Theatre. On the 22nd the Poet had an interview with the Governor and visited the Association of the Indian Merchants. In the afternoon he inspected the *École d' Art* and visited the tomb of *Le Van Duyet*. He also attended a social function at the house of *M. Ng-Van Cua*. On the 23rd of June the Poet visited the Chinese Pagoda, the Annamite Pagoda, the Temple of the Chettys; there was also an interview with the Governor-General.

Return to India.—Leaving Saigon early in the morning on the 24th of June the Poet arrived at Singapore on the 26th and visited the Chinese Club and left the place by *S. S. Ethiopia* on the 27th. There was a brief halt at Penang where also the Poet paid a visit to the local Chinese Club. He reached Madras on the 3rd of July, stayed for a few hours in the house of *Mr. M. A. Candeth*, and left by the Madras Mail on the same evening and arrived at Calcutta on the 5th of July, 1929.

VISVABHARATI BULLETIN

I. The Spirit of the Indian University.

(*University of Chicago Chapel Service, Friday, March 15, 1929.*)

Dr. Gilkey :—This is the second in a series of Friday noon chapel assemblies, which will continue throughout the Spring Quarter, to be devoted to the spirit of the great universities of the world. Our guest and speaker of to-day has been associated with the poet, Rabindranath Tagore, in the University at Santiniketan in India, which is so uniquely a development of the Indian idea of a university. Both because of that association and because of his intimate friendship with Mahatma Gandhi, and because of the unique love and confidence with which he is regarded by all of the students of India, he is qualified as perhaps no one else in the world could be to speak to us to-day on the Spirit of the Indian University.

Mr. Charles F. Andrews :—I wish to sketch out to you, first of all the ancient ideal of education in India. It is one of the most perfect educational ideals that the human mind ever conceived. The first *asrama*, as it is called—that is to say, the first stage in the religious life of the student—is called the *Brahmacharya asrama*. For the first twenty-five years of his life, he is to live a life of purity and to learn to form his moral character. The second stage is called the *Grihasta asrama*,—the stage of the householder, for which he has been preparing during the first stage. In the second stage, he lives his life in the world as a householder. He marries, and his family life gives him his great education. That stage was regarded in ancient India as the highest of all and the most difficult of all. The third stage in education, in ancient India, was called the *Vanaprastha asrama*. During that stage he was supposed to begin to retire from the world and to get more and more occupied with the deep philosophy of life and with thoughts about God. And the last stage of all, the *Sanyasa asrama*, is the stage of the *Sannyasin*, when he renounces every worldly tie and spends the rest of his life completely in meditation.

Thus, to ancient India, the whole of life was a university training. That university was not confined to bricks and mortar ; it was a training for life and for eternity. These four stages were observed. Marriage was regarded as the highest stage in education for the active life. After the

married stage had been completed, then there came the two further stages of gradual retirement from the active life to the contemplative life, until at last the whole time was given up to meditation.

If you study this ancient ideal of India, you will at once see the tremendously important place that is given to two things. First of all, to marriage—the sanctity of marriage, the sacredness of the household, the supreme religious significance of the family. That was in ancient India made clear by the second *asrama* being the completion of the first university training which was called, the *Brahmacharya* stage. The second point is the great place given to contemplation, to meditation ; to ‘being’ rather than ‘doing ;’ to the life of silence rather than the life of speech ; to the life of quiescence in God rather than the life of over-active energy. In Tagore’s *asrama* at Santiniketan this second stage, the contemplative life, is now being fulfilled in the poet himself.

Let me tell you how he, as the Founder-President of our university, spends his days. He begins very early in the morning, long before sunrise. Many times I have found him already seated in contemplation, in silence, beneath the stars, long before the dawn appears. Between three and four o’clock in the morning he will often begin his meditation, and it is rarely finished until seven or half-past seven. That to him is the most precious time in all the day : he never misses it if he can help it, and he regards all his creative work as proceeding out of the silence of those morning hours.

Every student in our school practises meditation in somewhat the same way. Every one, at the early morning hour, just as the sun rises, goes apart. We do not meditate as the Quakers do in a congregational way. That is not the form suited to India, though it may be in this country. But our form of meditation is to go apart with a small carpet or mat to sit on, out into the open under the sky towards the sun-rising, or at night time towards the sun-setting. You will see the whole of our school down to the youngest child thus engaged in silent meditation, morning by morning and evening by evening.

Tagore’s further ideal of education, which he is working out in his international university at Santiniketan, is this : that it is necessary for the student never to lose touch with Nature, never to live apart from the sky, the fields, the rivers, the mountains ; always to have his own touch with God in Nature, in order to realize fully God in man. For this reason, we have no class-rooms, except for science—practical science. We



have our classes in the open air, under the trees and in the groves of our university. Fortunately, with us, for nine months in the year we have very little rain indeed, and therefore it is quite easy from day to day during the greater part of the year to sit outside in the open air, out of doors, and there to carry on our studies and our work.

We have also our college holidays or festivals at the full moon. On the night of the full moon we spend the evening hours in song and drama and music, in the full moonlight, at some chosen spot out of doors. Sometimes the "Full Moon" festival will be kept up for two or three days in succession.

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These are some of the ways, very simply told, in which Tagore is creating in India a university life which shall not be merely a kind of bad copy of the West, but carrying its own genius, to which the West may look and from which the West may in turn find something to give to its own fulness of life, just as the West is giving out of its own abundance to the East.

My own final thought is this : that the West, with its boisterous climate and its severe cold, where out-of-door life is not possible all the year round, has its own gift to give to the East. It has to give to the East its gift of science, its gift of social activity, its gift of practical grip of human life. On the other hand, the danger of the West is surely over-activity ; the danger of the West is the forgetfulness of the still, small voice speaking within the heart, whose value is priceless.

The East, on the other hand, with its tropical climate, with its wonderful nights of stars and moonlight, with its wonderful days of perfect, dry weather, month after month,—the East can surely keep in closer touch and harmony with natural beauty and with the spirit of Nature than we are able ourselves to do in our shut-up rooms and houses in the cold West.

Therefore, the East, with its power of meditation, with its wonderful power of silence, with its inherent aptitude for listening to the still, small voice within, has in turn something which may be given to us in the West. And it is a joy to-day to tell you, in these few moments, what the heart of India is, what the soul of India is, what the ideal of India is. Not that the West can take that ideal and merely copy it, any more than that the East can take the Western ideal and merely copy that ; but just as the East is now assimilating the science and the social energy of the West, so the West, in its turn may assimilate, in vital ways, the silence and the stillness of the East.

II. A Letter.

[By our Founder-President in answer to a European lady who had expressed her perplexity at not being able to break through the reserve of those in the East with whom she dealt in a spirit of sympathy.]

DEAR MADAM,

Each people has its physical environment given to it, and social surroundings created by itself. Its history is its continual adjustment to these, through modifications of its inner and outer world. If in the midst of this, some alien element is thrust upon a particular people—some human power which has its own distinct evolution, its separate need, its special object which is not only not coincident with that of the other, but very often hurtfully antagonistic,—a confusion results, and this people, in its perplexity, can never show itself to its best advantage.

Europe to-day is the dominant factor in the human world, but unfortunately she has come to the Far East, not with an ideal, but with an object that primarily concerns her own self-interest. This naturally makes the Eastern peoples suspicious and nervously eager in their turn to exploit the circumstances for their own profit; but, not having the power in their hands, and being therefore unequally matched, they cannot afford to be frank in their manner and method. They have become accustomed to being misunderstood, which helps them to develop, for the sake of self-respect and self-protection, the habit of hiding their thoughts. This is what makes it difficult for the Western individuals who have a natural gift of sympathy and the desire to deal with their fellow-beings in the East in a spirit of justice and love.

You will surely understand why, generally, a Chinese may feel constrained to shut his heart, and even reveal the worst side of his nature, to the European,—member of a race that, for the sake of profit, felt no compunction in drugging the whole great people of China, and humiliating them because they showed resistance. If the Europeans had come to China to offer to her the best that their own civilisation had produced, China also, in her relationship to them, would have had the opportunity to do herself justice, and show to them her best side.

Allow me to assure you that your letter has given me genuine pleasure for which I thank you.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

III. Notes on the Canadian Tour.

[Mr. A. K. Chanda accompanied the President during the visit to Canada and Japan, and spoke on the educational ideals of the Visva-bharati on many occasions.]

Mr. A. K. Chanda gave a short address at a joint luncheon meeting of the Canadian and Rotary Clubs in the ball room of the Empress Hotel, Vancouver. We give below a few extracts from his speech as reported in the Canadian newspapers.

"I feel that the hope of the future lies in what we can make of the educational system in India.....All education must have its roots in national life. Education enriches life. All these violent outbursts in India of which you read, arising from misfits, is derived from the want of adjustment between the educational system and individual men".....

"The speaker stated that a remedy for such conditions was now being tried in India, pointing out that Sir Rabindranath Tagore, at his international university at Santiniketan, Bengal, was trying to synthesize the Eastern and Western civilizations, and bring the educational system of India in line with life and nature."

"Many in India feel that India will justify its existence by giving to the world something valuable. We feel that we can enrich the whole universe, and can furnish a new kind of synthesis of two warring classes of civilization. I feel that the message given by Tagore and the work he has inaugurated is making India better, and that by becoming national we can become international and be of value to the entire world."

Mr. Chanda also spoke briefly at the banquet on the 9th April, 1929 arranged by the Business and Professional Women's Club to honor the visitors to the National Council of Education.

"Situated about 100 miles from Calcutta, this school has drawn to its doors students from all over the world," the speaker said. "The vision of Tagore, of a hall of learning where students could be educated in the broadest sense, had been responsible for the development of the institution. But he is not getting the support he should from his country."

"Tagore's system, according to Prof. Chanda, aims to develop all the senses and attempts to give a complete education not merely to fit students for business life or to enter government offices, which had been the basis of the education introduced by the British in India. The present unrest, Prof. Chanda declared, arose from the discontent of those who had been trained in this old form of education, only to find that to-day no other avenue of activity but that of government service was open to them."

In Japan Mr. Chanda addressed public meetings and also spoke informally at educational gatherings.



IV. TAGORE IN CANADA.

By AMIYA CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI.

The great Poet of India has once more been out on a visit to his home across the seas, for as we know, he makes no geographical distinctions and believes in none, the East as well as the West holding for him the mystic lure of the Motherland. He claims citizenship in the human world and it has been his rare privilege to win it, for he moves on a plane where differences add to the variedness of the central principle of life, and his sensitive songs respond to the unique vibrations which chromatically compose the rich music of humanity. The different people of the globe have no difficulty, therefore, in accepting him as their own, confident of his loyalty to the spirit of man which he nobly embodies. Of politics we have enough, sects and scions din the business haunts of life, and a profound relief it is to us when an idealist of such ore unashamedly takes his place in the market-place of affairs gloriously to trumpet the message of an eternal ideal which has economical value and something more.

Paradoxically enough Tagore is more with the Western Rationalist when he is on the Indian shores ; he has then to give the land of his birth an object lesson in that impalpable science which is Modern Culture, based on enlightened adjustment to the spirit of the times, while his western audience on the other shore, sitting tight in their stilted cloaks of "civilisation" sigh inwardly as they listen to his fervid interpretation of the age old cultural traditions of the East—a culture matured by a high and mighty faith, and canopied by wide open spaces of charity and love. It is this harmonious blending in his personality of complementary cultures that lends vital significance to Tagore's life and work and has secured for him a world-audience. Unnatural it would be if there were a sudden dearth of people to rebel against the scrupulous balancing of truth which we find in the Poet's works—this merely proves the force of our complexes, but even the hundred per cent. critic would find it hard now to deny the precious contributions which Tagore has made towards a better understanding between the peoples of the world. His challenge to race champions has certainly cleared the field a great deal of the antipathetic competition of cultures which obscures the fundamental facts of our psychology.

Combining in his personality the rich cultures of the East and the dynamic spiritual force of the West, passionately believing in the salvation of our human kin through co-operation and the cultivation of mutual

sympathy, Tagore is peculiarly the prophet of the Modern Age. To India he makes his gift of a vision that transcends party politics and obscurantism. At a time when the whole country suffers from political obsession, he works ceaselessly to convince his countrymen that India's problems are connected with the problems of the whole human world, and that 'they can be solved only in relation to this wide background. His creed is that of co-operation, the true co-operation of cultures which defies racial and national arrogance and builds on the basis of faith in the comprehensive mind of man.

His own University at Santiniketan is a quiet green spot which warmly invites the West to its innermost shrine and despite the arid zone of political Bengal all around, he has succeeded so far that the name of his Educational Colony is now known all the world over, attracting scholars from distant continents of Europe and of America. Here then is idealism not merely preached but practised, and those who know something of the sacrifice in money and means which idealistic experimental work at the present time involves, will appreciate the inspiration which guides the Poet Educationist. Tagore, like all pioneers, is hampered by lack of help and helpers, but being a pioneer he does not allow difficulties to hamper him in his works of love. Which is proved by the fact that at an age when travelling holds few charms, and in weak health, he has once more crossed the proverbial stretches of the Pacific to accept an invitation which had come to him from Canada in the name of friendly co-operation.

Tagore had gone out this time in the rôle of an Educator. He feels, like Wells, that "What's wrong with the world" is that it is not educated enough and that it is wrongly educated—the present-day systems of education are not founded on an adequate recognition of the common heritage of man, of the larger facts of our psychology. In the East the word Education has dwindled to become a mere synonym of old world traditions, while in the wealthy West it identifies itself with so-called "Progress," which unhappily yet indicates mere material expansion with all the paraphernalia of political conquest and opportunism. The Poet's message to the West, at the National Council of Education, Victoria, was that Education to be genuine and humanitarian must be generous in its faith in the richness of human personality which requires inner stimulus and nourishment for its growth—and Education must deal with the surplus of our energies, the wealth of our spirit ; in other words, it must not allow itself to be coerced into submission of utilitarian ambitions which would employ education for selfish propaganda and even mutilate history and culture for

material greed. Such shameless exploitation of the growing mind as so much social and political raw material for purposes obviously anti-cultural cannot, in the Poet's opinion, be allowed to masquerade in the name of Education.

Dr. Tagore, as expected, created profound impression on his audience at Victoria. Marjorio Shuler who was present at the Conference writes :

"Voicing both a rebuke and a warning to the nationalism of Western civilisation and summoning the people of the new world to quiet contemplation of spiritual forces and power, the Indian Poet Tagore was an arresting figure as he stepped upon the platform following the statesman, Lord Willingdon. His white hair and beard flowing upon his red robe, his eyes flashing, now a touch of amusement and then a glance of serious intent, the leading figure in Indian Literature to-day sounded the warning which he had travelled thousands of miles to deliver."

The essence of Dr. Tagore's thesis is that education should be openly intolerant of mental and spiritual inertia, rebelling against the moulding of minds according to convenient patterns—he invokes its aid in leading out young minds on the broad road of realisation in a daring quest for truth. Education, in our days, should release the untold possibilities of the human personality, mature them into fullness, it should switch the light of consciousness on to every recess of our being, making possible the harmonious development of our complete human nature. Education now at its best attempts to produce educated men—Tagore would have it produce complete men ; he looks upon it as the great inspiring force which can rouse up the creative soul of man, leading him to build his own mighty world of beauty and of love.

(From an article published in "The Daily Mail")

VISVA-BHARATI

Founder-President—RABINDRANATH TAGORE.



ANNUAL REPORT, 1928.

The year under review has been one of consolidation and steady progress rather than of spectacular developments. The outstanding feature has been the active participation by Rabindranath Tagore in the work of the different institutions of the Visva-Bharati.

THE PRESIDENT.

The President remained in Santiniketan during the greater part of the year. In February he took the initiative for the better co-ordination of the different departments, made arrangements for keeping systematic records of the work done, and in spite of his indifferent health he began to take an active interest in the daily routine work of the Asrama.

Activities in Santiniketan.—Throughout the year the Poet has taken the leading part in the celebration of the usual festivals in the *Asrama*. On the full-moon day in *Phalgun*, the Spring Festival was celebrated at Santiniketan. The inmates of the *Asrama* all clad in *Vasantli* (light yellow) coloured garments assembled in the morning at *Amra Kanan* (Mango Grove) which was beautifully decorated with flowers, with *alpana* (ritual decorations on the ground) and with long multi-coloured silk streamers hanging down from the blossoming boughs of the mango trees. The *Vaitalika* (School choir) trooped in singing, some carrying dishes of flower, some *mangala-ghata*, some bearing incense, and some were blowing their conch shells. The Poet then recited some of his own poems and also poems composed by the inmates of the *Asrama*. In the evening there was a performance of the prose-drama "*Phalguni*".

The Poet conducted the evening service in the Mandir on the last day of the Bengali Year, and on the New Year's day conducted the morning service. After the service, fruits were given to all; and in the evening a special feast was given to all inmates of the *Asrama* by the Poet.

Visit to Ceylon.—He was away from Bengal only for a short time in May and June. The Hibbert Trustees had invited him to deliver the Hibbert lectures in England in the Autumn of 1928, and arrangements were made for his departure from India early in May. Mr. and Mrs. Rathindranath Tagore left for Europe on the 3rd of May, and Messrs. C. F. Andrews and E. W. Ariam proceeded to Madras to make arrangements for the Poet's departure. The Poet accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis left for Madras on the 12th May. On reaching Madras however, the Poet became ill and the sailing on the 17th May had to be cancelled. At the invitation of Dr. Annie Besant, the Poet spent a quiet week at the Head-quarters of the Theosophical Society in Adyar. An informal meeting of the residents of Adyar was held one evening under the big banian tree to meet the Poet. From Adyar the whole party went to Coonoor in the Nilgiri Hills, and stayed there for a week as guests of the Maharajah of Pithapuram.

The health of the Poet having improved considerably, he sailed from Madras on the 28th May. On the way to Colombo the Poet paid a short visit to Sri Arabindo Ghosh at Pondichery. He came away very deeply impressed, and an account of the meeting from the Poet's pen was published in the July number of the *Modern Review*. The party reached Colombo on the 31st May where the Poet stayed with his old friend the Hon. W. A. DeSilva. Owing to continued ill health it was however finally decided to postpone his departure for Europe until 1929. Mr. C. F. Andrews left for Europe on the 5th June. The Poet left Colombo on the 10th June, and stayed at Bangalore for 10 days with Sir Brajendranath Seal. After a brief stay at the house of Mr. M. A. Candeth in Madras he returned to Calcutta towards the end of June, and went to Santiniketan early in July.

Varsha-Utsava in the Asrama.—In the evening of the 14th July, the *Asrama* celebrated the *Varsha-Utsava* (Rain Festival). The inmates of the *Asrama* dressed in many-coloured garments, came in singing, bearing lamps, incense, flowers and offerings, while two of the boys dressed all in white, carried a young plant, ready for transplanting. Pandit Vidhusekhara Sastri recited Vedic hymns. Five girls, as the five elements, Earth, Light, Water, Wind and Sky, greeted the plant, and the Poet recited an Ode composed for the occasion, and planted the tree.

This was followed by music and selections from rain songs. In an interval the Poet read a short story specially written for the festival.

Hala-chalana, Sriniketan.—The next day there was a most impressive festival of the Tilling of the Soil (*Hala-Chalana*) at Sriniketan (Institute of Rural Reconstruction). The ground to be ploughed was painted over with *alpana*; a black bull and a team of four white bulls with a plough were all decorated and ornamented. Two songs were given by a chorus, and the Poet delivered a short address. Pandit Vidhusekhara Sastri then

chanted appropriate hymns from the Vedas, and the Poet himself put his hand to the plough and started the tilling of the soil for the year.

Owing to ill health the Poet stayed in Calcutta for medical treatment for nearly six weeks in August and September. On the morning of the 6th day of Bhadra 22nd August, 1928) he delivered a sermon on "the message of Rammohan Ray" in connection with the Centenary Celebrations of the Brahmo Samaj.

Work in Santiniketan.—After his return from Calcutta in September the Poet took personal charge of all the educational institutions at Santiniketan. Since then he has been conferring with the teachers almost everyday regarding methods of instruction, and has also kept himself in intimate touch with the students. This has naturally led to a very marked improvement in the work of the different departments.

The Poet attended a performance of *Sarodatsav* given by the inmates of the *Asrama* on the 18th October, and on the Full-moon day of October presided over a musical evening, and recited some of his new compositions.

The year under review has been a memorable one from the point of view of the literary activities of the Poet. During this period he completed the novel "*Yogayoga*" which was started last year, a new novel "*Sesher Kabita*" (which is being published in serial form), an important book of poems, several short stories and a large number of articles; he has also composed a large number of new songs.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Pradhanas.—On the nomination of the Founder President the following persons were elected Pradhanas of the Visva-bharati for two years (1928-29) at a meeting of the Samsad held on the 11th January, 1928.

C. F. Andrews, Hirendranath Datta, Leonard K. Elmhirst, Prafullachandra Ray, Satyendra Prasanna Sinha, Nilratan Sircar, Surendranath Tagore.

Honorary Member.—On the 15th April, 1928, the Samsad unanimously recommended the election of Dr. Vinco Lesny, Visiting Professor, as an Honorary member of the Visva-bharati.

Office Bearers.—Narendranath Law was appointed Artha-Sachiva (Treasurer) in December, 1927, for a term of three years and acted in this capacity throughout the year.

Prasantachandra Mahalanobis was re-elected Karma-Sachiva (General Secretary) in December, 1927, for a term of three years and held this office during the year under review. Susobhanchandra Sarkar was appointed Hony. Assistant General Secretary in January and was in charge of the routine work of the General Office in Calcutta.

Visesha-Parishat.—A Special General Meeting of the members of the Visva-bharati was held at Santiniketan on the 4th March, 1928, to consider the question of location of the General Office. It was decided *nem. con.* that the General Office should continue to be located in Calcutta.

Samsad (Governing Body).—There were 9 meetings and 3 adjourned sittings of the Samsad during the year under review. In addition to the usual work of administration, the Samsad took into consideration various items of importance among which the following deserve special mention.

Birla Kuthi.—In view of the growing needs of the Sreebhavana (Women's Department) the Samsad sanctioned early in the year the construction of a new hostel for girls to be named Birla Kuthi at an estimated cost of Rs. 25,000/- out of which Rs. 20,000/- was allotted from the Birla Kuthi Fund.

Re-organisation of Educational Institutions.—One of the most important items discussed by the Samsad during the year under review was the Re-organisation of the Educational Institutions at Santiniketan. Messrs. Apurvakumar Chanda and Jitendramohan Sen submitted a note on the subject early in April which was considered at a meeting of the Samsad held at Santiniketan on the 15th April, 1928. After a long and exhaustive discussion a Committee was appointed to submit a report on the note after a full enquiry into the working of the various institutions at Santiniketan. This committee (which consisted of Messrs. Ramananda Chatterji, Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya, Nepalchandra Ray, Apurvakumar Chanda and Prasantachandra Mahalanobis) submitted an *interim* report on the 19th April, which was taken into consideration at a meeting of the Samsad on the 29th April; but after a long discussion the consideration of the report was adjourned *sine die*. At the meeting of the Samsad held on the 18th July, 1928, the recommendations of the Committee were however all accepted, and a small Sub-Committee was appointed to work out the details.

Meanwhile, the Founder President, even in the bad state of his health, undertook to look after the reorganization of the whole of the Siksha-vibhava. Finally from September, 1928, he assumed full responsibility for all the institutions at Santiniketan.

Visiting Professor.—Prof. Vinco Lesny of Prague came out early in January, 1928, as Visiting Professor, and stayed at Santiniketan until the beginning of the summer vacation.

He delivered general courses of lectures on the Avesta besides participating in seminary work and in training advanced students for research. He was recommended for an Honorary Membership of the Visva-bharati at a meeting of the Samsad on the 15th of April, 1928. A special meeting was held at Santiniketan presided over by the Poet to bid farewell to Prof. Lesny on the same day. Rabindranath Tagore, on

behalf of the Visva-bharati, presented Professor Lesny with a gold ring with the Visva-bharati crest in red enamel and certain other articles. Prof. Lesny in a short speech spoke of the very pleasant time he had spent at the *Asrama*, and promised to do all he could to help Visva-bharati and its cause on his return to Europe.

Zoroastrian Studies.—Dr. Michael Collins and Dr. Taraporewala continued to act as Zoroastrian Professors under the Zoroastrian Fund. The latter delivered a course of lectures at Santiniketan on Zoroastrian subjects.

Islamic Studies.—It was decided by the Samsad that the income from the Nizam Fund should be utilised for the creation of a chair of Islamic Studies on an honorarium of £350 a year with free quarters. Pending the appointment of a Professor, Mr. L. Bogdanov was appointed temporary Lecturer in Persian in February, 1928. He took regular classes in Persian and also delivered occasional lectures on Islamic Culture.

Meanwhile the post was advertised for both in India and Europe and a large number of applications were received. After a careful scrutiny of all the applications, the selection committee (consisting of the President, Jitendra Mohan Sen, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Rathindranath Tagore and Prasantachandra Mahalanobis) recommended unanimously that Dr. Julius Germanus of the Oriental Institute of Budapest, Professor of Turkish and Arabic at the Royal Hungarian University be invited to accept the chair. This recommendation was accepted by the Samsad on the 19th December, 1928 and a cable was sent to Dr. Germanus requesting him to join the post as early as possible.

Dr. Germanus was a pupil of Prof. Vambery and Prof. Goldziher and was awarded his doctorate degree by them in 1907 on the strength of his Islamic researches. He then worked in the British Museum for some time and the results of his researches were incorporated in several books on Islamic History. In 1921 he was appointed Lecturer of Islamic studies in the University of Budapest and in 1924 he was appointed full Professor and was placed in charge of the Hungarian Oriental Institute of Budapest. He has published a large number of original articles on Islamic subjects. In addition to his purely scientific work he is also interested in literary activities and had been acting as the Secretary of the Czechoslovakia Pen Club for several years.*

Present from the Society of Friends.—During the year under review a generous donation of £200 was received from the Society of Friends of England to enable us to invite Mr. Nalin C. Ganguli M.A. (Birm.)

*Dr. Germanus joined his post at Santiniketan on the 7th April, 1929.

to come and stay in Santiniketan for one year. Mr. Ganguli, who has written a short biography of Raja Rammohan Ray, intends to complete a fuller study of the life and works of the Raja during his stay at Santiniketan, and also to continue his own researches in comparative religion. He began his residence at Santiniketan from October, 1928. He is participating actively in the teaching work of the institution, and was appointed Principal of the Santiniketan College in December, 1928.

General Office.—The General Office together with the Office of the Publishing Department (at 10, Cornwallis Street) and the Bookshop (at 217, Cornwallis Street) were removed to 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta from September, 1928. This change has led to a considerable improvement in the efficiency of management and supervision.

Kishorimohan Santra, who had been working as Assistant Secretary three years ago but had been obliged to take leave on account of illness, came back and joined the Calcutta Office in August, 1928.

Membership.—The total number of members on the roll was 735 at the end of the year 1928, of whom 221 were Life Members. The following persons were elected Life Members during the year 1928.

Princess Bhuvan, Maharani of Sirmoor, Suresh Chandra Ray, Ferdinand Benoit.

The following persons were elected ordinary members during the same period.

Amar Nath Banerjee, Nibaran Chandra Bhowmik, Satyendra Nath Bose, Kissen Chand Motumal Bulchandani, Jnanendra Nath Chattopadhyaya, Sachindra Nath Chatterjee, Uma Devi, Nagendra Kumari Devi, Mukul Chandra Dey, Nalin Chandra Ganguli, Jitendranath Datta Gupta, Mahammad Abdul Halem, Satish Ranjan Khastgir, Anilprokash Lahiri, Bholanath Manna, Biswanath Mukerjee, D. N. Mukherjee, J. N. Padia, Prabhas Chandra Pathak, Kumud Behari Ray, Prabhat Chandra Sanyal, Reba Sarkar, Amulya Charan Sen, Nikhil Ranjan Sen, T. Vincent.

Miscellaneous.—Pandits Vidhusekhara Sastri, Kshitimohan Sastri and Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterjee attended the 5th Oriental Conference held in Lahore in November, 1928, as delegates from the Visva-bharati.

On the 1st of December, 1928, the Karma-Samiti sent a message of congratulation to Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose on the occasion of his 70th birthday.

Obituary.—We deeply regret to place on record the great loss suffered by the Visva-bharati by the death of two of its most prominent members, Lord Sinha and the Hon'ble Mr. S. R. Das.

FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION.

Permanent and Earmarked Funds.—Last year we had separated the Capital Account of the Permanent and the General Funds. A further achievement this year has been the complete separation of the Revenue Accounts in every case. Full details will be found in the attached Audited Accounts for 1927-28.

No permanent or earmarked funds were created during the year under review, but we give below a few short notes on some of the existing funds.

Baroda Grant.—Rs. 6,000/- a year. An account of the work done will be found under the section on the Vidyabhavana.

Kalabhavana Fund.—The Kalabhavana Building for which a sum of Rs. 30,000/- was sanctioned in 1927 was completed during the year, and the School of Art and Music was removed there after the Puja vacation. The Capital Account at the end of the year stood at Rs. 73,000. We are constrained to note that more money is urgently required for the maintenance of the School of Art, as the income from the permanent fund would no longer suffice for this purpose.

Pearson Memorial Hospital Building.—The estimated cost of the Pearson Memorial Hospital Building amounted to Rs. 20,000/-, but as funds in our hands were not sufficient, only one portion of the Hospital (including a surgical operating room and an outdoor dispensary) was constructed at a cost of Rs. 14,000/- approximately. We require a further sum of Rs. 6,000/- to complete the remaining portion of the building and Rs. 5,000/- to equip it properly for use as a Hospital. Our best thanks are due to Mr. Ranendramohan Tagore of Calcutta for his donation of Rs. 3,000/- for the construction of the surgical operating room as a memorial to his deceased nephew Sureshchandra Chatterjee.

Birla-Kuthi.—A new building for the Girls' Hostel at a cost of Rs. 25,000/- (out of which Rs. 20,000/- will come from the Birla Kuthi Fund) has also been sanctioned. Building operations have already begun and the building is likely to be ready for occupation within a few months. The total amount paid out of the Birla Kuthi Fund up to the end of December, 1928, was Rs. 6,549-0-0.

Aruna-Amila Fund.—An account of the work done will be found under the Village Welfare Department of Sriniketan.

Audited Accounts.—The Balance Sheet and the Audited Accounts for the financial year ended 30th September, 1927, were prepared in proper time, and were considered at a meeting of the Samsad held on the 19th December, and subsequently adopted by the Parishat (Annual General Meeting) on the 24th December, 1928. They are attached hereto as an appendix.

General Fund.—It will be noticed from the Balance Sheet page 199, that the total liability of the General Fund stood at Rs. 70,155-1-10 on the 30th September, 1928. On that date this figure represented the net accumulated deficit for the period 1922-1928. The actual accumulated deficit was however much greater, for the Samsad was obliged to transfer Rs. 48,000 approximately out of the Life Members Fund in 1927 to liquidate a portion of the liability of the General Fund.

As against the present liability of Rs. 70,000 we hold assets to the value of over 8 lakhs of rupees, chief items being approximately:—Land (Rs. 67,000), Building (Rs. 3,23,000), Nobel Prize Fund (Rs. 1,12,000), Copyright of the Bengali works (1,25,000), Machines and Plants (Rs. 95,000), Library (Rs. 77,000), Net Stock of the Publishing Department (Rs. 30,000), Furniture (Rs. 17,000).

The actual net revenue deficit last year amounted to Rs. 17,673-5-0 (*Accounts Sheet for Total Revenue Account, p. 205*). Out of this amount Rs. 2,500 approximately is accounted for by a few items of non-recurring expenditure, leaving a net deficit of Rs. 15,000 (Rupees fifteen thousand a year) approximately.

So far as Santiniketan is concerned the immediate financial problem may be stated definitely. We require

- (a) *an additional income of Rs. 15,000 (Rupees fifteen thousand) a year to maintain the institutions at Santiniketan on the existing basis.*
- (b) *Rs. 70,000 (Rupees seventy thousand) approximately to clear our liabilities on account of the accumulated deficit, and Rs. 50,000 approximately to restore the Life Members Fund.*
- (c) *Rs. 1,30,000 (Rupees one lakh and thirty thousand) for urgent building and other capital construction work.*

Donors.—A complete list of donations received during the year is given at the end of the report.

Budget Estimates for 1928-29.—In September the President himself forwarded a consolidated scheme to the Finance Committee for consideration. The President's scheme was accepted practically without modification by the Finance Committee and the Karma-Samiti, and was later on formally sanctioned by the Samsad. The adoption of the above scheme instituted certain retrenchments in the staff at Santiniketan. In each case every attempt was made to find a suitable opening elsewhere, and the President himself sent letters to different institutions for this purpose.

SANTINIKETAN

Nepal Chandra Ray was in charge during January and February. He having resigned his office, Pramada Ranjan Ghosh was appointed Santiniketan-Sachiva on the 29th February, 1928, and held this office during the remaining part of the year.

VIDYABHAVANA. (RESEARCH INSTITUTE).

Staff.—During the year under review the whole-time staff consisted of the following persons.

Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya (Principal), Kshitimohan Sen, M.A.; M. Collins, Ph.D.; L. Bogdanov, Ph.D., Sonam-Ngdrub (Teacher of Tibetan).

Prof. Vinco Lesny of the Czecho-Slovakian University of Prague worked as Visiting Professor during the spring term.

The services of Pandit Mathuranathji were made available from January, to April, 1928, through the kindness of Mr. Umedsingh Musuddilalji (of the Digambar Jain Community) of Amristar who defrayed all expenses in this connection.

Students.—There were altogether eight regular students in the research department, besides nine teachers and six students from the Siksha-Bhavana (Santiniketan College) who attended courses for higher studies. Of the eight research students two came from Gujrat, one from Central Provinces and five from Bengal. Among them two were graduates of our own institution, one came from the Kasi-vidyapith, two were M.A.'s of the Calcutta University, and the remaining two were M.A.'s of the Dacca University. One of the two students from Dacca had been sent by the Dacca University as a research scholar.

Stipends.—This year four students were given stipends; all of whom made satisfactory progress. The student who was enjoying the Jaina scholarship given by Sjt. Champat Rai Jain, discontinued his work in the middle of the session, and as no other suitable candidate was available it was not awarded for the remaining part of the year. The Pocha scholarship was awarded to a student who is studying Tibetan.

Courses of Lectures. The following courses were given during the year. The number within brackets gives the number of students in each subject.

Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya :—*Tibetan* (5), *Prakrit* (2), *Pali* (2), *Buddhist Logic* (1) and *Buddhist Philosophy* (3).

Kshitimohan Sen :—*Medieval Indian Religions* (2), *Indian Mysticism* (1), He also took classes in Bengali and Sanskrit in the Santiniketan College.

M. Collins :—*Avesta* (3), *Comparative Philology* (2).

L. Bogdanov :—*Persian* (2), *French* (10).

Sonam Ngodrub :—*Tibetan* (5). He was also engaged in copying Xylographs for the research department.

Vinco Lesny (Visiting Professor) :—*German* (13), *Comparative Sanskrit Grammar* (7). He also lectured on the Avesta.

Pandit Mathuranathji :—*Jaina Logic and Philosophy* (3).

Research work by Students.

Amulya Charan Sen, M.A., B.L. :—

(i) "*The criticism of different religious and philosophical systems in Sanskrit and Prakrit Jaina literature.*"

(ii) "*Translation of Nyaya-dipika.*"

(iii) "*A short treatise on Indian Logic.*"

Sudhir Chandra Sen, M.A. :—"*Nathism.*"

Rakesh Chandra Sarma, M.A. :—"*Yogacara system of Buddhist Philosophy.*"

Prabhubhai Patel :—"*A critical edition of Cittasuddhi Prakarana attributed to Aryadeva with its Tibetan Version.*"

Research work by members of the staff:—

Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya :—

(i) "*The Doctrine of Atman and Anatman.*"

(ii) "*Sandhabhasa.*"

(iii) Reconstruction in Sanskrit of Nagarjuna's *Mahayana Vimsaka* from Tibetan and Chinese versions.

(iv) Reconstruction of *Aryadeva's Catuhsataka*.

Kshitimohan Sen : A paper on "*Bauls.*"

M. Collins : "*On the Indus Seals.*"

L. Bogdanov:—

(i) "*On the Afghan periodical press.*"

(ii) "*On the Afghan weights and measures.*"

(iii) *A monograph on Afghan titles and names.*

(iv) French translation of "*Les Contes du Parroquet*," Part II with a Glossary (French & Persian) of the above text.

Research work by members of the Santiniketan Staff.

Prem Sundar Bose : "*A critical edition of Sarvasiddhantasarasamgraha.*"
Anathnath Bose—

(i) A paper on *Vimalaratnalekha* by *Dipamkara* with Sanskrit and English translations (from Tibetan).

(ii) *Reconstruction in Sanskrit of Caryasamgrahapradīpa of Dipamkarasrinnana* with English translation (from Tibetan).

Publications.—The following publications from the Vidyabhavana are in the press :

Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya : *Aryadeva's Chatuhsataka*.

Kapilesvara Misra : *Brahmasutra*.

Haridas Mitra, M.A. : *Ganapati*.

Collation of the Mahabharata MSS.—The collation of the Mahabharata manuscripts was continued as usual in collation with the Bhandarkar Institute of Poona. The value of the work done by this department was gratefully acknowledged by the editor in the published fasciculi of the work. The importance of the Bengali recension was thoroughly established by our workers.

Baroda Grant.—We again gratefully acknowledge the receipt of the Annual Grant of Rs. 6,000/- (Rupees six thousand only) from H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda. The whole of this amount was earmarked for the staff of Vidyabhavana ; without this contribution it would have been impossible to continue the work of the Research Institute.

SIKSHA-VIBHAGA. (EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS).

The Siksha-bhavana (Santiniketan College) and the Patha-bhavana (Santiniketan School) were grouped early in the year as a single administrative unit. Premasundar Bose, M.A. was in charge as Principal during the greater part of the year. He having resigned the office of the Principal, Nalin Chandra Ganguly, M.A. (Birm.) took over charge as Principal from December, 1928.

Siksha-bhavana (Santiniketan College).—Owing to financial difficulties certain retrenchments became necessary and we regret to have to report that we were very reluctantly obliged to part with a number of devoted workers of the Institution among whom we would specially like to mention Mr. J. J. Vakil, B.A. (Oxon). who joined the Sind National College in October and Pandit Bhimrao Sastri.

Additional teachers are urgently needed in several subjects for the purpose of coping with the work successfully, and more adequate provision for the teaching of science has also become necessary.

Students.—The average number of students in the College department was 15 only (10 boys and 5 girls) against 21 in 1927. The fall in the number was due to the temporary discontinuance of the third year class. It was felt at one time that on account of financial stringency we would be obliged to close down the College department. It was however definitely decided by the Samsad in July, 1928, that the

College department would be continued for the present, and we are making arrangement for admitting students in the 3rd year class during the next session.

Three boys, all from outside Bengal, qualified for our own *Upadhi* (Degree) this year. One member of the staff and three students went up for the B.A. Examination of the Calcutta University. The former passed with distinction. Two girls and eight boys sat for the I.A. Examination. One of the girls and one boy passed in the first division and four boys in the second division.

Patha-bhavana (Santiniketan School).—Early in the session Pramada Ranjan Ghosh was appointed Santiniketan-Sachiva and had to be relieved from the responsible position of the Rector. He was succeeded by Satyajiban Pal, who however went on leave just after the Puja vacation. E. W. Ariam, who had been working as Private Secretary to the President since February, reverted to the School in August and was appointed Rector in November. Tanayendranath Ghose worked as Director of the Sisuvibhaga practically throughout the year.

Lakshmiswar Sinha, the permanent instructor in Carpentry, left for Sweden in May with study leave for one year for a course of training in the Naas Sloyd Institution. We have received excellent reports regarding his progress. Nripendranath Datta acted in his place and has rendered very good service.

The average number of students in the School department was 140 (boys 100, girls 40). Thirteen students were sent up for the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University; 9 were successful, 7 being placed in the first division and 2 in the second.

Manual training was given to the boys in the form of Carpentry, Weaving and Gardening. Weaving classes for girls were also started during the year, and a small house was built for this purpose. We are glad to note that these classes have become very popular.

The younger children got up a play of their own ("*Tak-duma-dum-dum*") in April under the able guidance of Srimati Rama Devi. There were two other dramatic performances during the year under review—"*Phalguni*" in April, and "*Guru*" in October in both of which the students took the leading part.

KALA-BHAVANA (SCHOOL OF ART AND MUSIC).

School of Art.—The Department for Plastic Art made excellent progress under the guidance of Nandalal Bose as Director. Sculpture classes were successfully started this year, and a large number of students have joined the new section. We gratefully acknowledge the help we have received in this connection from Miss Lisa von Pott of Vienna.

A Fresco-artist was brought* from Jaipur and the technique of fresco-painting was learnt from him. The wall spaces on the verandah of the first-floor of the Library building were decorated very successfully with frescos by the artist from Jaipur assisted by our own artists.

A noteworthy event was the successful organisation of a small travelling exhibition of art in Southern India by two students of the Kalabhavana, P. Hariharan and V. R. Chitra. This travelling exhibition attracted a large number of visitors, and helped in making the work of the Kalabhavana more widely known in the South.

School of Music.—Bhimrao Sastri was given study leave for six months for special study in Prof. Bhatkhande's well-known institution in Bombay. Owing to financial stringency we were however compelled to discontinue his services from November.

Veena, *Esraj*, and *Setar* classes continued to be as popular as before. The *Veena* classes were attended by 2 boy students and 7 girl students, and it is hoped that the *Veena* will gradually become more and more popular in Bengal.

As usual several musical performances were organised by the students and members of the Kalabhavana staff. These performances constitute a most attractive feature of Santiniketan.

Dancing is increasing in popularity especially among the girl students some of whom have shown great proficiency in this art.

SANTINIKETAN LIBRARY.

Prabhat Kumar Mukherjee was in charge as Librarian throughout the year. 1279 books were added during the year under report. The number of books at the end of the year was 31,169, which together with 1110 in the loan collection gave a total of 32,279.

No new manuscripts were added, and the total number of manuscripts stood at 3,136.

We gratefully acknowledge the receipt of books from many well-wishers of the institution, among whom we would especially like to mention the following names:—

H. M. the King of Egypt (500 Arabic books), Sastu Sahitya Mandal of Lahore, Hindi Grantharatnalaya (Bombay), Messrs. Mussuddilay Jain, B. K. Bose, C. F. Andrews, Atmananda Jain, Rathindranath Tagore; The Governments of India, Bengal, Baroda, Mysore, Travancore, Cochin and Ceylon; the Universities of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Allahabad and Illinois (U.S.A.).

RESIDENTIAL ARRANGEMENTS.

Naribhavana (Girl's Hostel).—The naribhavana continued to prosper under the able guidance of Miss Hembala Sen, B.A. Many applications for admission had to be refused for want of accommodation. With the completion of the Birla-Kuthi we hope to be able to make more adequate provision in this regard. We are glad to note that many girls students are now coming from outside Bengal.

The girls as usual regularly attended embroidery and music classes. Gardening was made compulsory this year and became extremely popular.

Hospital.—One portion of the projected Pearson Memorial Hospital was completed at a cost of Rs. 14,000/- and the hospital was removed there after the Puja vacation. The new building consists of an outdoor dispensary, an indoor ward with accommodation for 12 patients and an operating theatre. The hospital is badly in need of furniture and equipments.

The health of the students continued to be satisfactory in every way.

Sports.—Football, Cricket, Volley ball, Tennis, Badminton, Scouting, Gardening, Road-clearing and Excursions were forms of outdoor activity in which the students took great interest. A large number of students attended classes in Wrestling, Boxing, Lathi and Dagger play. It is worth noting that some of our girl students also have taken up Lathi and Dagger play with keen interest.

SRINIKETAN.

Rathindranath Tagore was in charge from January until his departure for Europe in May, 1928. Jagadananda Ray and P. C. Lal were appointed (Offg.) Joint Secretaries and were in charge of Sriniketan until November when Rathindranath Tagore returned to India and resumed charge of the office of the Sriniketan Sachiva.

VILLAGE WELFARE WORK.

The activities of the village welfare department including the sections of (i) Medical relief and Anti-Malarial work, (ii) Brati-Balaka Organisation, and (iii) Rural Survey and Rural Reconstruction, were under the general charge of Kalimohan Ghose.

Medical Relief and Anti-Malarial Work. *Outdoor Dispensary.*—The outdoor dispensary remained open in the morning from 7 a.m. to 12 noon throughout the day. Villagers from about 90 villages came here for treatment, and the total number of patients rose to 6065 against 4441 in 1927.

Health Societies.—The following village health societies work under the guidance of our resident medical officer (1) Bahadurpur, (2) Bandogra, (3) Bhubandanga, (4) Ballavpur, (5) Lohagar, (6) Benuri, (7) Mahidapur, (8) Dangapara, (9) Santalpara, (10) Goalpara, (11) Ruppur (Paschimpara), (12) Surul (Uttarpara)

Three years ago we had made an attempt to organise a health society at Goalpara, but failed owing to the apathy of the villagers. Recently they were convinced of the usefulness of health societies by observing the good results achieved by the Anti-Malarial work of the Ballavpur Health Society, and approached us to help them in forming a society of their own. A society was also formed at Ruppur towards the end of the year.

Considerable progress was made in Anti-Malarial work in different villages. It is gratifying to note that the percentage of malaria cases among the members of the health society was considerably lower than the corresponding percentage among persons who were not members. The total amount of cinchona distributed during the year through our workers was 10436 grains.

Maternity and Child Welfare.—One woman worker, who has been specially trained as a midwife, visited Surul Village regularly twice a week to give instruction in maternity and child welfare to a maternity class which was attended by many purdah ladies.

Aruna-Amita Relief Work.—Mr. Sisirkumar Basu of Sabour, Economic Botanist to the Government of Bihar and Orissa, gave a donation of Rs. 10,000/- to form an endowment in memory of his two daughters to be called after them the "Aruna and Amita Endowment." The donor desired that the income out of this fund should be utilised for providing medical relief in the villages by the free distribution of medicine and diet, and, if possible, by free nursing of the sick, and also such relief as may be taken in to the homes of those silent sufferers whose sense of self-respect prevents them from attending charitable dispensaries and hospitals.

Banikantha Mukhopadhyaya worked during the earlier part of the year as the paid wholetime worker under the Aruna-Amita trust. He was a devoted worker, but we lost him by his premature death in May, when Abani Mukhopadhyaya was appointed in his place. 413 patients of Brahmin, Sadgop, Tanti, Kalu, Hadi, Dom and Muchi castes and also many Mahammadan villagers were given medical relief and free nursing during the current year from the Aruna-Amita Fund.

Cholera Campaign.—During the summer of 1928 cholera broke in the district in an epidemic form. Our medical officers and other workers immediately started a campaign to prevent the spread of cholera in the surrounding villages. We are grateful to the Department of Public Health of Bengal, and the District Board of Bolpur for the free supply of cholera inoculation vaccine which was used for inoculating more than one thousand persons. The precautions taken by our medical section succeeded in checking the spread of the epidemic and getting it under control in the surrounding villages within a few weeks.

Brati-Balaka.—At the end of the year the number of Brati-Balakas under our control was 826. There was a rally in February, 1928, which was attended by more than 300 boys from different parts of the country. The Brati-Balakas of Bolpur started a hand-written magazine and organised a co-operative store which they are maintaining with voluntary service. The District Inspector of Schools inspected the Brati-Balaka troop at Bolpur and expressed great satisfaction at the progress made by them.

On the occasion of the visit of His Excellency Lord Irwin on the 16th December, 1928, a special demonstration of scout work was arranged which included a demonstration of fire drill and also a small exhibition of their handicraft.

Rural Survey and Rural Reconstruction.—The rural survey of Raipur village was completed this year but as many of our workers were engaged in famine relief work, the report could not be completed.

Famine Relief Operations.—Owing to the failure of crops in 1927 severe famine conditions prevailed in Birbhum and adjoining districts during the summer of 1928. A strong relief committee with Mr. J. J. Vakil as its Secretary was formed at Santiniketan and immediate measures were

taken for starting relief work. Members of the staff from both Santiniketan and Sriniketan helped ungrudgingly, and relief operations in the villages adjoining Santiniketan were conducted under their direction. The Samsad made a special grant of Rs. 1,000/- for excavating a tank with a view to giving employment to the famine-stricken villagers. The Labpur Dramatic Club gave a charity performance of "Chirakumar-Sabha" in Calcutta in September in aid of the famine relief work.

Rabindra Shevasram.—Hemanta K. Sarkar, one of our most sincere and devoted workers, has settled in Ballavpur and has taken charge of the work of the Rabindra Shevasram. A health society was organised, and a rural bank has also been opened under his supervision. Four tanks were excavated this year and have been utilised for irrigation purposes.

A night school has been started and also a weaving class in which two apprentices of our own weaving department have been engaged.

Co-operative Organisations.—The Central Co-operative Bank at Santiniketan which was started last year made very satisfactory progress under the guidance of Gour Gopal Ghose. 351 village co-operative societies of different types are working under the supervision of this Central Bank. The village welfare department lent the services of three of their workers for the purpose of consolidating the work of the Central Bank. Four new rural banks were started at Bhubandanga, Bahadurpur, Santalpara and Ballavpur, and two irrigation societies were organised in Islampur and Bhubandanga.

We are glad to report that a co-operative Dharmogola has been started with 51 members from the villages of Mahidapur, Lohagar and Jadavpur, with its head quarters at Sriniketan, and arrangements have been made for starting a number of other Dharmogolas at different villages.

AGRICULTURAL SECTION.

Santoshbehari Bose was in charge of the Agricultural Section (comprising the Farm, the Dairy, the Poultry-farm, and the Garden) throughout the year 1928. The activities of the different branches of this department were seriously hampered by the unprecedented drought which continued for nearly 8 months. Famine conditions prevailed throughout the Birbhum District for several months. All resources of water, especially for irrigation purposes, were completely exhausted early in the year. A redeeming feature was a late but favourable monsoon, advantage of which was taken to the fullest extent.

Farm.—Important results were obtained in experiments on the economy of manuring, and on the effect of a careful selection of seeds, especially for potatoes.

Systematic experiments were carried on :

(a) Green Manuring with *Dhanicha* in paddy, both early and late varieties.

(b) Top dressing with Chemical fertilisers (Ammonium Sulphate and Nitrate of Soda), and with oil cakes (Castor and Mustard Cakes) in Potato, Cabbage and Sugarcane.

(c) Greening of Potato Tuber, which has reduced the cost of manuring considerably, and has solved to a great extent the question of early maturity and the possibility of early sowing.

Agricultural Training.—A number of apprentices from various parts of India were given practical training in the Farm. A large number of enquiries in agricultural matters were attended to by letter. The local cultivators who came in large numbers were also given every facility for watching the farm operations. There was a fair demand for seeds and manures from surrounding villages.

Agricultural Demonstrations.—Practical demonstrations of improved methods of agriculture were started for the first time in the village of Ballavpur. The initiative was taken by the villagers themselves. They appeared to be particularly interested in Green Manuring. Arrangements have been made to start similar demonstration work in other villages as soon as the necessary funds are available.

Dairy.—During the year under report certain experiments were made on the growing of Fodder Crops such as (a) Juar and Cowpea (mixed) followed by Oats and Peas (b) Japanese Millet (two bighas), (c) Cowpea (one bigha). The average yield of Juar and Cowpea was 100 maunds per bigha, i.e., over 11 tons per acre, which compares very favourably with an average outturn of 10 tons per acre at other places. The yield of Japanese Millet came to 63 maunds per bigha or 7 tons per acre, without any second cutting.

There was a great saving in the cost of feeding by growing of fodder crops. Experiments were also started for growing subsequent fodder crops on the same land (without further addition of manure or fresh irrigation) with such plants as Oats and Peas.

The old stock is being gradually disposed of and only a very limited number of cows yielding milk have been kept.

Garden.—The area under *Papaya* was extended by another acre. The new plants, raised from our own seeds, showed signs of satisfactory growth.

Poultry.—Breeding experiments were continued as usual. A scheme has been prepared for the mass production of eggs, and also for the growing of poultry feeds in order to economise the cost of feeding. Comprehensive arrangements are also being made for improving the local breed of fowls in Ballavpur village.

EDUCATIONAL SECTION.

P. C. Lal was in charge of this section as Superintendent.

Training of Apprentices.—During the year under report 24 apprentices passed through the various departments of the Institution, in addition to 27 village boys who were trained in the Weaving section only. The former came from outside places ; most of them had studied up to the *Matriculation standard and a few had also a Collegiate education.* The numbers in the various departments are given below:—

Farm only (5), Farm and Poultry (2), Farm and Weaving (3), Farm and Rural Reconstruction (6), Poultry and Weaving (2), Weaving alone (2), Tannery (2), Village boys for Weaving (27).

Besides practical work on Agriculture, Dairing and Animal Husbandry, courses of studies were arranged in Rural Economics, Sanitation, and Hygiene. General discussions on Village Welfare and other subjects were arranged from time to time. At the request of the students themselves, Kshitimohan Sen and Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya came from Santiniketan and gave talks on cultural topics which were greatly appreciated.

Keen interest was shown by all students and members of the staff in sports and games.

Siksha-Satra.—P. C. Lal assisted by V. S. Masoji carried on the work of the Siksha-Satra. Both the workers felt that valuable experience was gained during the year. In spite of many disappointments the results on the whole were encouraging and satisfactory.

The programme of work given in the last year's report was faithfully followed. The boys worked in Weaving, Carpentry, Gardening, Washing and Cooking. With Masoji as their leader, they went on several excursions and took part in some musical performances at Santiniketan. They looked after their vegetable and flower gardens and worked hard to overcome the difficulties of watering due to a prolonged drought. Special interest was shown in music, and the musical evenings organised by them were greatly appreciated by other members of the institution.

Carpentry became self-supporting from the very beginning. One of the boys who specialised in it was able to earn Rs. 15/- per month, but he was obliged to devote a good part of his time to this work.

A scheme has been prepared for carrying on the work of the Siksha-Satra on a larger scale as a Village School. It is felt that such expansion of the work would remove a pressing need of the surrounding villages.

INDUSTRIAL SECTION.

Weaving.—Manindrachandra Sen Gupta was in charge of the Weaving section. During the year under review 34 students, both from the neighbouring villages and from outside, took their training in this section. The courses of training lasted from three months to a year.

Yarn was supplied to the village weavers who prepared cloth according to the designs given by the Institute. The making of *Durries*, *Carpets*, *Durma*, and *Tape* was introduced in 17 families and 5 schools of the neighbouring villages and the work is being carried on under our direct supervision.

The following weaving centres were conducted under our supervision :—

(i) In Birbhum District, started by students trained at Sriniketan	... ..	7
(ii) In other Districts, started by students trained at Sriniketan	... ..	12
(iii) In Birbhum District, under our direct supervision	... ..	17

The experiments made in weaving *Kete* cloth were entirely satisfactory.

The number of student apprentices in this section was 24 at the end of the year.

Tannery.—Sachimohan Bhowmik was in charge of the Tannery.

On account of difficulties in marketing leathers, work was concentrated this year on the training of village *Muchis*, and on the revival of tanning as a village industry. Five families carried on tanning in 3 villages under our direct supervision. One Muchi from Kashipur has started shoe-making and is thus able to make use of his finished leathers himself. Another Muchi from Ballavpur is at present under training.

The sole-leathers turned out by us found a ready market because of their high quality.

Obituary.—In June, 1928, by the death of K. Kashahara the institution lost one of the most active members of the staff. Those who once saw his fine vegetable garden can never forget him. Kashahara was a living example of industry and every single plant in his garden bore testimony to his fostering care.

Another sincere worker, Baikuntha Mukherjee, who was employed under the Aruna Amita Fund, died during the year. Our sympathies go to the families of both the deceased in their bereavement.

PUBLISHING DEPARTMENT.

Charuchandra Bhattacharya was in charge as the Secretary, Publishing Department, throughout the year.

New Books.—The most notable publication this year was a *facsimile* edition of "*Lekhan*," a book of short poems by Rabindranath Tagore which was specially printed in Germany from the original manuscript in the Poet's own handwriting. We are glad to note that this book has had a very favourable reception. A large number of reprints of the Poet's Bengali works were issued during the year.

Sales.—The Publications Section has again shown a very satisfactory progress. The gross sales of the President's Bengali books amounted to Rs. 27,906-10-6. After deducting all working expenses, interest on the loan from the Kalabhavana Fund (Rs. 1,560) and Rs. 6,611-2-0 paid as royalty to the General Fund, a net cash profit of Rs. 1,826-15-4 was carried to the Balance Sheet. The stock in hand has also increased considerably.

Santiniketan Press.—The financial position of the Press improved very materially during the year under review. It will be noticed from the audited accounts that a working profit of Rs. 387-8-3 was made at the end of the year. This figure was arrived at after deduction of Rs. 420/- paid as interest to the Indian Studies Fund for a loan of Rs. 7,000/-, but without any deduction as interest for the capital loan out of the General Fund

Visva-bharati Quarterly.—Surendranath Tagore was in charge of the Quarterly as Editor. During the year under review arrangements were made for supplying all members of the Visva-bharati with free copies of the Quarterly. Arrangements were also made for publishing in it reports and notes on the work of the different institutions of the Visva-bharati.

VISVA-BHARATI SAMMILANI, CALCUTTA.

During the earlier part of the year several meetings were organised in Calcutta under the auspices of the Visva-bharati Sammilani. Two very successful meetings were presided over by the Poet himself and were attended by a large number of persons interested in Bengali literature. The Poet spoke on present tendencies in Bengali Literature, and a large number of the younger writers of the day participated in the discussion which followed.

Birthday Celebrations.—A very interesting ceremony was arranged by the *Visva-Bharati Sammilani* in Calcutta on the 7th May, on the occasion of the 67th birthday of the President. About 400 members and guests assembled in the Jorasanko house and were treated to light refreshments. The actual ceremony took place in the Vichitra Hall which was decorated with flowers and with *alpana*. The Poet was received at the door by the women members of the *Sammilani* and was conducted in procession to his seat. There was music, recitation of benedictory hymns, and a short address from the Poet. But the most impressive part of the ceremony was the *Tula-dana* in which the Poet was weighed against his own books, and these books were then distributed to various public libraries.

Conclusion.—In conclusion we desire to thank our many friends and well-wishers for their co-operation in furthering the cause of the Visva-bharati.

P. C. MAHALANOBIS,
Karma-Sachiva.

APPENDIX A.

List of Donations received during 1927-1928.

B. Earmarked Funds.

Date. B/1. Santiniketan Trust Fund.

			Rs.	A.	P.
5-12-27.	Tagore Estate	... ..	350	0	0
4- 7-28.	Tagore Estate	... ..	1,000	0	0
10- 8-28.	Tagore Estate	... ..	600	0	0
29- 9-28.	Tagore Estate	... ..	300	0	0
			2,250	0	0

B/2/22. Sriniketan Fund.

14- 2-28.	Dr. R. R. Mukherjee	.. ..	20	0	0
15- 2-28.	Mr. I. B. Sen	... ..	50	0	0
15- 2-28.	Through Mr. L. K. Elmhirst	... ..	20,408	2	0
15- 2-28.	National Council of Education	... ..	500	0	0
9- 3-28.	National Fund	... ..	100	0	0
30- 4-28.	National Fund	... ..	50	0	0
15- 7-28.	National Council of Education	... ..	500	0	0
18- 7-28.	Through Mr. L. K. Elmhirst	... ..	20,177	6	7
24- 7-28.	National Council of Education	... ..	500	0	0
31- 8-28.	National Fund	.. ..	125	0	0
			42,430	8	7

B/4/23. Pearson Hospital Fund.

30- 1-28.	Messrs. Macmillan & Co.	... ..	29	4	6
24- 2-28.	Young India through Mr. C. F. Andrews	... ..	45	0	0
2- 3-28.	Through Mr. C. F. Andrews	... ..	1,000	0	0
30- 7-28.	Mr. E. C. Pearson	... ..	332	12	0
			1,407	0	6

B/6/25. Library Fund.

4- 4-28.	Through Mr. C. F. Andrews	... ..	200	0	0
31- 7-28.	Through Mr. C. F. Andrews	... ..	200	0	0
			400	0	0

B/10/25. Kalabhavana (Music Fund).

1- 5-28.	Through Rabindranath Tagore	500	0	0
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B-12/28. Zoroastrian Fund.

2- 7-28.	Through Mr. D. J. Irani	1,400	0	0
			48,387	9	1

C. General Donations.

25- 2-28.	Mr. Mukundā Ray, Mangalore	100	0	0
9- 3-28.	Malay Donation through Joint Secretaries, Taiping	101	10	3
29- 9-28.	Mr. Kishorimohan Santra, Calcutta ...	15	0	0
30- 9-28.	H. H. The Rajasaheb of Bansda (6th instalment)	500	0	0
		<hr/>		
		716	10	3

D. Earmarked Donations.

3- 3-28.	Malay Donations through Rabindranath Tagore	3,000	0	0
2-11-28.	Through Mr. L. K. Elmhirst (<i>Land Acquisition</i>)	20,000	0	0
22-11-28.	Do.	5,000	0	0
		<hr/>		
		28,000	0	0

E. Annual Grants.

3- 5-28.	Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai, Ahmedabad	3,000	0	0
3- 5-28.	H. H. The Maharaja of Tipperah ..	1,000	0	0
24- 7-28.	H. H. The Gaekwar of Baroda ..	6,000	0	0
		<hr/>		
		10,000	0	0

SUMMARY.

B.	Earmarked Funds ...	48,387	9	1
C.	General Donations ...	716	10	3
D.	Earmarked Donations	28,000	0	0
E.	Annual Grants ...	10,000	0	0

Grand Total	...	87,104	3	4
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MEMBERS OF THE SAMSAD (GOVERNING BODY), 1928.

Ex-Officio Members.

Acharya (Founder-President) : Rabindranath Tagore.
Upacharya (Vice-President) : Surendranath Tagore.
Artha-sachiva (Treasurer) : Narendranath Law.
Karma-sachiva (General Secretary) : Prasanta-chandra Mahalanobis.
Santiniketan-sachiva (Local Secretary, Santiniketan) : Nepal Chandra Ray (up to February), Pramadaranjan Ghosh (from March, 1928).
Sriniketan-sachiva (Local Secretary, Sriniketan) : Rathindranath Tagore (January to April, December), Jagadananda Ray and P. C. Lal (May to November).
Secretary, Publishing Board : Charuchandra Bhattacharya.

Ordinary Members.

For 1927 and 1928 : J. J. Vakil, Asoke Chatterjee, Mrs. Kiranbala Sen, R. W. Ariam, Amal Home, I. B. Sen, A. K. Chandra (from 29th April, 1928).
For 1928 and 1929 : A. C. Banerjee, Pramathanath Banerjee, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Kshitimohan Sen, Kalidas Nag, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Jitendra Mohan Sen.
Members from outside Bengal (1928) : D. J. Irani, Gurdial Mallik, Ambalal Sarabhai, Atul Prosad Sen.

Representatives.

Santiniketan Samiti (1928-29) : Surendranath Kar, Jagadananda Ray, Tejesh Chandra Sen, Pramadaranjan Ghosh (up to February, 1928), Nepal Chandra Ray (from April, 1928).
(1928-1929) : Miss Hembala Sen, Nandalal Bose, Premisundar Bose, Prabhat Kumar Mukherjee.
Sriniketan Samiti (1928) : Santosh Behari Bose.
(1928-1929) : Kalimohan Ghosh, P. C. Lal.
Asramik-Sangha (for 1928) : Bibhutibhusan Gupta.

Co-opted Members.

For 1928 : Vidhusekhara Sastri, Gourgopal Ghosh, Gurusaday Dutt, Subodh Chandra Mukherjee, Susobhan Chandra Sarkar.

Nominated Members.

For 1928 : C. F. Andrews, Debendra Mohan Bose, Subhas Chandra Bose.

APPENDIX C.

MEMBERS OF THE KARMA-SAMITI (EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE), 1928.

Ex-Officio Members.

Rabindranath Tagore, Surendranath Tagore, Narendranath Law, Prasanta-chandra Mahalanobis.

Ordinary Members.

Charuchandra Bhattacharya, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Jitendramohan Sen, Suniti-kumar Chatterjee, Pramathanath Banerjee, I. B. Sen, Nepal Chandra Ray (up to February, 1928; again from 29th April), R. W. Ariam (up to 14th April, again from 6th July), Rathindranath Tagore (up to 14th April, again from 28th November), Pramadaranjan Ghosh (from 24th April to 9th May), P. C. Lal (from 24th April to 21st October).

Co-opted Members.

Subodh Chandra Mukherjee (from 22nd February), Susobhan Chandra Sarkar (from 22nd February).

APPENDIX D.

MEMBERS OF THE SAMSAD (GOVERNING BODY), 1929.

Ex-Officio Members.

Acharya (Founder President) : Rabindranath Tagore.
Upacharya (Vice-President) : Surendranath Tagore.
Artha-sachiva (Treasurer) : Narendranath Law.
Karma-sachiva (General Secretary) : Prasantachandra Mahalanobis.
Santiniketan-sachiva (Local Secretary, Santiniketan) : Pramadaranjan Ghosh.
Sriniketan-sachiva (Local Secretary, Sriniketan) : Rathindranath Tagore.
Secretary, Publishing Board : Charuchandra Bhattacharya.

Ordinary Members.

For 1929 : A. C. Banerjee, Pramathanath Banerjee, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Kshitimohan Sen, Kalidas Nag, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Jitendramohan Sen.
For 1929 and 1930 : C. F. Andrews, Devendramohan Bose, Asoke Chatterjee, Amal Home, Jagadananda Ray, Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya, Nepal Chandra Ray, Mrs. Kiranbala Sen.
Members from outside Bengal (for 1929) : D. J. Irani, Gurdial Mallik, Ambalal Sarabhai, Atul Prosad Sen.

Representatives.

Santiniketan-Samiti (for 1929) : Miss Hembala Sen, Nandalal Bose, Prem Sunder Bose, Prabhat Kumar Mukherjee.
(1929-30) : W. Ariam, Gourgopal Ghosh, Tanayendranath Ghosh, Surendranath Kar.
Sriniketan-Samiti (for 1929) : Kalimohan Ghosh, P. C. Lal.
(1929-30) : Santoshbehari Bose.
Asramik Sangha (for 1929) : Sudhakanta Ray.

Co-opted Members.

For 1929 : Satyananda Bose, Subodhchandra Mukherjee, Apurva Kumar Chanda, I. B. Sen and Susobhan Chandra Sarkar.

APPENDIX E.

MEMBERS OF THE KARMA-SAMITI (EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE), 1929.

Ex-Officio Members.

Acharya (Founder President) : Rabindranath Tagore.
Upacharya (Vice-President) : Surendranath Tagore.
Artha-sachiva (Treasurer) : Narendranath Law.
Karma-sachiva (General Secretary) : Prasantachandra Mahalanobis.

Ordinary Members.

Charuchandra Bhattacharya, Rathindranath Tagore, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Jitendramohan Sen, Pramadaranjan Ghosh, Nepal Chandra Ray, Devendramohan Bose, Susobhan Chandra Sarkar.

Co-opted Members. I. B. Sen.

VISVA-BHARATI.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1928.

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	PROPERTY AND ASSETS.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
GENERAL FUND—							LAND AT SANTINIKETAN—						
As per last Account ...	5,35,771	4	4				As per last Account ...	10,132	15	9			
Add—Donations for Land Acquisition ...	25,000	0	0				Added—this year ...	40,645	6	6			
											59,778	4	3
	5,60,771	4	4				BUILDING AT SANTINIKETAN—						
Less—deficit from Total Revenue Account ...	17,973	5	0				GENERAL ...	2,19,667	4	8			
				5,43,897	15	4	TUBE WELL (Kadoorji Water Works) ...	2,660	15	6			
PERMANENT FUNDS—							STUDENT'S DORMITORY—						
Nobel Prize Fund ...	1,12,000	0	0				Dormitory Fund Rs. 10,000	0	0				
Prasad Night School Fund ...	1,000	0	0				General " 884	14	0		10,884	14	0
Indian Studies Fund ...	10,000	0	0										
Pestonji P. Pocha Fund ...	5,005	0	0				HIRABAI PANTHASALA—						
Sharma History Fund ...	2,000	13	4				Hirabai Fund Rs. 6,200	0	0				
Library Fund ...	2,000	0	0				General " 1,077	11	9		7,277	11	9
Aruna Amita Endowment ...	10,000	0	0										
Nizam's Fund ...	1,00,000	0	0				RATAN KUTHI—						
				2,42,005	13	4	Ratan Kuthi Fund (Building and Furniture) ...	39,833	1	6			
 earmarked FUNDS—							BIRLA KUTHI—						
Kalabhavana Fund ...	1,03,000	0	0				Birla Kuthi Fund ...	551	0	0			
Pearson Hospital Fund ...	12,584	8	4				PEARSON HOSPITAL—						
Ratan Kuthi Fund ...	30,000	0	0				Pearson Hospital Fund ...	9,618	14	3			
Birla Kuthi Fund ...	20,000	0	0				KALABHAVANA—						
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund ...	10,000	0	0				Kalabhavana Fund ...	20,106	7	3			
Kadoorji Water Works Fund ...	10,046	7	0								3,00,600	4	11
Bai Hirabai Fund ...	15,200	0	0				MACHINERIES—						
Kalabhavana Fund (Music) ...	1,000	0	0				As per last Account ...	1,01,217	1	6			
Dormitory Fund ...	10,000	0	0				Less—Depreciation ...	7,591	4	6			
				2,11,830	15	4					93,625	13	0
Carried over				9,96,934	12	0	Carried over				4,45,004	6	2

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BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1928.—(Contd.)

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.	Rs.	A.	P.	PROPERTY AND ASSETS.	Rs.	A.	P.
Brought forward ...	9,96,934	12	0	Brought forward ...	4,45,004	6	2
SURPLUS FROM INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT—				FURNITURE AND FITTINGS—			
Pestonji P. Pocha Fund ...	199	4	0	As per last Account ...	13,487	12	6
Aruna Amrita Endowment ...	786	2	3	Less—Depreciation ...	674	6	3
Nizam's Fund ...	2,843	3	0		12,813	6	3
LIMBDI SANATORIUM FUND—				Added—this year ...	3,467	7	9
Previous years' profit Rs. 898 3 6							16,280 14 0
Added—this year 400 0 0				COPY RIGHT—			1,25,000 0 0
	1,398	3	6	As per last Account ...			
Bai Hirabai Fund ...	111	9	6	LIBRARY AND BOOKS—			
	5,238	6	3	As per last Account ...	76,234	10	9
				Added—this year ...	1,134	7	0
							77,369 1 9
LOAN TO GENERAL OFFICE (AS PER CONTRA)—				SUNDRY FUNDS INVESTMENT—			
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund ...	10,000	0	0	BENGAL PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.—			
Sriniketan Grant Fund ...	25,684	5	1	Nizam's Fund ...	1,00,000	0	0
Publishing Department ...	3,227	9	7	Kalabhavana Fund ...	5,000	0	0
			38,911 14 8	Indian Studies Fund ...	3,000	0	0
				Prasad Night School Fund ...	1,000	0	0
DEPOSIT AT GENERAL OFFICE (AS PER CONTRA)—				Sharman History Fund ...	2,000	0	0
Pestonji P. Pocha Fund ...	204	4	0	Library Fund ...	2,000	0	0
Sharman History Fund ...	0	13	4	Kalabhavana Fund (Music) ...	1,000	0	0
Aruna Amrita Endowment ...	786	2	3				1,14,000 0 0
Nizam's Fund ...	2,843	3	0	IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA—			
Limbdi Sanatorium Fund ...	1,398	3	6	Pearson Hospital Fund ...			2,001 2 6
Bai Hirabai Fund ...	111	9	6	PATISAR KRISHI BANK—			
Ratan Kuthi Fund ...	166	14	6	Nobel Prize Fund ...	1,12,000	0	0
Birla Kuthi Fund ...	19,449	0	0	Kadoorji Water Works Fund ...	7,385	7	6
Kalabhavana Fund ...	6,883	1	1	Pearson Hospital Fund ...	964	7	7
			31,243 3 2	Kalabhavana Fund ...	14,310	7	8
							1,34,660 6 9
Carried over	10,72,328	4	1	Carried over			9,14,315 15 2

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VISVA-BHARATI.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1928.—(Contd.)

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	PROPERTY AND ASSETS.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Brought forward	...	10,94,544 14 3	Brought forward	...	10,19,977 4 2
			DEPOSIT AT GENERAL OFFICE (AS PER CONTRA)—		
			Pestonji P. Pocha Fund	204 4 0	
			Sharman History Fund	0 13 4	
			Aruna Amita Endowment	786 2 3	
			Nizam's Fund	2,843 3 0	
			Limbdī Sanatorium Fund	1,298 3 6	
			Bai Hirabai Fund	111 9 6	
			Ratan Kuthi Fund	166 14 6	
			Birla Kuthi Fund	19,449 0 0	
			Kalabhavana Fund	6,383 1 1	
					31,243 3 2
			LOAN FROM GENERAL FUND—		
			Santiniketan Trust	4,365 10 0	
			Printing Press	14,524 15 3	
					18,890 9 3
			GENERAL INVESTMENTS—		
			Government Paper	100 0 0	
			Bengal Provincial Co-operative Bank, Ltd.	1,100 0 0	
			Shares of Santiniketan Samavaya Bhandar	170 0 0	
			Shares of Co-operative Bank	300 0 0	
			Postal Savings Bank	197 15 10	
					1,867 15 10
			OUTSTANDING AT SANTINIKETAN ADVANCE	3,154 1 6	
			SUSPENSE AT GENERAL OFFICE *	2,590 10 3	
				510 1 0	
Carried over		10,94,544 14 3	Carried over		10,78,233 13 2

VISVA-BHARATI.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1928.—(Contd.)

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.		RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	PROPERTY AND ASSETS.		RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.
Brought forward			10,94,544 14 3	Brought forward	...	...	10,78,233 13 2
				CASH AT BANKS—			
				Imperial Bank of India (Treasurer Office)	...	8,419 5 11	
				Allahabad Bank, Ltd.—Santiniketan Office	...	5 3 4	
				Visva-bharati—Central Co-operative Bank Santiniketan Office	...	2 11 3	
							8,427 4 6
				CASH IN TRANSIT	...		275
				CASH IN HAND (AS CERTIFIED BY THE SECRETARY)—			
				General Office	...	279 8 6	
				Quarterly Office	...	101 14 11	
				Santiniketan Office	...	0 0 2	
							381 7 7**
				DEFICIT FROM INCOME & EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT—			
				KALABHAVANA FUND— Rs. A. P.			
				Previous years' Deficit	6,740 6 0		
				Added—this year	439 14 9		
						7,180 4 9	
				Prasad Night School Fund		31 12 0	
				Sharman History Fund		15 4 3	
							7,227 5 0
			10,94,544 14 3				10,94,544 14 3
SRINIKETAN—				SRINIKETAN—			
CAPITAL FUND—				LAND AT SRINIKETAN—			
As per last Account	...	1,45,197 14 10		As per last Account			16,930 14 9
Added—Excess of Income over Expenditure from Income and Expenditure Account	...	8,437 5 11					
			1,53,845 4 9				
Carried over			12,48,390 3 0	Carried over			11,11,475 13 0

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BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1928.—(Contd.)

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.	Rs. A. P.		PROPERTY AND ASSETS.	Rs. A. P.	
	Rs.	A. P.		Rs.	A. P.
Brought forward	12,48,390	3	Brought forward	11,11,475	13 0
CAUTION MONEY ...	20	0 0	BUILDING AT SRINIKETAN—		
LIABILITIES ...	6	0 0	As per last Account	97,749	2 0
			Added—this year	5,571	2 3
				<hr/>	
				1,03,320	4 3
			MACHINERIES & IMPLEMENTS—		
			As per last Account	1,363	14 0
			Less—Depreciation	98	2 7
				<hr/>	
				1,210	11 5
			LIBRARY & MUSEUM	262	7 0
			LIVE STOCK	787	8 0
			FURNITURE & FITTINGS—		
			As per last Account	124	14 0
			Less—Depreciation	6	4 0
				<hr/>	
				118	10 0
			Add—this year	538	0 6
				<hr/>	
				1,056	10 6
			STOCK	1,169	9 6
			ADVANCE	371	6 6
			OUTSTANDING	1,730	8 9
			LOAN TO GENERAL FUND	25,684	5 1
			CASH AT BANK—		
			American Express Co., Inc.	6	6 9
			Visva-bharati Central Co-operative		
			Bank	1,273	8 0
				<hr/>	
				1,279	14 9
			CASH IN HAND (as certified by Sachiva—		
			Imprest—Agriculture	63	5 9
			Office	3	10 6
				67	0 3
Carried over	12,48,416	3 0	Carried over	12,48,416	3 0

VISVA-BHARATI.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1928.—(Contd.)

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES			PROPERTY AND ASSETS.		
RS.	A.	P.	RS.	A.	P.
Brought forward	...	12,43,416	3	0	
PUBLISHING DEPARTMENT—			PUBLISHING DEPARTMENT—		
CAPITAL—(Loan from Kalabhavana Fund)	...	26,000	0	0	
PROFIT as per last Account	15,646	12	9		
Added—this year from Profit and Loss Account	1,826	15	4		
SUSPENSE	...	17,473	12	1	
		77	6	6	
		12,91,967	5	7	
PRINTING PRESS—			PRINTING PRESS—		
LOAN FROM GENERAL FUND	14,524	15	3		
LOAN FROM INDIAN STUDIES FUND	7,000	0	0		
LIABILITY	...	24	10	6	
		11,464	4	9	
		573	3	6	
		10,891	1	3	
		1,051	15	0	
		1,448	11	0	
		8,515	6	9	
		387	8	3	
		8,157	14	6	
TOTAL	13,13,516	15	4		
		13,13,516	15	4	

We have compiled the above Balance Sheet and attached Accounts from the books and vouchers presented to us and from the information and explanations supplied, and we have given effect to the resolutions of the Samsad in so far as these effect the Accounts. Subject to our letter addressed to the Secretary, we are of opinion that the Balance Sheet shows a true and correct view of the Society's affairs as disclosed by the books produced to us in accordance with the information and explanations received.

6, CHURCH LANE,
Calcutta, the 17th December, 1928.

RAY & RAY,
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS,
Auditors.

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VISVA-BHARATI. PERMANENT FUNDS.

Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1928.

A-1/14, Nobel Prize Fund.

	Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.
To Transfer to General Fund	7,840 0 0	By Interest	7,840 0 0

A-2/20, Prasad Night School Fund.

To Expenditure	80 0 0	By Interest	48 4 0
		„ Excess of Expenditure over Income	31 12 0
TOTAL	80 0 0	TOTAL	80 0 0

A-3/22, Indian Studies Fund.

To Transfer to Vidyabhavana	564 11 9	By Interest	564 11 9
-----------------------------	----------	-------------	----------

A-4/24, Pestonji P. Pocha Fund.

To Scholarship	225 0 0	By Interest	424 4 0
„ Excess of Income over Expenditure	199 4 0		
TOTAL	424 4 0	TOTAL	424 4 0

A-5/25, Sharman History Fund.

To History Allowance	111 12 0	By Interest	96 7 9
		„ Excess of Expenditure over Income	15 4 3
	111 12 0	TOTAL	111 12 0

VISVA-BHARATI. **PERMANENT FUNDS.**

Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1928—(Contd.)

A-6/25, Library Fund.

To Transfer to Library A/c.	Rs. A. P. 56 7 9 By Interest	
-----------------------------	---	--

Rs. A. P.
56 7 9

A-7/27, Aruna Amila Endowment.

To Expenditure ... ...	.. 461 5 9 By Interest	
,, Excess of Income over Expenditure	.. 786 2 3	

1,247 8 0

TOTAL 1,247 8 0

1,247 8 0

A-8/27, Nizam's Fund.

To Expenditure 	1,209 6 0 By Interest	
,, Excess of Income over Expenditure	2,843 3 0	

4,052 9 0

TOTAL 4,052 9 0

4,052 9 0

VISVA-BHARATI.

YEAR-MARKED FUNDS.

Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1928.

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B-1, Santiniketan Trust Fund.

	Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.
To Establishment ...	2,377	4	0	By Endowment and Trust Properties	2,250	0	0
„ Light ...	290	6	3	„ Rent „ ...	144	0	0
„ Rent and Taxes ...	25	11	6	„ Excess of Expenditure over Income	2,179	1	6
„ Mela ...	1,122	7	0				
„ Equipment ...	252	13	9				
„ Repairs ...	207	14	9				
„ Entertainment of Guests ...	192	0	6				
„ Contingency ...	105	7	9				
Total	4,573	1	6	Total	4,573	1	6

B-3/22, Kalabhavana Fund.

To Establishment ...	5,048	0	0	By Tuition Fees ...	1,595	0	0
„ Scholarship ...	347	11	0	„ Interest ...	7,289	1	3
„ Contribution to Library ...	120	0	0	„ Excess of Expenditure over Income	439	14	9
„ Crafts ...	552	8	9				
„ Books and Journal ...	199	8	0				
„ Photo and Embroidery ...	149	14	0				
„ Contingency ...	288	15	3				
„ Transfer from Kalabhavana Music Fund	2,617	7	0				
Total	9,324	0	0	Total	9,324	0	0

B-4/23, Pearson Hospital Fund.

To Transfer to Fund Account ...	1,536	11	7	By Interest	62	6	3
				„ Donation	1,474	5	4
Total	1,536	11	7	Total	1,536	11	7

VISVA-BHARATI.

EAR-MARKED FUNDS —(Contd.)

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Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1928—(Contd.)

B-7/24, Limbdi Sanatorium Fund.

	RS.	A.	P.		RS.	A.	P.
To Hill Allowance	200	0 0	By Interest	600	0 0	
„ Excess of Income over Expenditure	..	400	0 0				
Total		600	0 0	Total	600	0 0	

B-8/24, Kadoorji Water Works Fund.

To Expenditure	101	2 6	By Interest	653	11 3	
„ Excess of Income over Expenditure	552	8 9				
Total	653	11 3	Total	653	11 3	

B-9/25, Bai Hirabai Fund.

To Establishment	177	0 0	By Interest	433	11 0	
„ Miscellaneous	145	1 6				
„ Excess of Income over Expenditure	111	9 6				
Total	433	11 0	Total	433	11 0	

B-10/25, Kalabhavana Music Fund.

To Establishment	2,263	5	By Interest	48	4 0	
„ Instruments	51	2	„ Net deficit carried to Kalabhavana Fund (Art)	2,617	7 0	
„ Scholarship	337	8				
„ Contingency	13	11				
Total	2,665	11	Total	2,665	11 0	

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VISVA-BHARATI. PUBLISHING DEPARTMENT.

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Account for the year ending 30th Septe

	RS. A. P.		RS. A. P.	THE VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY [Vaisakh-Sraavan, 1336]
To Stock ...	33,122 2 0	By Sales ...	27,906 10 6	
„ Purchase	1,016 14 9	„ Stock ...	30,441 0 6	
„ Paper ...	3,162 4 0			
„ Printing	3,179 14 0			
„ Binding	2,076 5 9			
„ Royalty	6,611 2 0			
„ Gross Profit	9,179 0 6			
TOTAL	58,347 11 0	Total	58,347 11 0	
To Salary	2,349 3 3	By Gross Profit ...	9,179 0 6	
„ Light ...	91 8 0	„ Commission (Sudhair Babu)	240 15 0	
„ Rent ...	645 0 0	„ Royalty ...	94 15 0	
„ Postage	107 9 9	„ Interest ...	82 6 4	
„ Stationery	45 8 0			
„ Contingent	459 15 6			
„ Advertisement	354 0 0			
„ Interest	1,560 0 0			
„ Commission	2,157 11 0			
„ Net Profit	1,826 15 4			
TOTAL	9,597 4 10	Total	9,597 4 10	

VISVA-BHARATI. PRINTING PRESS.

Profit and Loss Account for the year ending 30th September, 1928.

	Rs.	A.	P.	
To Establishment	3,117	12	9	By Printing
" Electric Power and Light ...	363	4	6	" Binding
" Contingent	252	8	0	
" Paper	32	12	6	
" Interest on Loan	420	0	0	
" Depreciation	573	3	6	
" Net Profit to Balance Sheet	337	8	3	

TOTAL 5,147

Rs. A. P.
4,881 12 9
265 4 9

TOTAL 5,147 1 6

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To Printing and Paper	3,025	11	9	By Subscription and Advertisement ...	1,924	2	6
" Binding ...	114	1	6	" Contribution from General Fund ...	2,300	0	0
" Establishment ...	528	1	9	" Net Loss transferred to Total Revenue Account	198	13	6
" Postage ...	557	1	6				
" Contingent ...	138	12	0				
" Stationery ...	59	3	6				

TOTAL 4,423 0 0

TOTAL 4,423 0 0

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VISVA-BHARATI. SANTINIKETAN.

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1928.

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	Rs. A. P.	VIDYABHAVANA—	Rs. A. P.
VIDYABHAVANA—			
To Establishment	5,820 0 0	By Baroda Grant	6,000 0 0
„ Scholarship	130 0 0	„ Zoroastrian Fund	1,400 0 0
„ Zoroastrian Professor	2,700 0 0	„ Interest from Indian Studies	
„ Subscription on Journal	44 8 0	Fund	564 11 9
„ Contingencies	225 11 3	„ Deficit to Total Income and	
		Expenditure Account	955 7 6
TOTAL	8,920 3 3	TOTAL	8,920 3 3

	Rs. A. P.	LIBRARY—	Rs. A. P.
LIBRARY—			
To Establishment	2,033 0 0	By Interest from Fund	96 7 9
„ Manuscripts	175 0 0	„ Contribution from Kala-	
„ Books and Journals	523 9 3	bhavana Fund	120 0 0
„ Binding	409 0 0	„ Deficit to Total Income and	
„ Contingencies	185 0 3	Expenditure Account	3,109 1 9
TOTAL	3,325 9 6	TOTAL	3,325 9 6

	Rs. A. P.	SIKSHAVIBHAGA—	Rs. A. P.
SIKSHAVIBHAGA—			
To Establishment	18,043 13 3	By Tuition Fees	15,536 4 0
„ Postage	235 0	„ Transfer Fees and Fines	63 0 0
„ Books and Apparatus	339 0	„ Contribution from Publishing	
„ Manual Training and Materials	114 6	Department	360 0 0
„ Contingencies	92 6 9	„ Deficit to Total Income and	
„ Transfer to Hostel	1,670 0 0	Expenditure Account	4,535 14 6
TOTAL	20,495 2 6	TOTAL	20,495 2 6

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VISVA-BHARATI. SANTINIKETAN.

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Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1928—(Contd.)

TRANSPORT—		RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	TRANSPORT—		RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.
To Establishment		924	0 0	By Fares	...	1,693	12 0
„ Petrol		637	15 6	„ Deficit to Total Income and			
„ Repairs		1,007	5 0	Expenditure Account	...	991	9 6
„ Tyres and Tubes		116	1 0				
	TOTAL		2,685 5 6		TOTAL		2,685 5 6
OFFICE—				OFFICE—			
To Establishment		1,738	0	By Deficit to Total Income and			
„ Postage and Telegram		173	5	Expenditure Account	...	2,462	11 0
„ Stationery and Printing		310	6				
„ Contingency		190	15 6				
	TOTAL		2,462 11 0		TOTAL		2,462 11 0

THE VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY

VISVA-BHARATI. SRINIKETAN.

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1928—(Contd.)

VILLAGE WELFARE WORK.

	Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.
To General Establishment	1,500 0 0	By Income (during the year) ...	385 0 6
„ Establishment	1,370 1 3	„ Net Deficit to Total Income and	
„ Education ...	957 3 6	Expenditure Account ...	8,135 1 9
„ Health and Sanitation	569 5 6		
„ Travelling	259 1 3		
„ Extension Work	400 0		
„ Contingencies	163 15 9		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
TOTAL	8,520 2 3	TOTAL	8,520 2 3

EDUCATION.

	Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.
To Library ..	203 0 6	By Income (during the year) ...	48 0 0
„ Laboratory ..	1 11 0	„ Net Deficit to Total Income and	
„ Games	47 4 6	Expenditure Account ...	405 3 9
„ Students' Mess Establishment	186 8 6		
„ Contingencies ..	14 11 3		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
TOTAL ..	453 3 9	TOTAL	453 3 9

SIKSHASATRA.

	Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.
To General Establishment	2,580 0 0	By Income (during the year) ...	42 13 0
„ Establishment	570 0 0	„ Net Deficit to Total Income and	
„ Maintenance	688 11 0	Expenditure Account ...	4,029 12 0
„ Manual Training	100 4 3		
„ Games	27 15 9		
„ Contingencies	105 10 0		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
TOTAL	4,072 9 0	TOTAL	4,072 9 0

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VISVA-BHARATI. SRINIKETAN.

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Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1928—(Contd.)

AGRICULTURE.

	RS.	A.	P.		RS.	A.	P.
To GENERAL ESTABLISHMENT	...			By Income from Farm during the			
„ EXPENSES FOR FARM—				year	3,562	8	0
Establishment	660	0	0	„ Income from Dairy during the			
Labour	999	2	0	year	572	3	3
Seeds and Manure	413	0	0	„ Income from Poultry during the	1,528	15	0
Cattle Feeds	294	13	3	year			
Repairs	77	6	3	„ Income from Garden during the	763	8	6
				year			
				„ Closing Live Stock of Poultry	115	1	9
To EXPENSES FOR DAIRY—				„ Net deficit to Total Income and	302	8	0
Establishment	1,113	10	0	Expenditure Account	10,104	3	9
Feeds	1,278	9	6				
Contingencies	98	2	9				
Depreciation	42	0	0				
					2,532	6	3
To EXPENSES FOR POULTRY—							
Opening Stock	1,050	0	0				
Purchases during the year	242	10	6				
Establishment	1,042	0	0				
Feeds	597	6	6				
Incubator	37	3	0				
Advertisement	20	8	0				
Contingencies	80	6	0				
					3,070	2	0
To EXPENSES FOR GARDEN—							
Establishment	1,333	0	0				
Labour	446	10	0				
Seeds and Manure	49	15	0				
Contingencies	47	9	6				
					1,777	2	6
TOTAL	...			TOTAL	13,386	8	3

VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY

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VISVA-BHARATI. SRINIKETAN.

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1928—(Contd.)

INDUSTRY.

	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.		RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.
To GENERAL ESTABLISHMENT	...	1,800 0 0	By Income from Weaving		994 7 3
			" " " Tannery		597 3 9
„ EXPENSES FOR WEAVING—			„ CLOSING STOCK—		
Opening Stock	609 6 0		Weaving	782 1 0	
Establishment	1,080 0 0		Tannery	282 6 0	
Labour	529 14 0				1,064 7 0
Raw Materials	751 10 3				
Travelling	30 12 6		„ Net deficit to Total Income and		
Experiment	33 1 0		Expenditure A/c.		4,282 12 6
Contingencies	150 2 6				
		3,198 14 3			
To EXPENSES FOR TANNERY—					
Opening Stock	646 2 0				
Establishment	877 0 0				
Raw Materials	161 14 3				
		1,685 0 3			
To EXPENSES FOR CARPENTRY & SMITHY—					
Opening Stock	...	55 0			
Establishment	...	110 0			
		165 0 0			
TOTAL		6,848 14 6	TOTAL		6,848 14 6

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VISVA-BHARATI.

PERMANENT FUNDS.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1928.

A-1/14, Nobel Prize Fund.

CAPITAL & LIABILITIES	Rs. A. P.	PROPERTY & ASSETS	Rs. A. P.
Capital	... 1,12,000 0 0	Fixed Deposit in Patisar Krishi Bank	1,12,000 0 0

A-2/20, Prosad Night School Fund.

Capital	... 1,000 0 0	Fixed Deposit at Bengal Provincial Co-operative	
Advance from General Fund	... 31 12 0	Bank, Ltd.	1,000 0 0
		Net Deficit from Income and Expenditure Account	31 12 0
TOTAL	<u>1,031 12 0</u>	TOTAL	<u>1,031 12 0</u>

A-3/22, Indian Studies Fund.

Capital	10,000 0 0	Fixed Deposit at Bengal Provincial Co-operative	
		Bank, Ltd.	3,000 0 0
		Loan to Printing Press	7,000 0 0
TOTAL	10,000 0 0	TOTAL	<u>10,000 0 0</u>

A-4/24, Pestonji P. Pocha Fund.

Capital	5,005 0 0	G. P. Notes	5,000 0 0
Excess of Income over Expenditure	199 4 0	Deposit with General Office	204 4 0
TOTAL	<u>5,204 4 0</u>	TOTAL	<u>5,204 4 0</u>

A.P.

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VISVA-BHARATI.

PERMANENT FUNDS.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1928--(Concl'd.)

A-5/25, Sharman History Fund.

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.		PROPERTY AND ASSETS.	
	RS. A. P.		RS. A. P.
Capital	2,000 13 4	Fixed Deposit at Bengal Provincial Co-operative	
Advance from General Fund	14 6 11	Bank, Ltd.	2,000 0 0
		Excess of Expenditure over Income	15 4 3
TOTAL	2,015 4 3	TOTAL	2,015 4 3

A-6/25, Library Fund.

Capital	2,000 0 0	Fixed Deposit at Bengal Provincial Co-operative	
		Bank, Ltd.	2,000 0 0

A-7/27, Aruna Amila Endowment.

Capital	10,000 0 0	G. P. Notes	10,000 0 0
Net Surplus from Income and Expenditure Account	786 2 3	Deposit at General Office	786 2 3
TOTAL	10,786 2 3	TOTAL	10,786 2 3

A-8/27, Nizam's Fund.

Capital	1,00,000 0 0	Fixed Deposit at Bengal Provincial Co-operative	
Net Surplus from Income and Expenditure Account	2,843 3 0	Bank, Ltd.	1,00,000 0 0
		Deposit at General Office	2,843 3 0
TOTAL	1,02,843 3 0	TOTAL	1,02,843 3 0

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Capital as per last Account	11,047	12	9	Building		
Add—Donation and Interest	1,536	11	7	Imperial Bank of India	9,618	14 3
				Patisar Krishi Bank	2,001	2 6
					964	7 7
TOTAL	12,584	8	4			
				TOTAL	12,584	8 4

VISVA-BHARATI. EAR-MARKED FUNDS.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1928—(Contd.)

B-5/23, Ratan Kuthi Fund.

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.		Rs.	A.	P.	PROPERTY AND ASSETS.	Rs.	A.	P.
Capital	...	30,000	0	0	Building and Furniture Deposit at General Office	29,833	1	6
						166	14	6
TOTAL		30,000	0	0	TOTAL	30,000	0	0

B-7/24, Limbdi Sanatorium Fund.

Capital	...	10,000	0	0	Loan to General Fund ...	10,000	0	0
Balance of previous year's surplus	Rs. 89				Deposit with General Office	1,298	3	6
Add—this year from Income and Ex- penditure Account	...	400	0	0				
		1,298	3	6				
TOTAL		11,298	3	6	TOTAL	11,298	3	6

B-6/23, Birla Kuthi Fund.

Capital	...	20,000	0	0	Building ... Deposit at General Office	551	0	0
						19,449	0	0
TOTAL		20,000	0	0	TOTAL	20,000	0	0

B-8/24, Kadoorji Water Works Fund.

Capital (as per last Account)	...	9,493	14	3	Tube Well	2,660	15	6
Add—Net surplus from Income and Expenditure Account	...	552	8	9	Patisar Krishi Bank	7,385	7	6
TOTAL		10,046	7	0	TOTAL	10,046	7	0

VISVA-BHARATI.
EAR-MARKED FUNDS.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1928—(Contd.)

B-9/25, Bai Hirabai Fund.

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.		R.	A.	P.	PROPERTY AND ASSETS.		R.	A.	P.
Capital	...	15,200	0	0	Building	...	6,200	0	0
Net Surplus from Income and Expenditure Account	...	111	9	6	G. P. Notes and Port Trust Debentures	...	9,000	0	0
					Deposit at General Office	...	111	9	6
	Total	15,311	9	6		Total	15,311	9	6

B-10/25, Kalabhavana Fund Music.

Capital	..	1,000 0 0	Fixed Deposit at Bengal Provincial Co-operative Bank, Ltd.	1,000 0 0
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B-II/25, Dormitory Fund.

Capital	10,000 0 0	Building	10,000 0 0
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VISVA-BHARATI. KALABHAVANA FUND.

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Total Revenue Account for 4 years 9 months ending 30th September, 1927.

To TOTAL EXPENDITURE—		Rs. A. P.	By TOTAL INCOME—		Rs. A. P.
For the year ending 31st December, 1923		4,916 4	For the year ending 31st December, 1923	...	330 0 0
" period " 30th September, 1924		4,005 2	" period " 30th September, 1924	...	3,047 8 0
" year " " 1925		5,799 12	" year " " 1925	...	4,535 0 0
" " " " 1926		7,121 13	" " " " 1926	...	7,426 0 0
" " " " 1927		7,250 6	" " " " 1927	...	7,014 8 0
			" Balance being excess of expenditure over Income borne by the General Fund	...	6,740 6 0
TOTAL		29,093 6 0	TOTAL	...	29,093 6 0

LIMBDI SANATORIUM FUND.

Total Revenue Account for the period ending 30th September, 1927.

		Rs. A. P.			Rs. A. P.
To Expenditure for the year ending 30-9-25	...	601 12 6	By Interest		1,750 0 0
" " " " 30-9-27	...	250 0 0			
" Balance being excess of Income over Expenditure		898 3 6			
TOTAL	...	1,750 0 0	TOTAL		1,750 0 0

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE VARSHIKA PARISHAT, 1928.



The Varshika Parishat (Annual General Meeting) of the Visva-bharati for the year 1928 was held in the Mango Grove at Santiniketan on Monday, the 24th December, 1928.

Present.

The following members of the Visva-bharati were present :—

RABINDRANATH TAGORE, *Founder President (in the chair).*

Adhikari, Phanibhushan.	Lal, Premchand.
Akbar, Syed Ali.	Mahalanobis, (Mrs.) Rani.
Ariam, E. William.	Morris, H. P.
Bhattacharya, Vidhushekhar.	Mukherjee, Bejoybehari.
Bose, Anathmath.	Prabhatkumar.
Devendramohan.	Ray, Barodakanta.
Nandalal.	„ Jagadananda.
Prem Sundar.	„ Nepalchandra.
Santoshbehari.	Sanyal, Hirankumar.
Chatterjee, Sunatikumar.	Sarkar, (Mrs.) Reba.
Datta Gupta, Jitendranath.	„ Susobhanchandra.
Dev Varman, Somendrachandra.	Sen, Amulyachandra.
Ghosh, Gourgopal.	„ (Miss) Hembala.
„ Jyotishchandra.	„ (Mrs.) Kiranbala.
„ Kalimohan.	„ Kshitimohan.
„ Pramadaranjan.	„ Tejeshchandra.
„ Tanayendranath.	Sen Gupta, Madhusudan.
Gupta, Bibhutibhushan.	„ Prodyotkumar.
Kar, Surendranath.	Tagore, Dinendranath.
Lahiri, Sudhirkumar.	„ Rathindranath.

PRASANTACHANDRA MAHALANOBIS (*Karma-Sachiva*).

Affirmation of Ideals.

1. The proceedings opened with the chanting of a Vedic hymn followed by the Samkalpa-vachana (Affirmation of Ideals) by the members present.

Address by the President.

2. The Pratisthata-Acharya (Founder-President) addressed the members on the ideals and the work of the Visva-bharati and expressed sorrow at the deaths of Lord Sinha and Mr. S. R. Das.

Other Addresses.

After delivering his speech, the President left the meeting. The chair was then taken by Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya.

Dr. Kumarappa next addressed the meeting by request, stressing the value of the work at Santiniketan in the field of educational theory and experiment.

Annual Report.

3. The Karma-Sachiva presented the Annual Report for 1928.

Resolved that the Annual Report for 1928 be adopted and published with such verbal additions and alterations as may be considered necessary by a committee consisting of Rathindranath Tagore, Nepalchandra Ray and Prasantachandra Mahalanobis.

Proposed by—PHANIBHUSMAN ADHIKARI.

Seconded by—PRAMADARANJAN GHOSH. (*Carried nem. con.*).

Audited Accounts.

4. The Karma-Sachiva placed the Audited Accounts for 1927-28 before the meeting. Printed copies of the Balance Sheet were circulated to the members present, and there was a general discussion on the Accounts.

Resolved that the Audited Accounts and the Balance Sheet for 1927-28 be adopted and published with such explanatory remarks as necessary in the opinion of a committee consisting of Devendramohan Bose, Sudhirkumar Lahiri, Jyotishchandra Ghosh and Prasantachandra Mahalanobis.

Proposed by—JYOTISHCHANDRA GHOSH.

Seconded by—NEPALCHANDRA RAY. (*Carried nem. con.*).

Members of the Samsad.

5. The following persons were declared duly elected members of the Samsad :—

E. W. Ariam, Gourgopal Ghosh, Tanayendranath Ghosh, Surendranath Kar (elected by the Santiniketan Samiti for 1929-30).

Santoshbehari Bose (elected by the Sriniketan Samiti for 1929-30).

Sudhakanta Raychoudhury (elected by the Asramic Samgha for 1929).

D. J. Irani, Gurudial Mallik, Ambalal Sarabhai, Atulprosad Sen (representing members outside Bengal for 1929).

C. F. Andrews, Devendramohan Bose, Asoke Chatterjee, Amal Home, Jagadananda Ray, Nepalchandra Ray, Vidhushchhara Bhattacharya, Mrs. Kiranbala Sen (representing members in Bengal for 1929-30).

Changes in Regulations.

6. Resolved that the recommendations of the Samsad be accepted and sanction be given for the following changes in Regulations:—

(1) To be added after Regulation 3, clause (ii):—"The Samsad shall however have the right of compounding for arrears due in the membership subscriptions in special cases."

(2) To be added after Regulation 3, clause (iv) as a new clause:—"Donors of Rs. 500/- or more may be elected Life-Members of the Visva-bharati without any further payment of fees at the discretion of the Samsad."

Proposed by—JYOTISHCHANDRA GHOSH.

Seconded by—PHANIBHUSHAN ADHIKARY. (*Carried nem. con.*).

Appointment of Auditors.

7. Resolved that the best thanks of the Parishat be conveyed to Messrs. Ray & Ray, Chartered Accountants, for their auditing of the Visva-bharati Accounts for 1927-28, and that Messrs. Ray & Ray be reappointed auditors for the year 1928-29.

Proposed by—SUDHIRKUMAR LAHIRI.

Seconded by—PHANIBHUSHAN ADHIKARY. (*Carried nem. con.*).

Obituary Resolutions.

8. Resolved that the Parishat places on record its feeling of deep sorrow and loss at the death of Lord Sinha of Raipur, a benefactor and a Pradhana of the Visva-bharati, who had always taken a keen interest in the institution.

(Proposed from the Chair, and carried in silence.)

9. Resolved that the Parishat places on record its profound sorrow and sense of loss at the death of Satisranjan Das, a Life-Member and Trustee of the Visva-bharati, who served the institution as its Artha-Sachiva (Treasurer) for the year 1923 and who had always furthered its cause with great devotion.

(Proposed from the Chair, and carried in silence.)

Committee for Confirmation.

10. Resolved that in accordance with Regulation 8(viii), a committee consisting of Devendramohan Bose, E. W. Ariam, Jyotishchandra Ghosh, Susobhanchandra Sarkar and the Chairman and the Karma-Sachiva be appointed to draw up and authenticate the proceedings of the Parishat for confirmation.

Proposed by—SUNITIKUMAR CHATTERJEE.

Seconded by—PRAMADARANJAN GHOSH. (*Carried nem. con.*).

(Sd.) V. BHATTACHARYA (*Chairman*).

„ J. C. GHOSH.

„ D. M. BOSE.

„ S. C. SARKAR.

„ E. W. ARIAM.

(Sd.) P. C. MAHALANOBIS,

Karma-Sachiva.

(*Members, Confirmation Committee.*)

Confirmed in accordance with Regulation 8 Clause (viii) at a meeting of the Karma-Samiti held at 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta on the 31st July, 1929.

SUDHIR KUMAR LAHIRI,
(*Chairman*).

P. C. MAHALANOBIS,
Karma-Sachiva.

VISVA-BHARATI BULLETINS

- No. 2 THE CENTRE OF INDIAN CULTURE By RABINDRANATH TAGORE.
Address delivered at Adyar, Madras, in 1918 at a convocation of the National University. Contains the first exposition of the Visva-bharati ideal. Price Re. 1/- (*Half price to members*).
- No. 5 THE MEMORANDUM OF ASSOCIATION, STATUTES AND REGULATIONS OF THE VISVA-BHARATI.
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- No. 7 AN EASTERN UNIVERSITY By RABINDRANATH TAGORE.
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- No. 8 THE GROWTH OF THE VISVA-BHARATI By Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis.
A brief review of the history of the Santiniketan School from its foundation in 1901 to the formal inauguration of the Visva-bharati in 1921.
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- No. 9 A FORT'S SCHOOL, By RABINDRANATH TAGORE.
In this bulletin has been included a paper by Mr. L. K. Bhambhani on *SIKSHIA-SATKA*
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- No. 10. CITY AND VILLAGE By RABINDRANATH TAGORE.
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ANNOUNCEMENT.

The Visva-bharati Quarterly is published in Vaisakh (April), Sravan (July), Kartik (October), and Magh (January) in each year.

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VISVA-BHARATI

Founder-President: Rabindranath Tagore.

Department of Islamic Studies.

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WE ARE BORNE IN THE ARMS OF AGELESS LIGHT.

We are borne in the arms of ageless Light
that rends the veil of the vague
and goes across Time
weaving ceaseless patterns of Being.
The mystery remains dumb,
the meaning of this pilgrimage,
the eternal adventure of existence—
whose tread along the sky
flames up into innumerable rings of paths,
till, at last, knowledge gropes out from the dusk
in the infinity of human spirit,
and in that dim-lighted dawn
she speechlessly gazes through the break in the mist
at the vision of Life and of Love
rising from the tumult of profound pain and joy.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

SANTINIKETAN,
September 16, 1929.

FIVE ELEMENTS

*From the Bengali Writing of Rabindranath Tagore**
(Translated by the author).

For convenience of reference let me call my five companions by the names of the five elements recognized in the Indian Cosmology. At the same time it must be remembered that a name which describes a type is like a cloak that covers a multitude of features and not like a dress that is for revealing them to best advantage. With this preliminary warning I shall use labels for my friends instead of personal names, so that art may without causing offence have the freedom to handle facts concerning them while shaping them into literature.

Kshiti's mind is almost made of solid materials, like a rock, meant not for thoughts that grow, but opinions that are built. He has a vigorous contempt for all ideas that claim their value in some harmony which they carry within themselves. According to him the knowledge of the facts of this world requires all the room that our mind can afford. It is enough for us and we must not fritter away our resources in the indulgence of the ornamental. A wholesome taste for unadulterated facts is the sign of maturity. And yet for long ages candies for pacifying babies and condiments for pampering spoilt stomachs are crowding out the best part of our food from our intellectual larder. It is only the vacancy of mind that seeks tinsels and trinkets for the vanity that allows them to delude us and to fetter our movements. Progress consists in a constant growth of the necessary made possible by the sacrifice of the useless.

Srotasvini hesitates to contradict him, all the more, because her mind is not in harmony with his. She hopes to be tolerated when she tentatively offers her preferences in place of arguments, and says that the fact that man has his delight in an

*The first chapter of a series of articles which appeared from time to time in the Bengali monthly "*Sadhana*" during the Bengali years 1299-1302 (1893-95) under the name: "*The Diary of the Five Elements*." This introductory chapter was published in the *Magh*, 1299 (January, 1893) number.

unexplainable aspect of things which we call beauty and which is above all utility, surely proves that it has in it an eternal expression of reality. She thinks that our love of it is a higher acknowledgment of truth than our use of it.

Kshiti silently beams upon her a benevolent smile of forbearance. He makes ample allowance for what he considers as *Srotasvini's* lack of logic, which, like the other god-given or cultivated gifts of helplessness in women, may have its advantage for them.

"You men seem to forget", *Dipti* flashes out, "that we women are intensely alive and not in the least obsolete in the history of civilization. You wish to eliminate all that is unnecessary from your activities, your beliefs, your education and even your own persons, owing to your time and space being trampled under the stampede of frenzied competitions. But woman needs superfluities, not for profit, but for the richness of life, and she is life's guardian spirit. Living moments are full with apparent trivialities, with logical inconsistencies which have their incommunicable meaning and profound urgency. Subtle nuances of aroma do not add to the weight of the fruit but to the value of its flavour. Women have their mission to give flavour to life and for that they need things that would look foolish in a solicitor's office, on a counting-house table. If owing to the pressure of a civilization manufactured by men everything else but the necessary were exterminated, then before long the useful would begin to hate itself and die of sheer ennui."

"You must not expect *Kshiti* to change his point of view" said *Samir*, "for that would mean a cosmic catastrophe to the ptolemaic earth of his mind fixed in the centre of a firmament. Any modification of his doctrine is not merely opening out a window but toppling down of a wall. He is nervously afraid of the indefinable, the fluid atmosphere surrounding our mind, lest he should ever be deceived by a mirage or lured by a will-o-the-wisp."

Vyom speaks with closed eyes, "Man despises his own slaves, and for the same reason has his utmost contempt for things that offer no other apology for their existence but that

of their usefulness. Ancient sages of India submitted themselves to impossible penances in order to deny that there could be any compulsion of necessity imposed upon them by nature. A civilization which gives the foremost place to things useful is essentially mean and snobbish."

Nobody takes *Vyom's* opinions seriously except *Srotasvini*, who, in spite of her occasional misgivings, believes in his fundamental sanity. *Dipti* has no patience for him and abruptly interrupts his talks with unconcealed outbursts of irritation. She is offended because *Vyom's* ideas are not intelligible to her, and she thinks that to talk in riddles is an impertinence, like stealing away the easy chair from under one who is about to sit down; it is betraying one's trust in the comfortable reliability of conversation.

I took up *Vyom's* remarks deferentially, as is usual with me, and said; what the Indian sages achieved for their own selves through extreme measures of discipline, Science makes accessible to everybody by subduing nature with forces borrowed from Nature herself. A long period of scientific culture is essential for offering universal basis to the reality of spirit upon the reality of matter."

This is the group of my five elements.

One morning *Dipti* issued her fiat upon me in the form of a question: "Why do you not keep a diary?"

"I have no faith in keeping a diary" I answered.

"That is no excuse", retorted *Dipti*.

Srotasvini wanted to know what was my objection.

"Life is inexpressible with all its evasions and contradictions" I said. "By trying to give immediate expression to its feelings, thoughts, and dreams we cannot help simplifying them in a logical coherence. Keeping a diary generates an unwholesome habit of self exploration through which the prying surface interferes with the working of the depth. It gives rise to a diarchy in which two ruling parties are not in perfect consonance."

Srotasvini has that patient wisdom which, unlike cleverness, is always ready to understand. "I think," she said, "I follow what you mean. It specially strikes me that life must

constantly forget in order to move, but the recorded words do not forget. The ephemeral trifles of our life whose truth is in their short duration lose their real character when made to survive in our words. Petty annoyances, slight disappointments appear large through the magnifying vapour of the vanishing moments; small lapses seem like grave blemishes, tiny losses attract absurd attention and if they are documented when fresh they give false evidence and mislead history into exaggerations."

Srotasvini suddenly became aware of having lifted her words to the level of a speech. Turning her face a little she broke off,—“I am not sure, I do not know if I understood aright!”

Dipti was on the point of what she describes as salutary plain speaking when I interrupted her and assured *Srotasvini* that she was right. “*Dipti* must remember” I said, “that there is a grave risk of egotism in picking up with care all our crumbling scraps of experience for preservation simply because they happen to be ours.”

Dipti with mock humility folded her hands and said: “Forgive me my blunder. I never realised what a serious moral responsibility I incurred when I asked you to write a diary.”

Samir said, “Never apologize. Do not add to your mistake a greater mistake by acknowledgment. Your judge is not likely to relent because you confess. He is sure to enjoy your self-humiliation which is no less relishable for him than his opportunity for reprobation. I myself have decided to keep a diary.”

“And I also,” I added, “But my daily records will be confined to such things which only concern us all. For example, our everyday talks and—”

Srotasvini looked alarmed and *Samir* in consternation said: “If you seriously mean to be truthful in your reports I shall shun your company until you become stone deaf by the curse of some merciful god.”

“For the sake of friendship” I said, “I shall choose to be deaf and only guess at what you might be saying.”

Kshiti opened wide his eyes and said: "That sounds, dangerous. I see clearly that you will marshall feeble arguments on my side in order to fell them at a sweep and savagely to dance a war dance over their prone bodies."

A faint flitter of a smile passed over *Vyom's* impassive face; the mystery of its meaning remains buried in his silence.

I HEAR THE SOUNDS OF HIS APPROACH.

(MIRABAI).

I hear the sounds of His approach—
His footfalls round me ring,
They echo in my chambers, friend,—
When will he come my king?
Look, peacocks, papaihas are shrill
And bright the cuckoo's wing!
'Mid July's rains the clouds do thunder,
And lightning cuts the skies asunder,
The earth renews her beauty's wonder
For Love's sweet welcoming!
And restless now is Mira's heart—
O run to me my king!

(Translated by KSHITISH CHANDRA SEN).

THE MODERN WEST.

BY REGINALD A. REYNOLDS

There is a story told about an Englishman who went to France for the first time, and encountered on the quay at Calais a man with red hair, lame in one leg, and wearing a purple waistcoat. He thereupon wrote home to his friends that Frenchmen had red hair, were lame in one leg, and wore purple waistcoats.

To a certain extent this story is peculiarly typical of the English mind. But it is also to some extent typical of the universal mind. This is how the West judges the East, and the East judges the West.

Perhaps the Oriental reader will be kind enough to take it as a delicate compliment if I pass over entirely in this article the mistakes that the West has made about the East. Let us say that though they are more vicious and certainly more unjust, they are also more obvious and speak for themselves. The mistakes that the East makes about the West are more excusable and less harmful, and for that very reason they have tended to escape attention.

Western civilization is chiefly represented in the Orient by three types of men: (a) government officials and employees, including soldiers, (b) "business men," and (c) inquisitive tourists and sight-seers. I have deliberately omitted the missionaries, as in the nature of the case they conform to no single type. The only generalisation possible would be, I think, that they either reinforce the impression created by the other classes or find their influence overwhelmed by them.

It is not my purpose to detail the characteristics of these representatives of Western Culture. India knows best what they stand for, and for my part I can only gauge their effect on the Indian mind by the impression they have made on Indian writers. My object is purely to examine the correctness of this impression as a *valuation of Western Civilization*.

I am fully aware that in attempting such an examination I am not ploughing up new ground. Many distinguished Indians have already attempted the same task, and I have read their opinions with interest. It is, quite frankly, because I am still unsatisfied with their estimate of the modern West that I feel impelled to write on this subject.

As I see it, the real question is: "Are we standing still or are we moving, and if so, whither?" The world knows that the West professes to believe in Progress; not necessarily as something inevitable, but as something (so far) historical. Can we justify this belief? It is easy for the more shallow-minded among us to point to the "progress" of science and material civilization for our proof: equally easy for the cynic to deduce the failure of our entire culture from the failure of these things to produce the kingdom of Heaven. In either case the "argument" is *non ad rem*. The real battle is pitched in another field.

It is surely a waste of words to demonstrate the fact that the West is certainly not standing still. The psychological changes through which we have passed since the Roman Empire must speak for themselves. From this point of view, the last four centuries are generally accepted as the most eventful. This is the "Modern History" of which our age is the child. What is its dominant tendency and significance?

Four outstanding influences are especially worthy of attention. The religious changes which began with the Reformation; the political changes which began with the American and French Revolutions; the economic changes beginning with the Industrial Revolution; and the development of new Scientific Conceptions of man and the Universe which has gone on since the time of Galileo.

On each of these influences whole libraries have been written. I can only consider very briefly their dynamic reactions on the Western mind.

In the first place, the Reformation, though its immediate effect was only to set up the authority of the dead letter of Scripture in place of the dead hand of the Church, paved the way for a new and far healthier attitude to Religion. The

authority of Conscience was reasserted. The Quakers arose to bear testimony to the Voice of God within claiming our absolute obedience. Tolerance began to supplant Persecution. And in our own age the narrow bounds of denominational loyalty are being broken down, so that many are ready to join hands, not only with other sects within the Christian Church, but with the great body of believers who have followed other roads to God.

The political awakening was similar in character. Europe broke from the domination of her despots with something of the same violent reaction that tore the Northern nations from the Papacy. But the high ideals of Freedom and Brotherhood were forced into the narrow rut of Nationalism; and the sovereign state arose, claiming the absolute submission of the individual, and acknowledging no higher authority than itself. Yet from this too we are fast breaking. The claims of the individual conscience on the one hand, and of International Public Opinion on the other, are fast breaking down the ideal of the sovereign state in the interests of True Democracy.

The other two influences which I have selected may be dealt with together. Without doubt, their effect has been on the whole sinister, not (as I believe) on account of anything in either that is inherently wrong, but because they proved too big for us to handle, and consequently took the wrong direction. Modern Science on the one hand and Modern Industry on the other have attacked the Western mind, as it were, on two wings, and developed the Materialist Mentality. Overmuch emphasis has been laid on the outward world, and our Gods have too often dwelt in temples made with hands.

How does such a world compare with mediæval Europe? I venture to suggest that in most places *where the conscious will of man has been operating* we are on the right road. Our wars are more frightful than ever; our industrial conditions are terrible. But I see no evidence for supposing that they would have tackled these things any better in the Middle Ages. It was not the War-fever they lacked, but the Poison Gas. They also lied and cheated, but had not the advantage of papers with

circulations of over a million. And their housing and working conditions were almost certainly even fouler than ours.

We, on the other hand, can really show definite landmarks of a moral advance. We have in our own countries abolished slavery, child labour, and duelling. We have wrestled with conditions that seemed to grow up in spite of ourselves, and produced factory acts and industrial legislation to mitigate the evils of capitalism. We have established religious toleration, and taken great strides in education, penal reform and the emancipation of women. In spite of all set-backs, I believe that we are marching steadily toward Democracy and the formation of the Social Conscience.

These things I believe to be the Fruits of the Spirit—the ethical products by which Religion is best evaluated. They show only a fraction of the whole, for national activity must always be a long way behind the Pioneers. People anxious to discredit the Modern Western World by unfavourable comparison with our own Middle Ages, have often made use of such figures as St. Francis, St. Catherine of Sienna or St. Bernard as contrasts to the Westerner of to-day. Modern European Catholics and Indian authors have both attempted to prove our decadence by these means. But it should hardly be necessary to point out that such a comparison is distinctly unfair. Any contrast made between the present age and the Middle Age must be made between our best and their best, between our average and their average. We cannot produce a race of St. Joans, but we *have* produced a race of men and women who would be horrified at the idea of burning anyone for “witchcraft.”

To attempt comparisons between the Mediæval Saints and the purest minds of modern times would be odious even if it were possible. It is surely sufficient to say that great and good men are still to be found. In a united Christendom they had a universal fame which it is now harder to obtain : as a Quaker myself, I regret to say that I know a good deal about the great leaders of my own sect, but little about Catholic Saints after the Reformation ; and I imagine that my ignorance is typical. It must also be remembered that in some cases the Saints of

the Middle Ages acquired greater fame on account of the greater moral depravity to which they stood in contrast. But in spite of these facts, we have produced in modern times great religious leaders of almost universal recognition : men such as Blaise Pascal and George Fox, John Wesley and John Woolman. These names alone cover three countries and three churches. Were each country and each sect to speak for itself, there would be an innumerable array ; and even so the thousands of unknown lives of sacrifice and devotion would remain unrecorded. Of the present century I forbear to speak. It will be for posterity to judge of our best and our worst.

About eighteen months ago an article appeared in this journal from the pen of Nolini Kanta Gupta on "The other aspect of European Culture." In this article the author put forward the very plausible theory, to which I have alluded, of the decay of Western Civilization since the Renaissance. His treatment of the subject and the views expressed seem to me so typical of much that I have read, that I cannot forbear from making some brief reference to it.

The point of view expressed in this short article may be summed up as follows : European religion is to be looked for in certain "Mysteries and occult disciplines" (Christian, Platonic, etc.) which all had their origin in Asia. These flourished in Catholic Christendom, but were sacrificed by Rationalists on the altars of the Renaissance and the French Revolution. Europe then "fell on evil days" and lost her soul, which she will never find again until the "tide of modernism" is checked by a return to "the rock of ages" as prescribed by William Morris or perhaps by Yeats and Russell.

Now I have already indicated that Europe has by no means lost her soul, and that in so far as she has "fallen on evil days" the Industrial Revolution is more to be blamed than the French Revolution and (I might add) 19th Century Determinism rather than the Renaissance. The meaning of the rest depends chiefly on the exact sense attached to "Modernism." As far as I know, the term is used in the West exclusively for a certain healthy, critical attitude toward scripture and ecclesiastical institutions, which places more

emphasis on the spirit than the letter, and treats as allegory much in religion that was once treated as fact. This can hardly be the "Modernism" to which Mr. Gupto refers, since he accuses it (among other things) of having made a vicious attack on Ireland. As an Englishman whose sympathies have always been strongly on the side of the Irish nation in their gallant struggle, I know very well that Ireland's chief enemies were the same as those with which India now contends: *viz.*, the placid self-satisfaction of English people at home, the vested interest of English people in Ireland, and the Irish people's own inability to unite and act together. If that is modernism, I agree that it is a sad affair.

As to the salvation of the West, it has perplexed many; but we are tired of the "Lo, here" and "Lo, there" of would-be messiahs., I do not agree myself that the best traditions of Western religion are to be found in "Mysteries and Occult Disciplines," and Europe is certainly unlikely to return to Orphic, Kabalistic or Druidic Cults. Nor, as a follower of George Fox, am I at all clear that all good things must have come out of Asia. I am more inclined to hold with the *Bauls* that the source of all that matters most in any religion is to be found within my own heart and conscience.

And finally, though we should be foolish to close our eyes to the past: though mediæval Europe had its own beauties, and William Morris and W. B. Yeats have their own message, yet this is not the way that lies before our Modern World. The true way is hard to define. Among us, sacerdotalism and occult practices are fast being relegated to the dustbin of discredited superstitions. Nor do we any longer look for ultimate truth in law or scripture. Personality has always played a supreme place in the religion of the West, and it is meet that our ideals should be expressed in a Person rather than in a cult, a creed or a commandment. Mr. Gupto indeed chose a happy phrase when he said that we must get "back to the rock of ages," for with us that phrase means just one thing—back to Christ. It is in this sense that the words of Jesus, "I am the way," seem to me to have a meaning not only for the Christian or even the Western World, but for every one.

Do not let us deceive ourselves. Neither in the West nor in the East have we static forms, but the soul of each is still being shaped. Nevertheless there is evidence of real evolution in the past and hope for real progress in the future; and between these things we stand, taking our turn for a while at the wheel of Destiny. In the past harsh dogmas have divided our races and religions, and we have sailed on different courses. To-day the cruder divisions are breaking down, and spiritual affinities are being dimly realised. With all the conflict and clash of interest in the last twenty years, East and West are nearer now than they have even been in history, and human brotherhood is beginning to mean something more than religious cant. To understand one another we shall have to sacrifice prejudices that are dear to us. We shall need sympathy and imagination. But the resources of God are surely equal, and more than equal, to the contingencies of circumstance.

NEW MOVEMENTS IN THE WORLD OF ISLAM.

By JULIUS GERMANUS, PH.D.

Arabia.

The religion of Islam had its origin in the soil of Arabia, at a particular time and under particular conditions of cultural environment. It was, however, destined to spread to countries, the soil, climate, culture, and civilization of which were entirely alien to the Arabic people and to the ideas which they brought along with them. The religion of Islam was proclaimed to universal mankind, though in the Arabic tongue, by an Arabian Prophet. Its marvellous success on the battlefields transformed the community of Muslims into a state, a realm, an empire. The religious teaching gradually developed into a disciplinary force, a system of law, and finally created a culture having distinct characters of its own. The starting point of this mighty culture was Mohamed, the Prophet and his Book, but the impelling force was supplied by Arab bravery, and a lack of organization on the part of its opponents. Its development was helped by the absorption of practical ideas of statecraft from Hellenistic sources. Arab social life was elevated to another plane than that of the desert, which had given birth to Islam, and Islam in its new interpretation developed into a richer source of culture than it was before the conquests had begun. The religion of Islam extended and broadened into a disciplinary force which satisfied not only the emotional aspirations of the human soul, but regulated his doctrinal belief, jurisprudence and daily life.

In all these developments two factors were all the time acting and reacting upon each other: a revealed doctrine, and the individual interest of the different social groups. Neither of these factors remained stationary or unchanged in their dynamic force or efficiency. The revelation profoundly influenced the

moral, mental, and physical habits of those who believed in it, and the inherited moral, mental, and physical traits of the believers, imperceptibly but nevertheless inevitably, directed the course of the interpretation and application of the doctrine. A mutual adjustment of the two forces at work took place through centuries. New flourishing societies sprang up which making use of the indigenous material developed under the influence of a doctrine which sometimes helped and sometimes checked their growth.

The driving force in human society is the spirit of self-preservation which adjusting itself to the physical surroundings at first concentrates on the mere task of surviving, and then creates a moral and mental environment suitable for its own needs out of the many sympathetic and antipathetic forces of the time. Just as man has to fight against the unfriendly and hostile geographical forces of nature, so he has to carry on a constant war against the social forces of his time, the seemingly unchangeable creeds, beliefs, superstitions, and scientific theories. Man lives in symbiosis with earth by which he is reared, fed, and shaped, and which he at the same time conquers, subjugates, and moulds to his will. Man also lives in symbiosis with his emotions, beliefs, and reasoning. The history of Islam is full of these social struggles of man by which he and his environment, both geographical and social, became mutually adjusted.

But what is Islam? Has the doctrine always remained the same? Was the character of the spiritual life or the type of social life the same throughout the centuries? By no means! Islam is not a ready made edifice immutable and rigid. No human society, whatever the creed it is based on, is. Islam changed in its territorial extension, if we regard it as a state. Its adherents owed allegiance to diverse rulers and inhabited dissimilar climates with dissimilar traditions, subject to dissimilar ethnic influences, if we look at the ethnographical side of Islam. It represented the Arab race against non-Arabs at one time. In later times it stood for the organising power of a non-racial commonwealth under pious caliphs in whose courts the idea of universalism created a pacifistic air of culture and

which became enfeebled by the lack of national consciousness. After the fall of Baghdad it was the watchword of any army which was in need of a cohesive religion. Islam has many aspects : revelation, religion, community, state, and culture. Each of these aspects has been varied in its changes in different times, and still all are comprised under one word : Islam. The same word is applied to the people too who from diverse origins accepted the creed but were never homogeneous in their economic, social and spiritual aspirations and capacity.

In countless books, written both for and against Islam, the word Islam has been loosely used for a system opposed to Christianity, without clearly defining what Christianity is. Such a counter-position of Islam and Christianity may be useful, when we speak of the role which "Islam" has played in history as an anti-pole to "Christian" interests, or to "Christian" politics. We then distinguish Islam as a socio-political group belonging to the Islamic religion as opposed to the socio-political groups of the Christian creed. It is necessary to remember, however, that in the antagonism between Islam and Christianity of by-gone centuries, it was not the doctrines of religions which were at warfare with each other, but the two communities which happened to profess the two different creeds.

The war between the West and East is everlasting—says Herodotus and when he adds that woman was the cause of all the evil wars, he may be interpreted to mean that hunger, jealousy, love of property, vanity and self-aggrandizement have been the human motives of history. Here also the same motives had their play, but the resulting conflicts produced curious results. Just as in the intercourse of trade and commerce there is both the clash of interests as well as mutual benefit, the conflict of Islam and Christianity led to wars as well as to borrowings of culture from each other. The crusades, enterprises which were entirely unjustified and misconceived from a strategical point of view, were provoked by the capture of the Holy Land by Muslims, an event which appealed equally to the sentiments of the religious devotee and to the lust of the rapacious adventurer. The crusades stimulated among Europeans a healthy curiosity in peoples beyond Europe, and ultimately

helped the advancement of knowledge. But did all these indirect but far-reaching effects have anything to do with the theology of Christianity or Islam? Again, under the pressure of "Islam", Popery could rally its forces and impose itself on secular governments in Europe, but was it the theology of Islam which strengthened the position of the Pope?

Similarly we must be very careful in examining the causes of historical phenomena which are rashly ascribed to the influence of Islam or Christianity pure and simple. Science has progressed immensely in Europe since the 18th century. Literature and general learning have advanced beyond measure. The countries of Islam on the other hand have been stagnating since the 15th century in every department of the human mind. The Muslim armies have made new conquests of territory only, without achieving new conquests of the mind. Is it legitimate to ascribe these phenomena to Christianity or to Islam?

Progress in the Muslim East was more rapid in the 9th and the 10th centuries than in the Christian West, and Arabic was besides Latin the classical language of the middle ages. (*Graeca non leguntur!*). Can we ascribe these achievements to Islam theology? Why did Islam, if its theology or its jurisprudence or its general spirit was so conducive to progress at one time, lose all its mental energy a few centuries later, while the Muslim armies were still irresistible on the battle-fields of Europe and Asia? The Ottomans organized a standing army in the 15th century which ushered in all the technical improvements of the implements of warfare in Europe. At one time Turkey had the best gunneries and battleships, and it understood the art of strategy as well as any of the nations of Europe because it had attracted the best experts from different countries. While the whole of Europe could hardly muster an army of 40,000 men under a single command, the Ottomans wielded a fighting instrument of regulars comparable only to the Roman legions. At the same time the Turks engaged Greek architects to build the sumptuous mosques at Constantinople in imitation of the Hagia Sophia, in which they continued to teach scholasticism and the cosmogony of Ptolemy. But Islam learning scarcely advanced beyond its achievements of

the 11th century. In the 18th century when Turkey had ambassadors at the courts of France, Germany and England, who had the opportunity to observe daily the mighty progress of science and literature, Islam still clung to its mosque-schools, and its mediaeval programme. Was Islam responsible for the irresistible armies of Turkey and Christianity to blame for the inefficiency of its generals? Was Islam to blame for the pitiable backwardness in learning and literature, and Christianity to be praised for the advancement of science? We must look elsewhere for the explanation.

In the eternal struggle which man wages against nature and against his own cumbrous mental inheritance, the European peoples succeeded in liberating themselves earlier from the shackles of dogmatism. Discoveries and inventions broke the old fetters. It is true that the study of Aristotle and important discoveries of physical and chemical laws in the 11th century had to a great extent loosened the hold of many orthodox dogmas of Islam, but the Muslim physician did not yet dare to proceed to study anatomy. Christian dogmatism had also similarly obstructed the way to free inquiry, and the blood of numberless martyrs of human progress stains a sombre but sublime Calvary. The Muslim East was not devoid of martyrs, as bold and fearless in their conviction as their Christian brethren, but their life-blood ebbed away in vain. The cause for which they were flayed alive had no connexion with the liberation of the human mind from its stifling fetters. But this difference between these Christian and Muslim martyrs was due neither to Christian nor to Islamic theology.

Men, living in a mild climate, in a geographical situation open to the sea, well-fed, inured to hard work, who had acquired great powers of endurance and strength of character, were more formidable foes to material or mental tyranny than their fellow-beings who were shut in by hopeless deserts and surrounded everywhere by groups of people suffering from a similar autocracy of dogmatism in religion and government to theirs. The Quakers and North-England Protestants could find a new home in the new world, and the thoughts and men persecuted by the *main*quisition were readily admitted into Protestant

countries, just as the persecuted learning of Hellenism had been in the capital of the Abbasides in the 8th century.

Education in Europe liberated itself from the shackles of dogmatism during the Reformation which saw the starting of secular schools and the opening of doors to free investigation. In Muslim countries on the other hand education remained confined to the mosque which claimed to be the supreme adjudicator of all physical and mental activities of man. In Europe contending rulers in the 17th century founded universities and academies which vied with one another for the advancement of learning and enjoyed generous endowments from their rulers for the study of languages, laws, and customs of foreign countries. The several governments, although aware that learning may ultimately turn out to be a disagreeable weapon against autoeracy, were incapable in the face of public opinion to check the growth of knowledge and the spirit of investigation. The encyclopaedists are said to have been the fathers of the French revolution, a statement which, if not to be taken literally, still characterises very well the liberal tendencies of science. Voltaire sentenced in France found refuge in England, and persecuted in his native country was invited to the court of Frederick the Great and of the Empress of Russia.

In the Muslim East the dozens of greater or smaller dynasties, although fighting bitterly among themselves, were all equally eager to suppress any attempts at liberating the mind or organizing the people against tyranny. The Church of Islam did not develop movements like those started by the Reformation in Europe, because it was never allowed to represent the interests of the people. Each and every Muslim government forced the Islamic Church to accept the fiction that the ruler is the shadow of God on earth, and that no action against his autoeracy could be morally justifiable. Each and every Muslim state was an armed camp ruling over an intimidated population, the best spirits of which in the darkest periods of Islamic history sought for an escape in mysticism from the hopelessness of earthly life. Mysticism, although touching the loftiest chords of the human heart and intellect, is no guide to the knowledge

of the realities of earthly life. When the spirit of scientific inquiry had broken the last trammels of a burdensome dogmatism in the West, and the human intellect could intrepidly step forward to the philosophic systems of Kant, Comte, or Spencer and vigourously develop new technical discoveries, the East, still immersed in the study of scholasticism, lay a helpless victim to the belief in a heavenly predisposition which only the *mollahs*, secure in their position by their subservience to autocratic rule, were privileged to interpret.

The progress in learning, in science, and in social life made the Western mind more deeply religious and more ethical, while it made Europe incomparably more efficient in man's incessant war against nature. The depth of religious feeling cannot be measured merely by the number of adherents to a church, and consequently this direction of human progress in the West has often been misunderstood. What ethereal heights has the belief in God reached of a man whose mind, trained by philosophers, can encompass the realm of experimental and descriptive sciences, admires and judiciously uses the achievements of technique, becomes enraptured over the heavenly symphonies of a Beethoven and gazes with a thrill at the works of a Rafael—compared with that savage who, in the 20th century, ignorant of all arts and knowledge, broods on the supremacy of the Arabic language as the mother of all human tongues. What can mankind learn from such a narrow-minded materialist whose horizon ends with his own puny needs, and who has no concern for the material and spiritual freedom of millions!

In recent times the thing which first most strongly appealed to the Muslim East was the supremacy of the West on the battle-field. No Muslim army was suffered any more to extend the borders of *dar-ul-Islám*, may, the greatest Muslim power of modern times, the Ottomans, had to give way steadily before the forward march of their subject races. The Turkish armies were gradually withdrawn from the Balkans, and at the same time the Turkish government lost hold on their Muslim subjects in Arabia as well. Thousands of Anatolian Turks who lie buried in the sands of Hidjaz had fought to restore order and maintain the rule of the caliph among the very people to whom

Islam had been revealed. The Muslim Turks waged war on behalf of "Islam" against the non-Muslim Slavs of the Balkan as well as against the Muslim Arabs of Arabia. Was not "Islam" in these wars simply identified with the dynastic ambitions of the Ottomans against the interest of both the Turkish as well as the Arabic people? The Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire were forced to live in ignorance and poverty, shut out from the facilities offered by modern science, heavily taxed, and slaughtered in wars which did not concern them, to serve the purpose of their rulers.

Those Muslims who had slipped under foreign rule slowly acquired a greater freedom and a better economic status than their "happier" brethren inside the *hawzat-ul-Islam*. They came into contact with European civilisation and observed with grief that the "fringeers" succeeded better in all pursuits of life, and maintained a higher standard of living. Travellers and students who visited Europe and observed its prosperity returned with a sting in their heart, a burning reproach against fate which had allowed "Islam" to sink so low. (It was again this general term "Islam" which was invoked; it was "Islam" which ebbed after its high flow during the conquests, the court of Baghdad, the palaces of Spain, the Ghaznevis, Timurides, Suleymans, and the rest.) They complained about the petrification of the *Idjtihád Mutlak* which lay dead, past resuscitation, and Ulemas were blamed for this deplorable decay. It is inherent in Islamic doctrine to believe that Muslims owe all their directions on life's thorny path to revelation. Naturally the discontented people could think of nothing else but an incorrect exposition and an erroneous interpretation of the Holy Book as the only cause of the evil. The real causes of the evil, manifold and various as they were, were not analysed or examined carefully, but were all lumped together under a single formula by a procedure which Comte would surely have relegated to the theological stage of human progress.

Islamic theology contemplates the whole of the universe and all its phenomena to be subject to the pre-ordained decision of a tribunal consisting of the Holy Book, the traditions, and the consent of God-fearing scholars (*idjma'*). No achievement of

the human intellect could escape the *imprimatur* of this mental tribunal which controlled and supervised all worldly phenomena from a theological point of view firmly rooted in time-honoured traditions. All innovations had to be submitted to the examination of this unseen tribunal working by its own peculiar instinct. This secured a strong safe-guard against radicalism, and acted as a strong barrier, very sympathetic to rulers, against the democratization of Muslim states. Innovations unknown at the time of primitive Islam had to be legalised from time to time so that they might not be looked upon as heresies (*bid'a*). For example, the lithography of the Koran and the printing-press were formally declared lawful by a religious decree (*fatwa*) in 1729.

In Arabia itself the divergence between a liberal interpretation of the word and a narrow and literal interpretation was insurmountable. We may trace here the influence of climatic and geographic conditions besides certain factors of a social character. The literal interpretation has been confined to the torrid and arid zone of Arabia, where the scanty crop of the soil has been reflected in the droughty thoughts and emotions brought forth by its theologians. The inspiration for progress in Islamic culture came from outside Arabia and had its origin in non-Arab sources.

A characteristic example of the reaction against a liberal interpretation of Islamic doctrine may be seen in the puritan Ibn Taymiya (died 1328) with the full name: Taki-addin, a Syrian polemic who represented the narrowest formalism of Semitic Islam. He had eyes for nothing but rigid forms and enforced an uncompromising formalism against the freer and loftier speculative methods of Al-Ash'ari and Ghazali. He spent his whole life in prosecuting heresies and denied any value to the progressive spirit of learning. He was a *pendant* to that *muedhin* who in his rapture over the unity of God exclaimed bewildered after chanting the *edhân*: "O God Almighty, forgive me that I pronounce Your Name immediately after the name of a mortal!" Ibn Taimiya waged a relentless war against individualism, against the mystic fraternities of the Sûfis, disavowed casuistic interpretations in jurisprudence and

went so far in his rigid monotheism as to proscribe the honours rendered to the memory of the Prophet, and discountenanced visits to the tombs of saints. He led the life of an ascetic of the austere stamp, but in his extreme iconoclasm and narrow bigotry was thoroughly honest. He spent the greater part of his life in the prisons of Cairo and Damascus where orthodoxy had confined him, and died not yielding in the slightest degree regarding the austere doctrines which he taught and adhered to till his death. His disciple Ibn Kayim al-Djauziya continued the work of intransigent puritanism and reaction. By the irony of fate both are being cited and exalted after the lapse of five centuries by the reactionary Wahhábis who swear by their tenets, and by the Muslim modernists who are republishing forgotten treatises in which Ibn Taimiya had drawn his sword against the superstitions introduced into Islam (*As-sárim al-maslúl*). Ibn Taimiya who was an implacable foe to the cult of tombs was himself buried in the cemetery of Súfis, and his tomb is to-day an object of reverential homage of countless visitors!

The seeming contradiction is easily resolved. Ibn Taimiya represents in the eyes of the Wahhábis a return to Arabian Islam in its pristine purity, a return to the religion which was originally revealed in the Arabic tongue, a return to the Arabic spirit as yet devoid of innovations (*bid'a*) and interpretations of foreign extraction and foreign influence. Modernists on the other hand in all countries of the East take their stand on the roots of their own culture, and regard all foreign influences as corruption. Nationalism has become a watch-word in every man's land, and in its rapturous exultation it has succeeded in combining the most heterogeneous elements. Wahhábism and extreme nationalism both accept the same formula: "Return to our own, oust foreign intrusion"!

Wahhábism had its origin in the deserts of Arabia which from time immemorial has been the haunt of highwaymen and nomads who tolerated no rule or social organisation other than their own ancestral customs. Even Islam could only temporarily combine them into unstable groups or incite them to unite for a raid. The moral teaching of Islam took root only in the heart of the towns-people. The Bedouins continued their blood-feuds,

and their history remained practically the same everlasting story of tribal jealousy and consequent wars as it was before the advent of the Prophet. As it was the duty of the caliph to safe-guard the passage to the Holy-Cities, the Western coast-routes were more or less under his control. The Ottomans, as holders of the caliphate on no other right than that of being the most powerful Muslim rulers, thought it essential to maintain their authority by the protection of the Holy Cities and the pilgrim-routes. But in every other respect Arabia remained practically independent of the Turkish government. The great Sherifs of Mecca who possessed a nominal ecclesiastic sovereignty were as powerless politically as the Turkish government, and were unable to control the tribes of the deserts.

The inhabitants of towns or oases mostly belonged to the most conservative and rigid of the four orthodox sects : that of Ibn Hanbal, while East-Arabia sheltered some Sháfiites, the coast of Kuweit some Málíkites, and some oases of the East even a few Shiites who were the remnants of Carmathian sects. Economically the whole country was destitute. Not even a slowly increasing population could thrive on its soil, and a constant efflux into Mesopotamia and Syria just served to keep the remainder practically on the border-line of starvation.

As the economic conditions remained stationary, the social conditions have also remained practically unchanged since the time of the Prophet. In Arabia the historian has the rare opportunity to study the original social conditions petrified in their original surroundings, as time seems to have slumbered in the desert. Modern Arabian history often seems to be simply a mirage reflected from the past. Romantic figures of history still rise out of this land in ancient garment with an ancient speech, and, like a spectre, hover on the borderland of European civilization. In recent years Arabian nationalism has found expression in the revived doctrines of Ibn Taimiya, from which Mohammed Ibn Abdul-Wahháb (1703-1791) drew his inspiration.

Ibn Abdul Wahháb was born at Uyaina, a small town in Nadjd. His father's name, who was a Hambalite ulema, although he was far from being in accord with the teachings of

his son, gave the appellation to the movement. Wahhábí is more or less a nickname in Arabia; they call themselves *Muwahhidún* or monotheists, hereby expressing the core of their doctrine.

Muhammad went through the usual curriculum of Islamic studies. He probably developed his enthusiasm for the teachings of Ibn Taimiya at Medina, where he lived for some time. After the death of his father in 1740 he started to preach his doctrines publicly. He denounced all luxury in outward and inward life. He railed at the cult of offering homage to human beings and to their graves. He reproached mysticism for its indifference to the Holy Law. The veneration of saints was abominable to him in any form. He did not recognise the consent of human authority in the interpretation of the Holy Word and preached the return to the two only sources of revelation: Korán and the primitive Sunna. "Ye have the book and the sunna", he said, "study the word of God and act in accordance with it even if the majority of men disagrees with you." He proscribed all speculative explanation in exegesis and jurisprudence and adhered, like the Záhírites, to the literal sense of the Korán and the traditons. He rejected all innovations by which Islam had tried to adapt itself to changing conditions, and waged an implacable war against all laxities introduced by the mundane spirit at the cost of the primitive austerity.

The Ottoman Sultan Murad IV, like other European monarchs of his time, proscribed the use and enjoyment of tobacco-smoking. The Turkish Sultan added coffee drinking to the list. Special decrees of the *mufti* which were passed later to release both from the anathema were based on public opinion of the learned. Ibn Abdul Wahháb refused to recognise the legality of this decree, and made further additions to the prohibited *bid'a*: music, silk-dress, gold and silver jewels. In accordance with the primitive tradition he approved of *istiská*, the prayer tendered to God for rain in drought, but on the other hand, he strictly prohibited any prayer at the tomb of the saint or of the Prophet. He did not go so far as to prohibit the visit to the tomb but he forbade any prayer there.

The teaching of Ibn Abdul Wahháb roused anxiety even among the Hanbalites of Arabia. The pious conservatives probably sympathised with the tendency of his doctrines, but the insistence on the practice of the puritan tenets frightened those who daily indulged in their transgressions. For Ibn Abdul Wahháb was by no means a man of theory, he insisted on putting into practice whatever he taught. He opposed the usurers and the oppressors of Muslims, against whom he directed the powerful weapon of his fiery eloquence. He was applauded by the common people but secretly feared by the big personages, who finding his intrepid sermons inconvenient in many ways tried to expose and brand him as heterodox. He in his turn delivered a heavy blow against the authority of the ulemas by branding them as *káfirs*, and preached the holy war against them in return. In spite of all this apparent aggressiveness he strictly adhered to the code of morals as laid down in the Korán and Hadith. He regarded all duties enjoined in the scriptures as incumbent on himself, and considered himself nothing more than an obedient, humble servant of the unscrutinizable greatness of God. He never wearied in repeating the admonition: "Do not accept a single word uttered by me unless you are convinced of its truth; I do not pretend to be infallible."

In 1744, owing to the persecution of the ulemas, he was forced to seek refuge at Dariyya, in the house of the Emir Mohammed Ibn Sa'ud, and from this time the theological controversy entered on a political phase. Ibn Sa'ud agreed to become his patron, and concluded a pact with him. The religious propagandist had now gained the support of an executive authority (*asháb us-seyf*) behind him. Those who believed on their own account were invited to defend the faith, those who hesitated were bought over by the prospect of booty, those who resisted were forced by intimidation. The blood-feuds of the Bedouins were forbidden or restrained, and their restless energy was directed against the *káfirs*, at least those whom Ibn Sa'ud and the Wahhábis regarded as such.

The new movement proceeded on parallel lines to its predecessor's in the 6th century. No other line of advance was possible. The state, in accordance with the Wahhábí doc-

trine, exacted one-fifth of the booty, and also collected the *zakât* or religious taxes from the believers. It converted the inhabitants of the rebellious province of Kâsim into tenants on the principle of *kharâdj*. The Arabia of the 7th century revived again. The state was based on the army, and this had to be kept busy to secure its maintainance. The nomads of Arabia always eager to join promising movements, got interested in Wahhâbism, and prospects of booty soon attracted the Bedouins of Central and East Arabia to the camp of Sa'ud. Towards the end of the 18th century Sa'ud and his Wahhâbis became the greatest power in the peninsula. They started harassing the pilgrims of Mecca, and robbing the presents of the Sultans. Then they attacked the Shia communities, and pillaged their sanctuaries at Nadjaf and Kerbelâ. In 1803 and 1804 they succeeded, after repeated attempts, to capture Mecca and Medina. A remarkable change now took place. The ulemas of the sacred cities, where the Prophet was born, where the Word of God was revealed and where Muslim piety had upheld, against threats of death, the teaching and example of the Prophet, were constrained to acknowledge their own *takfeer*, a confession that they had hitherto followed the path of infidelity! History repeated itself even to its details. The iconoclastic zeal of the Wahhâbis destroyed the mausoleums and cupolas erected over the graves, and removed the heavy embroidered silk carpets of the Ka'ba. In Medina rapacious hands were not stayed by reverence for the tomb of the Prophet himself, which was robbed of its treasures hoarded up through centuries. The ulemas cowed by the *takfeer* flung at their heads were powerless against this vandalism. The Wahhâbis continued to rob the pilgrims for years, and then finally brought about the suspension of *Hadj* (the pilgrimage to Mecca) altogether.

Encouraged by their unthwarted success, hordes of Arabs pressed northward into Syria and Mesopotamia. The Ottomans were powerless against Sa'ud, and were forced to entrust the pacification of Arabia to the Pasha of Egypt, the mighty Muhammad Ali. It was not an easy task. Desert warfare has proved difficult for even the best organised armies, and without great strategical foresight has never led to tangible results. It

is this peculiarity of the desert which has proved so embarrassing to modern armies, and not any inherent mystery, that has preserved some doctrines so successfully for years. The campaign of the Egyptians resulted in serious reverses until they had recourse to more glittering weapons than the sword. Money was set rolling amidst the Bedouins who, as in the time of the Prophet, had greater faith in gold than in sacred doctrines. The capital of Abdullah Sa'ud at Dariyya was stormed in 1818, and the Emir and some leaders of the Wahhábis were taken prisoner and sent to Constantinople where they were executed.

This was a hard blow to Wahhábism. The family of Sa'ud first retired to Riyád, then to Kuweit on the Persian Gulf, as they could not withstand the rivalry of their old foes, the Ibn Rasheed of Mount Shammár. The jealousy between the European Powers with their antagonistic policies now began to be felt in the waterless deserts where family squabbles and tribal feuds had been so long the only motives of a weary-some history. Still, just as the Abessynian march on Mecca in the memorable year of the elephant in the 6th century marked the final explosion of the tension between the Sassanian and the Byzantine empires, so in the beginning of the 20th century the mainspring of events in Arabia was set in Central Europe.

The extension of the political influence of Germany over Turkey, which found its economic expression in the building of the Baghdad railway stretching out its feelers of imperialism towards the Persian Gulf, created a new situation. The British Government looked for allies in Arabia against the Turko-Germanic alliance. In the 6th century the situation had been exactly similar. The Byzantines stationed the Ghassánides in Syria as buffers against the Lakhmides of Hira who were the feudatories of the Sassanians. These two Arab dynasties remained in continual conflict, and won and lost battles according as the fortune of warfare waxed or waned. They were the outposts of imperial interests located thousands of miles away from head-quarters. Similarly, fights have again been going on since 1900 between the Rasheedis and the Sa'udis. In the beginning the Rasheedis had gained the advantage. But later on Sa'ud invented a most efficient stratagem. He established several

camps at important spots where he assembled his Bedouins and drilled them in the rigid doctrine and discipline of Wahnábism, and also taught them the art of agriculture. He formed a brotherhood of reliable and trustworthy elements to serve as a nucleus for fresh organisations. The Turks weakened by their defeat in the Balkan war were obliged to maintain a passive attitude in Arabia. Long before the *marcia su Roma* the Wahnábi *fascio* was created. They had their national pride, their rigid national creed devoid of all influences of foreign origin, and a national-religious *esprit de corps* which acknowledged implicit obedience to one idea and to one master. They even had their own distinct uniform—a counterpart to the black-shirts of Mussolini—a white garment and a white turban.

The brotherhood of Wahnábis, known as the Ukhuwwat, was a military organisation ready to strike at any moment. Characteristically enough, like the first communities of Islam in the 6th century, the Ukhuwwat does not recognise tribal organisation. It is an organisation of Arabs, irrespective of tribal adherence, guided by the pristine ideals of Islam.

The shrewdness of Sa'ud realised its coveted fruits. In 1921 he defeated his old rival Ibn Rasheed, and massacred his family. In 1924 he victoriously entered Taif and Mecca from where Hussain Ibn Ali the great sherif and caliph had fled. The kingdom of Hadjáz ceased to exist. A new sultanate, that of Sa'ud, an independent Arabic state, stepped again on to the stage of history. Its intransigency in matters religious and national and its attitude towards foreign politics has found many adherents abroad. In India the *Salafiya* (conservatives) or *Ahl ul-Hadith* (traditionalists) are more or less inspired by Wahnábite tendencies.

The reactionary conservatism of the Wahnábis has suffered the same check at the outset of its political career as all reactionary movements do: they cannot stay the wheel of time which gradually wears off the rough crudities of doctrinal harshness. After the first fury of iconoclasm had spent itself the Wahnábis developed a more moderate attitude towards the sanctuaries. The tombs were still demolished and some of the *mezárs* of saints were declared apocryphal, but the treasures of

the mausoleum of the Prophet were spared. As Sultan Abdul Aziz ibn Sa'ud happens to be a great coffee-drinker the interdiction of this beverage has lost its force.

Wahhábism is a militant state. It cannot remain satisfied with its achievements. In order to live up to the status which it enjoys in the Muslim world it must enlarge its economic boundaries. It must and will mitigate most of its doctrinal rigidities in order to gain adherents outside Arabia. A momentous step was taken towards this end by the king Sa'ud himself in his address to the Indian ulemas who appeared before him in 1925. In very moderate language he expressed his conciliatory attitude towards Sunnis. A platform was found on which conservative orthodox Muslims and Wahhábism may co-operate. The possibility and feasibility of such a co-operation was most keenly felt among Indian Muslims. Wahhábism represents to them a check to the spread of European influence and penetration. It represents, moreover, an Islamic state entirely independent of foreign sovereignty. In this matter even Muslim modernists look with sympathy at the strengthening of Wahhábism, and hope to find in it a basis for the reformation of Islam.

The reign of Sultan Abdul Aziz Sa'ud has again united Arabia under a single ruler. By the settlements of the *Ikhawán* (brotherhoods) he has succeeded in making the Bedouin elements take to agricultural pursuits, an achievement which is likely to start a new epoch in the economic history of Arabia. With the progress of the new economic era Wahhábism will continue to smooth down its doctrinal harshness which is a projection of the peculiar geographic configuration of Arabia, the desert land being the only country where it could flourish. The economic conquest and subjugation of the desert, the work of cultivating a soil hitherto barren, will open the country to the forces of civilization and will foster a friendlier attitude towards international co-operation. Only deserts can remain isolated, and only deserts can shelter a society separated by its ancestral and pristine exclusiveness from the rest of mankind.

(To be continued.)

SYMBOLS OF RELIGION.

By RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.

Man creates an ideal world over and above the natural. He constantly creates images and symbols from which he seeks to derive as much satisfaction as he obtains from physical objects. Symbolisation represents the process of substituting relatively simple and concrete images for more complex and abstract ones. Every symbol which grows and lives in the individual or the race satisfies and stabilises a complex group of ideas, impulses and interests. It, therefore, subserves an effective and satisfactory adaptation to environment and may help the harmonious development of personality. This is the reason why symbols are created in every country and among every people.

Symbols also grow and decay. With the shifting of the intricate balance of interests, old and venerable symbols are given up or retained in altered forms. New creeds have sprung up on the basis of an interpretation of religious symbols, while wars of religion and of races have been fought in the names of conflicting symbols like the Cross, the Crescent and the Trident.

As a man's ideas and images are moulded in the crucible of his social consciousness it is inevitable that images and symbols should vary with the social milieu. Social inheritance largely determines both the nature and the process of symbolisation. Yet as in other fields of human expression though the language of symbols differs, the reality behind them is often one and the same, organising as it does similar groups of normal human drives. A recognition of this truth which must come with a closer study of the affective and conational processes involved in symbolisation, will help to remove religious intolerance and prejudice, and contribute to a proper estimate of the most profound religious truths and experiences of different peoples.

Even within the same culture the same religious motif may satisfy different sets of impulses and interests in different

persons. Yet though the symbol would be differently interpreted by each there need not be any cause of religious schism or conflict because for each, according to the level of his consciousness, it provides a means of adaptation to the environment, solves an inner conflict, and thus helps towards the development of the personality.

There are also great religious symbols, which freed from their context, represent profound truths that have value for every man irrespective of race and tradition, and have an appeal for humanity all over the world. The value of a religion is to be judged by the contribution it makes through such cosmic symbols to the sum total of man's religious experience.

Nowhere has the process of symbolisation been so exuberant as in Hinduism; nowhere have its limits been so clearly demarcated by philosophical monism than here. The moot question is thus asked in the *Uttara Gita* :

"There can be no *meditation* of what is not visible. The visible, again, perishes. How can attention be fixed upon the formless God? The conditioned personal form is open to the objection of transiency, the unconditioned impersonal form, again, is open to the objection of blankness. If then, both are objectionable, how is attention to be concentrated on God?" (*Uttara Gita*, 1-35).

The Sanskrit word for *meditation* means 'creating' or 'causing to be' and shows the real nature and value of the symbolisation process. The seeker after God projects his feelings and interests to His symbol, to the names which he gives to Him, to the various art-motifs, or sacred objects which he associates with Him as a part of religious tradition. It is in this manner that the Unknowable makes itself manifest "even as the cow's milk which pervades the cow's whole system comes out only through her teats."

Thus in reality the controversy as between philosophical monism and dualism is resolved in the religious consciousness. As the Bodhasara puts it "One class worship God saying 'I am thine'; the other worship Him saying 'I am not different from thee!' Though there is some difference, the result ultimately is the same." The same idea is also expressed in the *Kularnava*

Tantra where the Deity speaks : "Some seek me as the Universal One, others seek me as the Perfect Being. Both are ignorant of my Reality which is devoid of either personal or impersonal character." (*Kularnava Tantra*, 5-1-110).

As regards the symbol itself a wide latitude is given. Vyasa remarks somewhere "Whatever may be the object of one's liking, let him meditate upon that. If the mind settles upon that particular object it may settle also elsewhere." (But this does not imply that the religious man should accept anything but a divine symbol, *i.e.*, a form in which the divinity is particularly pleasing to him.) Indeed, the drives of men are so different that there are a thousand and one varieties of symbols by which the Hindu seeks to fill his mind with the thought of God. Yet there is the unequivocal promise held out by the Lord : "In the manner in which men seek and serve Me, so do I seek and serve men."

Philosophically man envisages God as the Supreme Being, Spirit or Soul, but a gregarious animal as he is, he always craves fellowship with God. God in order to be a stable religious object must satisfy normal human impulses. In the course of the long evolutionary process the social nature of man has been a most potent factor in his selection and survival. It has its roots deep in a primary herd-instinct which man had derived from his animal apprenticeship in trees and meadows. It has been modified and transfigured by a variety of social institutions which man has built up to satisfy this elemental drive. For this reason also, man seeks God not as mere abstraction in the cold dry light of reason and knowledge, but as a friend and companion, as father and mother and even in the tenderest man-woman relation. We read in the *Sruti* :

आत्मानमेव प्रियमुपासीत ।

य आत्मानमेव प्रियमुपास्ते न ह्यस्य प्रियं प्रजायुक्तं भवति ।

Or, again, we read in the *Bhagavat Gita* : God is the Father, Mother and Creator of the World.

The search for God through impulses and desires is an inevitable inner adjustment and it is as old as the history of man

himself. The primitive man sought to establish a close relationship with mountains and rivers, with animal guardian spirits and totems. The mystic through all the ages has sought communion with God and experienced most tender joys and sorrows in his intercourse with Him. The eternal hunger for companionship underlies the Stoic Conception of the Friend. "We are gregarious animals;" Gilbert Murray says, "our ancestors have been such for countless ages. We cannot help looking out on the world as gregarious animals do; we see it in terms of humanity and fellowship. . . . And it may be, it may very possibly be, that, in the matter of this Friend behind phenomena, our own yearning and our almost ineradicable instinctive conviction, since they are certainly not founded on either reason or observation, are in origin the groping of a lonely-souled gregarious animal to find its herd or its herd-leader in the great spaces between the stars."

The Hebrew scriptures say that God made man in his own image. The history of eastern religions shows that man has created God also in his own image. But this tendency must not be dismissed as incompatible with the worship of God in Spirit and in Truth. For in reality it represents a process of symbolisation which brings about a communion with Personal God through one's normal impulses and desires.

The process of symbolisation has attracted attention in contemporary psychological literature. Jung regards a symbol as an expression for that of which no rational account can be given at the time when the symbol possesses its highest value. It thus gives an indication of the general direction which life, individual or social, is likely to follow. At a later date, or for a generation for whom a certain symbol has ceased to be vital, it may be possible to find another expression—as for example, an intelligible account—of what the symbol originally implied or indicated. But in so far as any kind of additional expression becomes possible, it implies that the symbol has already become to that extent devitalised. According to Jung, the way in which St. Paul and the early mystical speculators handled the symbol of the Cross shows that for them it was a living symbol which

represented the inexpressible in an unsurpassable way.(2) A recent writer regards the symbol as something placed over against the conscious standpoint. Or, rather, the image or the phantasy, in all the fullness of its emotional resonance and with all the apparent thought content through which it may have been elaborated, becomes a symbol through the adoption by consciousness of a definite attitude towards it. Through the symbol, or *vis-a-vis* the symbol, the conscious being commits himself of his own choice to a certain course of conduct, life or experience. He does not, and cannot, fully know where he is being led; though knowledge may grow, from more to more, as he makes good each step of the way. As he advances, the symbol will change, or the imagery involved will change. The conception here is teleological in so far as the enrichment of life, or the moral individuality, is gained and secured. It is a teleology in which purpose is, at the most, implicit, in so far as no intellectual formulation of aim is, or can be, achieved. The term 'purpose' is in effect misleading. For, at a later stage, what becomes explicit is not so much purpose or aim as realised value.(3)

In the Hindu system of worship the symbol of the incarnation of the Divinity is not a dead symbol or a shadow, but a symbol which by thought can be conjured up into the Divinity itself. From the very outset the devotee is enjoined to fill his mind with the thought that he and the Divinity are one and the same. Several practices are commended to get oneself gradually released from the immediate sensori-motor experience, and feeling. Gradually the mind is withdrawn from other ideas and feelings, and is concentrated on the divine symbol. Thought then intervenes and discriminates mind and symbol, and yet in this process establishes a closer and closer union of the two. This process is carried on to the fullest extent possible until the worshipper and Divinity, mind and symbol, relation is transcended. The World-body of the Divinity is then seen beyond the limits of space and time; and yet interpenetrating all objects and experiences, all the processes of nature and history, and

(2) Psychological Types, P. 602.

(3) J. M. Thoburn: "Art and the Unconscious", pp. 74-75.

man's own ideas and imageries. Such experiences transcend space and time, and bring with them an effacement of the feeling of finite individuality. Divinity is realised as a process of development, in which we have parallel processes of individuation and assimilation. Personality progresses as man, in one breath, scatters himself to the world around him and, in another breath, also absorbs it in himself, identifying himself with the aims and aspirations of all.

A vivid religious experience like the above is recorded for us in the *Bhagavad Gita*. When God assumed His Universe Body, He became too terrible.

“With mouths, eyes, arms, breasts multitudinous,
I see Thee everywhere, unbounded Form,
Beginning, middle, end, nor source of Thee,
Infinite Lord, Infinite Form, I find.”

“On every side, all-swallowing, fiery-tongued
Thou lickest up mankind, devouring all;
Thy glory filleth space : the Universe
Is burning, God, with Thy blazing rays.”

But man prayed to God to present Himself in “His human shape”. The normal image of God is the human image. When man finds God as a human companion he finds greater peace and happiness. Thus when God showed to man His own familiar shape, man rejoiced :—

“Beholding this Thy gentle form,
Thy human shape, O God,
I am collected once again,
And have become myself.”

Similarly the *Sakti Gita* gives the following description of the Universe body of Divine Mother.

“O ! Mother of the worlds, Thou spreadest out in perfection this beginningless and endless creation; together with the sportive beauty and adornment, characterised by the sentiment of Love, whose manifestation contains the flowing tide of the ebullitions of joy.”

"By a mere glance of Thine eye, O Mother, rise sportive appearances, and so do, O Goddess, there arise, I think, the sportive appearances of the multitudes of solar system of various sorts and in infinite numbers."

"The work of Creation, its continuance and its re-absorption, is a mere wave of Thy sportive pleasure. Thou art able to create the whole in a moment. A salutation to Thee, therefore, O Infinite Energy."

And yet the Mother, who pervades everything in the Universe, assumes a dual form in the human relation of man and woman.

"Higher than the High, possessing a form by the highest principle, Thou appearest glorious far excelling all the principles of creation; and again through the united work of Thine existence and consciousness Thou personally manifest a dual form in the relation of the husband and the wife."

The Formless Divinity embodies itself in the human image of man or woman, in the relation between man and man. And between man and woman, human relationship is but a manifestation of Divinity. Yet Divinity transcends it. It is in and through real religious experience, which is an all-inclusive experience, that man can realise at once that the Perfect Being or God is he himself, and that all his activities and relationships are extensions of this Perfect Being within the limits of space and time.

There is thus a continuous dual process of the fashioning of Reality in human symbols, and a converse activity of emptying the symbols and the sub-consciousness in order to reach the Reality. The images of God arrived at by this dual process are both real and symbolical, and the prescribed actions, signs and postures elicit feelings and attitudes which constitute worship. Such images when they remain unchanged become gradually abstract and partial, and fail to satisfy human desires and aspirations. The rituals and observances in this case lose their meaning and fail to create and renew religious emotion. The mystic religionist, on the other hand, always renews the sym-

bols, and his rites or actions which symbolise beliefs and values drain fully his sub-conscious and represent the fullness of his personality. The mystical mind as it creates a succession of symbols day by day gradually leads itself, beyond its own limitations, beyond its own symbols or ebullitions of the sub-conscious, and beyond all relativities, to the Supreme Reality. All through there is the incessant activity of the interpretation of symbols under the full light of consciousness. And this process continues without end.

The significance of interpretation in the field of mystical consciousness can hardly be exaggerated. Professor Royce has in fact advocated interpretation as a third method of gaining knowledge besides perception and conception. The symbol is moulded by human impulses in a human pattern. Through the interpretative process it again and again empties itself to return to glory as the risen Divinity. In Buddhism the Absolute is termed *Dharma-kaya* or 'the body of Law', but the Absolute reveals himself by a process of self-emptying in the Buddha or the Buddhas. Similarly in Christianity the God embodies Himself by a process of self-emptying in Christ. As Buddhism conceived of a *Sambhoga-kaya* or glorified body of bliss in which after a sacrificial life, the blessed one was reinstated in glory, so did Christianity conceive of the Lord returning to glory as the risen Christ. In Hindu worship the idea of the Formless as manifesting itself in aspects of Form and again dissolving all Form is universal. In a well-known popular song sung throughout Northern India, we find this idea expressed with great sincerity :

"How many thousands of the creators of the world are
born and reborn from Thee and die and return in
Thee, O ! Eternal Person without end or beginning,
just as the waves rise from and settle down in the
ocean."

In the *Markandeya Chandi* which is read in every home in Bengal, we learn that the body of the Divine Mother is fashioned by the consensus of minds of the various gods who sought her protection: From this body issue forth a thousand forms in

kaleidoscopic succession to meet the various tribulations of the gods in the hands of the demons. The symbolism of the fight of the Divine Mother against the forces of evil represents the conquering march of the soul which has declared a war against impulses and desires. Each step of advance is marked by the creation of a fresh symbol which when it has outgrown its use destroys itself to create another. The procession of symbols through which man seeks to free his mind from all egoism and relativities never ends. The book closes with a prophetic vision of resurrection :

“Whenever and wherever the forces of evil emerge and stand in the way of the good, there and then I shall re-incarnate Myself to fight them.”

Human symbols transform God from a metaphysical abstraction to a human presence. They are constantly re-interpreted and re-oriented to consciousness by the activities of the mystical life. The mystical mind in its search for a metaphysical knowledge of reality constantly destroys old forms and creates new symbols. They sometimes transcend the world of space and time, sometimes enshroud it as in a veil, sometimes work themselves out through the processes of nature and history, but again and again they reveal themselves in human patterns in order that man can live and commune with the Reality as he lives and communes with his fellowmen. For man's mental make-up has so decreed that he can attain to perfect knowledge only when his impulses and feelings also are deeply stirred.

TAGORE'S PHALGUNI* : AN INTERPRETATION.

By P. GUHA-THAKURTA, M.A. (HARVARD), Ph.D. (LONDON).

There is quite an important lapse of time between the first of Rabindranath Tagore's symbolical plays, *Saradotsab* (Autumn Festival) written in 1908 and the short dramatic dialogues in blank verse, such as *Biday-Abhisap* (The Curse at Farewell) of the period between 1893 and 1904. In 1905, the *Swadeshi* movement came and threw Rabindranath into political and nationalist activities. From the very beginning Tagore's political attitude had been a bit puzzling both to his countrymen and the British people. Just on the one hand he has criticized his countrymen for their indifference to the fundamental principles of social and political reform, so on the other, he has condemned the British rulers for their apathy, lack of understanding and errors of administration. But the most important and vital change that came to the poet before he began writing his symbolical dramas, was not a political but a religious change. It was the result of his violent disillusionment with the existing conditions of Bengali life and thought. 'Art for art's sake' which pleased his fancies in the days of his youthful apprenticeship failed to satisfy him any longer. He gradually began to develop a philosophy of life which was implicit in the earlier poems of *Sonar Tari* (The doctrine of *Jivan-Devatá* or *Life-Spirit*, that is to say, the immanence of universal all-abiding God in the created universe which was implicit in the earlier poems of *Sonar-Tari* (The Golden Boat), emerged into full expression in some of the poems of *Gitanjali* (Song Offerings). It should be clearly understood that Tagore's specific philosophy of life was in the process of gradual development out of the romantic pantheism of a young

*Phalguni (The Cycle of Spring) took the Bengali public by storm in the early part of 1915. It was written especially for the spring-festival of the Santiniketan School and was staged in aid of Bankura Famine Relief in Calcutta at the poet's Jorasanko House by the Santiniketan boys and girls in collaboration with certain members of the staff and some of the Tagore family. An English translation of the play appeared in 1917.

poet in its different phases and his longing to get into touch with the mysteries of the unknown world in all its endless moods and expressions and further out of his strong and vigorous attempts to break the barriers of race and nationalism and shatter all narrowness and sectarianism. This philosophy first began to flow into his verse in amazing fecundity, thus investing whatever he wrote with a kind of religious mysticism. This mysticism combined with his ever-present poetic delight in all forms of natural beauty lent a wistful charm to the exquisite rendering in poetry and drama of all his dominant spiritual ideas and aspirations. Thus, after his period of political activity was over, he retired to his peace-retreat, 'Santiniketan', and devoted himself almost completely to literary work. To this period of retirement belong most of his plays of the symbolical type.

Between *Saradotsab*, the first symbolical play, and *Phalguni* exists a real bond. Both are plays of the open air and saturated with the spirit and atmosphere of the season. Both of them are allegories, cast in a dramatic form. While in the former the symbolic idea does not assume sufficient distinctness to clash with the unconventional freedom of the dramatic narrative, in the latter, symbolism shrouds the whole play with a veil of imagery which it is not easy to peep through. It is difficult to judge such plays by the ordinary rules of the stage, for they do not fulfil any of the conditions demanded by stagecraft in its accepted sense nor does the dramatist make any pretensions of this sort. These are not dramas of circumstance; they have been conceived æsthetically and Tagore wants them to be staged æsthetically also. Thus the Prelude with which *Phalguni* opens sets forth in a manner the subject-matter of the play, and Tagore takes a fling at the conventional play-wrights and stage-practitioners. We discover that a King has fled from his Council-Chamber and royal duties to be in the company of a Poet who has promised to entertain him with a play of the approaching spring :—*

King—Very well, Poet, get ready with your stage-preparations.

*The quotations from this play are not from the poet's own English version but have been translated direct from the original Bengali edition of 1916.

Poet—No, Your Majesty, we are going to do it without any preparations. Truth looks tawdry when she is dressed up.

King—But, the scenery—

Poet—We don't need any scenery. The only background we need is the background of mind. On it we are going to create a picture, by passing over it the brush of music.

King—So you have songs in the play?

Poet—Yes, Your Majesty. The door of each act will be opened by the key of song.

King—What are the songs about?

Poet—For instance, the Disrobing of Winter.

King—But, Poet, there is nothing about that in mythology.

Poet—In the world-myth, this song comes round in its turn. In the play of seasons, the year is stripped of the disguise that it wore as Old Winter, and is revealed as the figure of Spring, so that we see that it is the old that ever becomes new.

King—So much for the songs—what about the rest of the play?

Poet—Oh, that's all about life.

King—What do you mean?

Poet—There's a band of young folk, running after an Old Man. They have made a wager that they'll catch him. When they get inside a cave and catch him, they see—

King—See what?

Poet—Ah, that will all come out in good time.

King—But I don't understand. Do your songs and the drama deal with different subjects?

Poet—No, Your Majesty. The game that Spring plays in the World of Nature is one and the same with the game of Youth in human life. I have simply stolen the idea from the lyrical drama of the World-Poet.*

After the Prelude is over, the Poet sends a call into the air, which is immediately answered by the Heralds of Spring. The rustling Bamboo (represented by a little girl standing behind it) sings: 'O wind of the south, wandering

*See *Phalguni* (Be Kali Edition, 1916), pp. 17-18.

wind, swing me, sway me, softly—set my fresh young leaves a-rustling round me in their rapture;’ the Birds sing, each from its nest (a troop of girls dancing represent the Birds): ‘The sky has flooded me with sunshine and I will flood the sky with songs.’* Then the flowering Tree (disclosed among the branches of trees are boys representing the flowers) sings to the stream: ‘O streamlet, running swiftly, madly—I, the *champak* tree stand ever still and cannot sleep for the fragrance of my flowers.’† The song-prelude ushers in the morning. A band of youths enter and sing: ‘O brother, see the fire of April leaps from wood to wood, from branch to branch, on flower and fruit, from leaf to leaf.’ A dialogue follows between the youths and *Dada*, the philosopher. They make fun of his wise counsel and his attempts at poetry. He tells them to behave themselves, and says he wonders if ever they will grow up. But the boys are out for fun and have no respect for age. They go off in search of the Old Man whom they must find to make their festival complete.

A second song-prelude now begins. We find the Spring’s Heralds stripping Winter of the garb of old age. Winter asks leave to go. The youths re-appear and ask the ferry-man about the Old Man. But he does not know where he is nor does the watchman who now comes on the scene. The whole neighbourhood thinks that the boys are raving mad. It is mid-day. The Heralds of Spring sing again as Winter is being unmasked and his hidden youth is about to be disclosed. Evening comes. And still the youths have not found the Old Man, but they have not lost heart. The blind minstrel (*Baul*) comes and tells them that he can find the Old Man for them. They follow him as he walks out appealing in his song to his muse to lead him aright. As another song-prelude opens the next scene which shows us the entrance to the cave, there enters a troop of blossoming flowers who introduce themselves in a song. Winter is now fully revealed as Spring and a jostling crowd of new leaves and flowers surround him and sing. Beauty welcomes him as a soldier-boy who has just won life at death’s gate.

*The sky has filled me with light, I will fill the sky with songs.

†O river, mad with the impetuosity of thy own speed, I am the still *champak* tree, sleepless with the fragrance of my flowers.

Night falls. The youths re-enter but without their leader, Chandrahas. They are sad at heart, for their search has been fruitless. Where has the Minstrel brought them? The Minstrel strikes his lute and sings. He tells them to wait for Chandrahas there in front of the cave and Chandrahas will come presently. A ray of light illumines the mouth of the cave and Chandrahas comes and is welcomed with joy. But has he found the Old Man—the eternal Old Man of the world? He does not know, he cannot say. Thus youth has to own defeat, because there is no Old Man; he is a fiction, a myth, for youth alone is real. It is day again. The sun has risen. Spring's festival has begun. All join in dancing and burst out into an ecstasy of song. Spring has awakened.

The play is not a mere phantasy coloured by beautiful imagery and made melodious with songs. It is a serious work of art and raises a number of interesting problems. The real meaning underlying it is not merely an intellectual problem, lying hidden under an elaborately worked allegory. Neither is it revealed to us as an ethical problem conveyed by means of didacticism; because Tagore utterly dislikes the idea of preaching spiritual or moral doctrines through some mystical symbolism fastened upon his work. The truth of the matter is that the inner meaning of Tagore cannot be grasped by the senses; it has to be felt and understood emotionally. In this play as in others, it is the permeating idea that matters as in such European symbolistic plays as Gerhart Hauptmann's *Hannless Himmelfahrt* and August Strindberg's *Dream Play*. This inner idea is, as it were, a part of universal emotion, functioning not in the grosser world of matter but in the realm of spirit. That is exactly why the poet is so impatient with men who find it necessary to extricate a meaning from his plays. He hints at this specifically in the following passage from the Prelude to the play :

King—Shall I be able to follow the meaning of what you have written?

Poet—No, Your Majesty. What a poet writes is not intended to have any meaning.

King—What then?

Poet—What's written is to be accepted just as it is. I told you this is all like a tune on a flute—not something that's to be understood but just a sound.

King—What do you mean, Poet? Is there no philosophy in it?

Poet—Not a bit.

King—What does it say then?

Poet—It just says "Here am I : " Does Your Majesty know the meaning of the first cry of the new-born child? All of a sudden the infant hears the cry of the water and the earth and the sky calling him on every hand and saying "Here am I : " and his tiny little heart hears them and answers, "Here am I : " My poem is like the cry of the new-born babe. It is the soul's response to the call of the universe.

King—Nothing more than that?

Poet—No, nothing more. The soul in my song cries out—"In joy and sorrow, in work and rest, in life and death, in victory and defeat, in this world and the next, hail O 'Here am I' : O joyous 'Here am I : ' all hail : "

King—Well poet. I can assure you, if your play has not got any philosophy in it, it won't pass muster now-a-days.

Poet—That's quite true, Your Majesty. The modern folk in these days are much keener on acquiring than on understanding. They are clever, you see.*

At the risk of falling under the condemnation of the poet as too clever, one may perhaps venture to suggest that what most people will see in the play is something of this sort. Youth is eternal and ever victorious. It is always on the move, but it has more than mere movement. To quote from the play itself : "If youth had nothing in its movement but mere sprightliness, it would become parched and withered. In its movement there are tears as well ; and that's why it keeps so fresh and green. When we come into the world we hear it saying not only 'Let me have' but 'Let me surrender.' In the twilight of creation, 'Let me have' was wedded to 'Let me surrender.' Once this bond of union between them is broken, all is ruined."†

*See Phalguni (Bengali Edition, 1916), pp. 17-18.

†*Ibid.* p. 67.

So winter and spring, youth and age are only complementary parts of the one and the same cosmic force which constitutes the universe and the eternal law of getting and surrendering binds them all together in a harmonic chain. In the destruction of the present lies the promise of the future and in the eternal struggle for beauty and perfection lies the promise of fulfilment. The old is forever new.

The play taken as a dramatic picture reminds me very much of a leaping calf I once saw sculptured on a Minoan vase of ancient Crete. It is not an ordinary calf. It is drawn with such zest and animation of life that it ceases to be real in a physical sense. It is a symbol of youth. It is spring. It moves the mind like the sprightly rhythm of some of the dance-tunes of Bach and the leaping Polonaises of Liszt and the mazurkas and waltzes of Chopin. So also does the leaping beauty of this exquisitely youthful play *Phalguni*. It cannot be grasped by the logic of common sense for it takes our mind away from all plausibility and makes us see, hear and feel more than we are able to see, hear and feel in an ordinary sense. It is born of an irresistible inner necessity in the mind of the artist which has impelled him to feel intensely and think deeply and then express his feelings and ideas sincerely. Much of the play may be dismissed as mere verbal jugglery and display of technical skill, but the picture of eternal, undying, leaping, advancing youth is full of an ethereal and spiritual beauty that stirs one in the innermost recesses of one's being. Most of the charm of this beautiful picture must inevitably be lost save to one witnessing a performance of the play itself.

THE SELF AND THE SOUL IN ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY

By WAHED HOSAIN, M.A., B.L., CALCUTTA.

I. INTRODUCTION.

It is difficult to obtain a clear idea of the view of the *Shari'at* regarding the Soul and its nature. The difficulty arises from the fact that the Holy Qûrân has very little to say in this connection; and Muslim theologians and commentators of the Qûrân are also reticent and have not discussed the subject in detail. Most of them hold that it was not the intention of the *Shari'at* to reveal the mystery of the soul and that this mystery can be grasped only by persons endowed with special powers.

Imam Ghazâli discussing the nature of the soul in the *Kimiya-i-Sa'dat* (Book 1, Discourse 1) says :

"What is the soul and what are its special qualities? The *Shari'at* does not permit us to guess any answer to this question? It was therefore that the Prophet did not give any account of it." He continues, "to know this is a very difficult thing. No permission is given to describe its nature, nor does it seem necessary to know it when one has only just commenced the journey on the road of Truth and Religion. With self-exertion, self-denial and self-sacrifice, under certain prescribed conditions, this knowledge can be acquired intuitively without any other person's help." (1)

II. THE VIEW OF THE QURAN REGARDING THE "SELF."

The Holy Qûrân makes a distinction between the soul (*râh*) and the self (*nafs*). The "Self" (*nafs*) is often identified with the individuality of man, i.e., the sum total of his indivi-

(1) Moulvi Mohammad Ali has written:—"It is a well-known fact that the knowledge of the soul is intuitive (necessary), and the human intelligence (Aql-i-Insan) is unable to comprehend its nature. Many have been the conjectures on this point, both by believers (Muslims) and non-believers; but none has been able to solve the question proposed by Nadir-bin-Harith to the Apostle of God in a better way than that 'the soul belongeth to that which (i.e., the creation of which) my Lord commanded'." (*The Teachings of Islam*, p. 5).

dual characteristics, but it is not always used in the sense of an individual man. A distinction is made between man and his "self" as will be clear from the following verses of the Qûrân :

"We created man, and We know what his *nafs* (self or ego) whispereth within him." (50 :).

"I swear by the *nafs* (self), and Him who completely sets it right and inspires into the same its faculty of distinguishing, and the power of choosing wickedness and piety. Now he who has purified the same (*nafs*) is happy, and he who corrupted it is miserable"(2) (91 : 7-10).

There are passages in the Qûrân which indicates that the ego in its undeveloped and unpurified condition is the *nafs* (self); but the self in its purified and developed condition is referred to as the soul.

Further, the soul is, in some instances, identified with the spirit of God, and is spoken of as the divine soul (*ruh-ul-quds*). But it appears that a certain amount of confusion has crept into translations and commentaries of the Qûrân as the distinction between the use of the terms—"self" (*nafs*) and "soul" (*ruh*) was not always observed.

The different stages of the self.—The Qûrân refers to three different states of the "self" (*nafs*) or the stages of life through which the "self" (*nafs*) of a man passes in the process of its spiritual development, *viz.*, the physical, the moral, and the spiritual.

In the first or the physical state of *nafs*, the self is rebellious and impatient of moral restraint; if it is allowed to have its own way, it leads the man to inequities and vices. The self in this condition is called *nafs-i-ammâra*, *i.e.*, the uncontrolled self prone to evil. The Qûrân says :—"The self (*nafs*) of a man tends towards evil except of those on whom thy Lord shall show mercy; for thy Lord is gracious and merciful." (12 : 53). In this passage the natural tendency of the self or ego in its undeveloped condition is referred to as inclining towards evil.

(2) Mark the use of *nafs* in two different senses in the above two passages. In the first passage *nafs* (self) means the lower nature of man. In the second passage *nafs* means the soul.

The self passes into the second or the moral state when a man puts a restraint upon his inclinations, and controls his desires and passions. His self (*nafs*) is then purified and becomes endowed with higher moral qualities. If he transgresses the bounds of morality, or deviates from the path of virtue, his self (*nafs*) now accuses him of the dereliction of his duty, and upbraids him for his deviation from the virtuous path. This second state is known in the terminology of the Qûrân as *nafs-i-lawwâma*, i.e., the self-accusing ego. It actually protects the man from sin. For example in the passage already quoted we have the phrase: "I swear by the *nafs* (self) which accuses itself." The ego is now conscious of what is right and what is wrong and the self (*nafs*) accuses itself in cases of transgression. On the one hand the self puts a restraint on lower desires, evil propensities and base passions, and on the other it strives after moral excellence and perfection.

In the third or the spiritual state of *nafs* the "self" rises from the moral to the spiritual plane. This stage is reached when the self has not only conquered the rebellious passions and desires but has become transfused with moral excellence. The self (*nafs*) in this condition is called the *nafs-i-mutamainnah*, i.e., the self-resting-in-peace, or the-soul-at-rest. This condition is referred to in the following verse of the Qûrân :

"O thou *nafs* that art at rest, return to thy Lord, thou being pleased with Him and He being pleased with thee, so enter among thy servants, and enter into My Abode of Bliss." (89 : 28-30).

In this stage of spiritual development the self (which may now be identified with the soul as in the above passage) being freed from human weaknesses rests peacefully in blissful communion with God. This is the state of absolute peace in which all desires and passions are annihilated, and there is no longer any conflict between human will and the will of God. The "self" is now considered to be living in peace in the abode of bliss. In another passage of the Qûrân the "self" is addressed thus: "O *nafs* that hast found rest in thy Lord (*Rabb*, supporter) return to Him." (89 : 28-30).

As an essential condition for the attainment of this state of bliss the Qûrân lays great stress on the purification of *nafs* (self) of all carnal passions, and says: "He who has purified his *nafs* of all carnal passions attains salvation, and shall not be destroyed: but he who hath yielded to unbridled earthly passions should surely despair of life." (91: 10). Purification of the self (*nafs*) therefore, leads to salvation and eternal life, and an impure "*nafs*" leads to despair and destruction.(3)

The *Matâlibi-i-Râshidi* also speaks of the three conditions of the "self" (*nafs*) in the following strain:—

"There are three characteristics of the human *nafs*: moving to bad deeds, repenting, and consoling. The first is the case with sinners and unbelievers, the second with the sinners who have repented, and the third with prophets and saints and other good men. The first has reference to passions; the second to reason, and the third to conscience."

Let us now consider the problem whether the self (*nafs*) is destructible. The problem will remain unsolved unless we understand the distinction between the real self which is identified with the real soul (*ruh-i-haqiqi*) and the primitive self (which is called *nafs-i-ammâra*). According to the view of the Qûrân, the real self or the soul does not perish after death, but survives and is held responsible for its actions. What perishes is the animal or irrational part of the self. The following passages from the Qûrân will throw light on the subject:

"On that day (of judgment) every soul (*nafs*) shall be rewarded according to its merit, there shall be no injustice done on that day." (3: 24).

"Every soul (*nafs*) shall know what it has committed and what it has omitted.....It is the day wherein one soul (*nafs*) shall not be able to obtain anything in behalf of another soul (*nafs*) and the command on that day shall be God's." (82: 19).

"God takes unto Himself the soul (*nafs*) of men at the time of their death; and those which die not he also takes in

(3) It should be noted that *nafs* (self) has been used in the sense of the soul (*ruh*), at any rate identified with it in the above texts. It has already been pointed out that the two terms, *nafs* and *ruh* (self and soul) are often used interchangeably.

their sleep, and He withholds those on which He has passed the decree of death, but sends back the others till a determined period. Verily herein are signs unto people who consider.” (39).

The first and the second quotations refer to the state of man after death, and the word *nafs* used there stands for the individuals who shall know the effects of their actions in the next world. Hence it is clear that the *nafs* survives, while the mortal coil of man perishes on death. The third quotation makes a clearer distinction between the self (*nafs*) and the physical body of man, and says definitely that “God takes unto himself the *nafs* of men at the time of their death,” and “withholds them” when the decree of death has been passed. Again, in the state of sleep which is an image of death, God takes the *nafs*, and sends them back when men are awake till the fixed period of life. The Qûrân also says that “we created man from fine clay,” i.e., from fine matter, and then says that “when completely formed it and set it right I breathed my soul into it.” (15:29). At death the mortal coil falls off and perishes, while the real self (soul) of man survives and returns to God.

From the texts quoted above, the view which the Qûrân takes regarding *nafs* (self) is clear and may be thus summarized :

- (i) Man and his *nafs* (self) are two distinct entities.
- (ii) The undeveloped and unpurified self undergoes changes, and is capable of attaining to the state of moral excellence and perfection.
- (iii) Man is mortal and perishes, but the self (in the sense of the soul) is immortal and returns to God after death.
- (iv) Every “self” (in the sense of an individual being) is accountable to God for its omissions and commissions.

III. THE VIEW OF THE QURAN REGARDING THE SOUL.

There exists a great divergence of opinion regarding the nature of the soul. According to a certain school of Muslim philosophers and theologians, the soul belongs to the sphere of command (*âlam-i-amr*), but is not eternal. Others maintain that the soul is uncreated and eternal. Again, according to some metaphysicians, it has a beginning but no end.

The majority of the Sûfis believe that the individual soul belongs to the Universal Soul.(4) It proceeds from God and returns to God. The Soul has neither beginning nor end and is eternal, because the Universal Soul is eternal and has neither beginning nor end.

Let us see what the Qûrân has to say on the subject. It says—"People will ask you (the Prophet) concerning the soul (*ruh*); say, it is from the command of my God, but you have little knowledge regarding it." (17 : 85).

In this passage the word used is *Amr* which means an "order" or "a word of command"; "an affair." The passage therefore literally means that the soul is from the word of God, it is God's affair. The text does not say that the soul is created (*makhlûq*).

The commentators and the *mutakallimin* (scholastics) have drawn a sharp distinction between the ideas embodied in the two expressions—"the world of creation (*âlam-i-khalq*)" and the "sphere of command (*âlam-i-Amr*). They point out that the animal kingdom, the vegetable kingdom, etc., all belong to the world of creation, whereas the spirit, the angels, etc., appertain to the sphere of command. It appears that *âlam-i-khalq* refers to the material or physical world, while *âlam-i-Amr* refers to the spirit world.(5) Consequently it will be seen that the expression used in the Qûrân definitely avoids speaking of the creation of the soul out of matter.

Imam Ghazâli in his celebrated book called the *Kimiya-i-Sa'dat* points out the distinction thus :

(4) This however does not imply that each individual soul is a god. For, all Sûfis recognize that there cannot be any idea of plurality (*kathrat*) in the conception of God.

(5) Cf. *Sthula-jagat* and *Sukshma-jagat* in Hindu Philosophy.

“*Alálah-ul-Khalq wal-amr* :” ‘for God is creation as well as command.’ The world of creation or the material world is different from the sphere of command or the world of spirit. The thing which is of weight, measure and dimensions belongs to the world of matter ; for in the lexicon the meaning of *khalq* is to weigh and measure, also to create. But the soul cannot be weighed or measured.....But these things which are not capable of measurement belong to the sphere of command.”(6)

Imam Fakhruddin Râzi has also made the same distinction in the *Asrar-ul-Tanzil*. According to him the creation consists of three series. The first is the soul-series (*ruhâni*) or the world of spirit. The second is the physical world, or the world of matter ; and the third is a combination of the two. Material things belong to the world of creation (*âlam-i-khalq*), and the soul-series (spirits, angels, etc.) belong to the sphere of command (*âlam-i-Amr*). Man consists of both matter and soul. His body (*i.e.*, material portion) belongs to the physical world, while his soul belongs to the spirit-world or the world of the soul-series.(7)

The view of the Qûrân regarding the nature of the soul (*ruh*) may be ascertained from the following passages :

“When I have formed the body and made it fit, I breathed my soul into it.” (15 : 29) (8).

“In the heart of such faithful servants God has engraved faith and given them assistance with the Holy Spirit which comes from Him.”

From the use of the expression “my soul” in the first quotation there can be no doubt that it refers to God’s soul or God’s spirit. No commentator has ever suggested any other interpretation. Consequently by no stretch of imagination can it be asserted that God’s soul or his spirit is separate from Him, or is subject to *fanâ* (annihilation). Hence it may be

(6) The *Kimīya-i-Sa’dat*, Book 1, Disc. I.

(7) The *Asrar-ul-Tanzil*, Chap. III, Sec. I.

(8) The original text runs thus : “*fa idhá sawaitihū wa nafakhtu fihī min ruhi*” Note here the use of the word “*Ruhi*”=my (*i.e.*, God’s) soul. This verse has been repeated in several chapters of the Qûrân.

safely inferred from the quotation, as has been done by many philosophers, that the soul is immortal.

In the second quotation the expression is 'the holy soul or spirit (*ruh-ul-quds*) which comes from Him.' Here again the argument is the same as stated above, and the conclusion must be the same, *i.e.*, the soul is immortal.(9)

It is quite clear from the plain meaning of the verses that the soul is of divine origin, and therefore immortal. It should be borne in mind that the soul referred to in the verses is the real soul (*ruh-i-haqiqi*) which does not die, and not the unpurified soul which perishes on death. Further, this soul should not be confused with *nafs* (self), the individuality or the ego of man.

This view of the soul (*ruh*), namely, that the soul is immortal, is open to the objection that it admits of the existence of two co-eternals which may be regarded as being each independent of the other, or each having a separate existence (duality). But the verses do not speak of two different entities; on the other hand, they clearly point out that the soul is the spirit of God, and this idea is forcibly brought out by the use of the phrases 'my soul', 'our soul', etc. Consequently God's soul not being distinct from God, there are not two entities, but only one which is eternal. According to this view the soul is identified with God, and is inseparable from God himself. Thus the objection of two co-eternals (duality) is avoided by those who identify the soul with God on the ground that the soul of God cannot be separable from God himself. In plain language the argument comes to this: it is the soul of God which inspires the *nafs* with 'the faculty of discrimination' and illumines the heart during communion with God.

All theologians do not accept the above view. They point out that it is stated in the *Hadith* that souls were created long before the creation of man. Relying on the *Hadith* they maintain that the soul must have an end as it has a beginning. Their argument is that whatever is not-God (*másiwá Alláh*) is

(9) It cannot be contended for a moment that *Ruh-i-quds* means the angel Gabriel, and that God sends Gabriel to every faithful for assisting him. This will be absurd.

subject to *faná* (annihilation). Therefore the soul can not be eternal or immortal, having been created it must be subject to destruction. The difficulty is removed if we remember the distinction between the two types of souls: the real soul (*ruh-i-haqiqi*) and the unpurified soul (*ruh-i-haywâni*). The latter is finite and destructible. But what the above passages refer to is God's soul or *ruh-i-haqiqi* (real soul) which is not subject to *faná*.

I shall now consider the views of several renowned Muslim philosophers and *Mutakallimin* regarding the origin and nature of the self (*nafs*) and the soul (*ruh*).

IV. IMAM GHAZALI.

According to Imam Ghazáli (whose views are taken from his well-known treatise called the *Maznun-bihi-alá-ghair-Ahlihi*) "the soul is not of material substance (*Jism*). It has substantial existence (*bi-l-dhát*). It knows itself and its creator, and is capable of forming intelligent perceptions. It knows things through reason. It is not 'arz, accident, i.e., its existence does not depend upon other objects. It is *Jowhar-i-latif*, i.e., a fine substance which exists independently.

"The soul is not of material substance, because matter is capable of division whereas the soul is one entity like a particle which is incapable of division."

"The soul is not confined to any particular place; for it does not occupy space like a material body. It is not within the human body, nor outside it; neither is it merged in the body, nor separated from it. These qualities and characteristics have reference to material bodies which occupy space; but they have no reference to the nature of the soul."

"The soul is not subject to causation and direction (*jihat*), nor is it diffused in space, because these are the characteristics of matter, but the soul is free from such characteristics." (10)

From the above description of the soul given in the *Maznûn*, it will be seen that the qualities attributed to the soul

(10) The *Maznûn*: "the soul and its characteristics." (Sec. 4).

may equally be attributed to the nature of God (*Alláh*). Imam Ghazáli admits this, but says: "these qualities are no doubt the qualities of God also; but they are not among the special attributes (*Sifát-i-makhsus*) of God; such as eternal existence (*qayyum*), i.e., God is self-existent eternally."

He also discusses the question whether the soul is self-existent or it is created. He says that in one sense it is uncreated, and in another sense, it belongs to the world of creation (i.e., the material world). According to him when the soul is said to be uncreated, it implies that the nature of the soul can not be ascertained by its measure and weight. Material objects which occupy space are subject to division and have dimensions, measure and weight. But the soul is not subject to division or measurement. Consequently it is uncreated (*ghair makhlûq*). Again when the soul is said to be created it implies that the soul is an accident (*hádith*); it appears at a certain stage of embryonic development, and therefore the soul is not eternal (*qadim*).

Imam Ghazáli seems to be of opinion that the human soul appears when the body is formed, and therefore the appearance of the soul in the body is like the appearance of a picture in a mirror. It may be so, but this does not solve the problem whether the souls had any existence before they entered or "are breathed in human bodies." The saying of the Prophet is to the effect that "souls were created long before formation of the body." He explains this *Hadith* by saying that "souls" referred to in it means angels, and the "bodies" (*ajsád*) in the text means the world, and whatever is in it!

According to Imam Ghazáli man as well as *animals* have souls, and their souls are of the *same nature*; there is no fundamental difference between them. But the effects produced by the action or association of the soul in their respective bodies are different. The reason assigned by him is that the arrangements and the combinations of elements in the human body are different from those in the animal body. Again the will and the intelligence of human beings and animals differ in many ways, and hence the results produced by the soul which operates on the will and the reasoning power are also different. In the case

of animals, the possibilities are limited, while in the case of man they are practically unlimited.

In the *Kimiya-i-Sa'dat* Imam Ghazáli has expressed his views regarding the nature of the human body and the soul. A summary is given below :

"Man is made of two things--body (*jasad*) and soul (*Râh*). The body can be seen with the external eyes, but the soul can only be perceived with the inner eyes of the mind. The mind is sometimes spoken of as the heart. By heart we do not mean that piece of flesh which is placed in the chest on the left side.(11) It is of no value, for it is possessed by lower animals and corpses also. Whatever can be seen with the physical eyes belongs to the external world, or the objective plane; while the internal principle, this soul, does not belong to that plane. It belongs to the subjective plane".....

"The capacity of acquiring the knowledge of God and the power of perceiving His beauty are the qualities of the soul. Pleasure and pain, happiness and misery are for the soul. In fact, the whole responsibility for commission and omission lie on the soul, while the body is merely subordinate to it. The knowledge of this soul and of its qualities is the key to the knowledge of God. It is a valuable jewel, and is of the same origin as angels. Its legitimate place is Divinity (*i.e.*, its origin and nature are divine). From God we (*i.e.*, our souls) come and to God we (*i.e.*, our souls) return," says the *Qûrân*. After death God is the place to which we return' (*alaihî-l marja' wa-l-masir*). In this world the soul is only a foreign thing, a mere stranger."(12)

Regarding the knowledge of the existence of the soul, Imam Ghazáli says :

"The nature of the soul can not be known until its existence is recognised. Its existence cannot be denied or doubted. For, it is not

(11) It should be borne in mind that according to the Schoolmen of the Mediaeval Age the different feelings have their origin in the different internal organs, *e.g.*, the brain is the seat of thinking, the heart is the seat of compassion, affection, desires, etc., the kidney is the seat of bravery, boldness, etc. These seats or sources are the springs of activities. The noticeable point is that the activities of the mind are often identified with the activities of the heart (*qalb*). Imam Ghazali has used the terms *qalb* (the heart), *dimagh* (the brain), *dil* (the mind) interchangeably and he has said so in the *Kimiya-i-sa'dat*, Book 1, Disc. 2.

(12) The *Kimiya-i-Sa'dat*, Book 1, Disc. 2.

the body that lives but the soul. What is the body without the soul? It is a corpse. If a man shuts his eyes, and forgets his body, and all other things which can be seen with the eyes, he is still sure to be conscious of his own existence, even though he may not be conscious of his body and other visible objects. Any one who contemplates on this point will be able to catch a glimpse of his future state. He may quite reasonably suppose that if the body is taken away from him, his individuality will still remain safe, and will not be annihilated or destroyed. His entity will never become non-entity. Or in other words, death is for the body and not for the soul. The former is mortal, the latter is immortal.”(13)

Imam Ghazālī divides the whole creation under two heads : (i) the material world (*âlam-i-khalq*) i.e., whatever is created out of matter; and (ii) the world of immaterial substance (*âlam-i-Amr*) or “the spirit world”. He says :

“The material world is distinct from the spirit world. To the former belongs whatever occupies space and has quantity and size (*andazah-i-kamiat*) which is divisible. Man’s soul has no such peculiarity, and is not divisible. Hence the soul belongs to the spiritual world. But yet it is in one sense, a created thing (*makhluq*) like so many material objects; that is to say, it has a beginning. Therefore those who believe the soul to be an original self-existent individual essence, or entity, are wrong. So are those who suppose that its existence depends upon some other thing in the same way as colour upon cloth. For, the body depends upon the soul, and not the soul upon the body. What we call the soul is a receptacle of the knowledge of God. It is of the essence of angels. To know this is a very difficult thing.....It does not seem necessary to know its nature when one has only just commenced the journey on the road of Truth and Religion. With self-exertion, self-denial, and self-sacrifice, under certain prescribed conditions, this knowledge can be acquired intuitively without any other person’s help. This knowledge is due to that inspired guidance to which the Qûran refers in these words: ‘Those who have exerted in our way, verily we shall guide them to the right path.’ ”(14)

(13) The *Kitmīya-l-Sa’dat*, Book 1, Disc. 2.

(14) The *Kitmīya-l-Sa’dat*, Book 1, Disc. 1.

Imam Ghazáli speaking of the sanctity of God, which according to him may be proved from the sanctity of man, expresses his views to the following effect :

"By the sanctity of God we mean that God is holy and pure, and free from any particularisation that can be imagined ; and that He is pure and free from localization ; meaning that we cannot say that He is in this or that place, though there is no place where He is not present."

"Now one can find an example of this in his own self ; I mean in the soul. It is pure and free from any state of being that can be imagined. It is without any dimension, and is incapable of division. Such being the case, it cannot have any colour ; and what has no colour, or shape, can never be imagined. That thing can only be the subject of imagination which has once been seen with the eye. Nothing which has no colour and shape, can be the object of our sight. When we ask of an unknown thing as to what it is like, or what sort of thing it is, we necessarily refer to its form or shape in order to know whether it is small or big, etc. The question - 'what it is like' will be meaningless in reference to a thing in which the above peculiarities are not found. If you wish to know whether it is possible for a thing to exist which does not possess the above characteristics, you must look for it into yourself. The spiritual essence that is in you, namely, your soul is indivisible and has no size or dimension and cannot be a subject of the question "how" or "what". If any person would ask, what the soul is like, or how it exists, the answer would be that the soul is not subject to howness or whatness.....

"If man were to look deeper into their own bodies, they would find thousands of things to which *what* and *how* cannot apply. For instance, anger, pain, pleasure, love, etc., are in the body of man, and yet when asked what they are like or how they exist, he cannot give a reply, as they have no form or colour. This is the same with the sound, the smell, the taste, etc. The reason is that *what* and *how* are questions which can only be satisfied through the senses.....

"In the same way, what can be known only through reason can never be the subject of any of the five senses. And what and how have reference to the senses only.

"Another characteristic of the soul is that it cannot be located in any place. It cannot be said of the soul that it is located in some particular limb or part of the body ; as for instance, in the hand, foot, or

head. Every part of the body is divisible, and the soul is indivisible. How can then an indivisible thing occupy a divisible thing, as thereby it would become divisible itself. And yet, though not located in one particular limb, there is no limb that is not limb that is not occupied by it. In fact; every part of the body is subject to it, and it is the sovereign of all; just as the whole universe is subject to God, and He is pure and free from being localised in any particular place.”(15)

It will be seen that the description of the soul given in the *Kimiya-i-Sa'dat* is almost the same as given in his treatise the *Maznûn* and that with the exception of one reservation, namely that the soul has a beginning, it is in a manner identified with God or the Universal Soul. It is further to be noticed that according to him the soul is created in one sense, and uncreated in another sense. It is created, because it has a beginning; and uncreated because it does not belong to the physical world. What Imam Ghazâli means by saying that it has a beginning, seems to imply that individual souls proceed from the Universal Soul; consequently, they have a commencement. The human soul, or the animal soul enters the respective body when it becomes instinct with life; hence the stage or the period of its commencement is ascertainable. But in his description of the soul, he used some expressions from which it appears that the soul is created like other material objects. This is perhaps to avoid the conflict of idea of two co-eternals existing side by side (*i.e.*, the idea of ditheism). This conflict has been avoided by some thinkers who have identified the soul with the Universal Soul. According to them the soul residing in the body means God residing in the heart.

In pointing out the unlimited wonders and mysteries of the soul Imam Ghazâli says :

“The superiority of man is due to two reasons:—(1) knowledge, and (2) the power inherent in man and the soul. His superiority by way of knowledge is of two kinds first, external knowledge which can be obtained by all men in general; secondly, inner knowledge which cannot be obtained by every man

"The external knowledge is the power which man acquires by studying the sciences and arts as for instance, mathematics, astronomy, physiology, etc.

"But although the soul of man is an indivisible unit, it can hold within itself all the sciences of the world, even the world itself. In an instant, it can fly, by the process of meditation, from the earth to the heavens, and from east to west; and notwithstanding its being confined within this body it can travel through the heavens.....

"The external organs of sense are well-known to all. But what appears strange is that there is a sixth sense which opens from within the soul for communication with the spiritual world, just as the five senses are open for communication with the material world. The latter are of no value as compared with the former.

"There are two things to prove the existence of the sixth sense, which opens like a window, as it were, from inside the soul to the higher sphere. These are (1) Dreams and (2) Inspiration.

"In sleep when the organs of external senses are stopped, the window of the internal sense opens, and the soul discerns the spiritual things and secrets unknown to the world. It even sees future events, either in true perspective, as they would actually occur; or in parables which require interpretation. To the world it would appear paradoxical that a sleeping man should be able to see more, and know better, than a waking man. But this is so, since the former sees with the inner sense on the spiritual plane; while the latter sees with the external senses on the physical or material plane.

"We have no space here to dwell upon the nature of the phenomena of dream,(16) but this much is sufficient for our purpose here, that the individual soul is like a mirror placed opposite the mirror of the Universal Soul in which is pictured the whole of the universe. And from the latter the whole creation is reflected in the former, provided it is clear and free from the rust of material sensibilities. In sleep this condition is more or less fulfilled. The soul is then temporarily free from the material sensibilities, as the external senses are unable to function, and have stopped communication with the material world. The soul is, there-

(16) There are two kinds of dream—the true dream and the false dream. The latter may be the result of the abnormal or disordered state of the brain or other organs. Whatever is seen in a false dream is deceptive. It is the true dream which foreshadows future events and reveals the secrets of the spiritual world.

fore, capable of discerning spiritual things. But though the senses have stopped working, imagination (mind) works on the previous effects of, and the impressions left by, the senses. It is not yet entirely free from them. Hence dreams do not always represent the actual events which often appear under a veil taking the form of parables and similes which require interpretation. But when the man dies, neither the senses remain, nor the imagination and old impressions.(17) They are entirely destroyed. No veil then stands between. Things then appear in their true colours, and can be spiritually perceived by the soul with clearness and without any hindrance."

"The second proof is inspiration or intuition which comes to a man through his ego or self (soul). There is no human being to whom something does not occur intuitively by way of inspiration, and in whom some right suggestion is not made by his ego or self (*nafs*). He is certain that that suggestion does not come by means of the five senses, but flashes in his mind from within. He cannot say whence it comes. It is therefore, pretty clear that all knowledge does not come through the external senses alone. Hence it must be held that some knowledge comes through some other medium and that medium is the soul. The senses which have been given to man are so many obstacles and veils in the way of the soul to the knowledge of spiritual things. Until the soul is free from these obstacles, it cannot soar high and reach the spiritual plane."

"It should not be supposed that the inner eye of the soul (*i.e.*, the sixth sense) cannot be opened but during sleep or after death. In wakefulness, too, that spiritual state can be acquired if a man makes efforts by asceticism, renunciation, and self-discipline; and purifies his self from lust, animal desires, and vicious habits, takes himself aside and closes his eyes upon the world, manages to suspend his bodily senses, engages his soul in communion with God, and constantly remembers Him (*dhikr*) not with his tongue, but with his heart. When he reaches that stage where he becomes unconscious of himself and of the world around then the inner window will open; and what others may see in sleep, or after death, he will see in wakefulness and in life."

(17) Imam Ghazali however in another place says that the soul carries the impression with it after death, and that its condition or state in after-life is determined according to the impression it receives and retains.

In dealing with the subject of the superiority of the soul by reason of its inherent powers, Imam Ghazáli says* :

“Angels represent the various powers of God that set the universal law of nature in motion or action. In this the world of matter is subordinate to the world of spirit to which the angels must be presumed to belong.

“Now some objects in the material world are subordinate to the soul of man also. Above all, the body, the miniature world of matter, is subordinate to the soul. The soul is not confined to a particular limb, say a finger ; since the latter has no sense or will or intelligence of its own. The finger moves when the soul wills it. Thus it is clear that in every way the soul is the master of or the ruler over the body.

“It should be remembered, however, that some souls are more powerful than others, and are thus more like angels, as they can exercise their influence over material objects.”

V. IMAM I‘AKHRUDDIN RAZI.

Imam Râzi expresses his view regarding the soul in the following way :—

“The philosophers have said that the soul is a substance (*jowhar*) ; it has neither dimension nor size ; but it has dominion over the body, and controls its functions. In support of this proposition they have advanced arguments, some of which are theoretical (*aqli*), and some, based on the authorities of texts (*naqli*). The theoretical arguments are as follows :

“The absolute self-existence (*dhât-i-wajib-ul-wujûd*) is incapable of divisions. It is therefore not a thing which occupies space, or exists in relation to a thing which occupies space. Consequently the ego, or the real self of man has an independent existence free from size and dimensions.

“We can form in our imagination the images of mountains and rivers, and their forms are retained in it. Now, these images, shapes, or forms exist, either in bodily form in the imagination, or in ideas only. In fact, they do not exist physically within the body as they are too big for it. Consequently, they have no material existence.

*The *Kîmiya-i-Sa‘dat*, Book 1, Disc. 1.

"Sometimes it happens that we have become so much absorbed in some difficult task that we become unconscious of the functions of our limbs and senses, yet we retain the consciousness of our self. It is, therefore, evident that there is something besides the senses, which is conscious of our existence. That something has no material existence, and does not, therefore, belong to the material world.

"After 40 years of age human organs and limbs undergo a complete change. Physiology proves it; but the reasoning and thinking power increases, and the man at that age still remains the same. This shows that his thinking power is of immaterial substance.

"A material body does not assume two shapes simultaneously, *e.g.*, a circular body does not assume the shape of square or triangle until its circular shape is destroyed. But the mind can picture different images simultaneously. Hence the mind is not of material substance.

"When a man speaks of his limbs or organs, he refers them to himself, as when he says, 'it is my head,' 'my leg', 'my brain', 'my heart'. From this it appears that besides limbs and organs he is conscious of something else in him to which he refers.

"In sleep the powers of external senses are suspended, but it increases the spiritual power, for in sleep the soul acts freely without the obstacles offered by the external senses. Hence, it appears that the spiritual power is not the power of the material body.

"Man is composed of matter and spirit; so he belongs to the material world as well as to the spiritual. So far as his material body is concerned, it belongs to the world of matter; but when the spirit is breathed in it,(18) it becomes another creation, that is to say, his self becomes spiritual by the spirit of God. To this the Qûrân refers in the following verse—"Then I gave him (man) another creation."

The above is the purport of the arguments given in the *Asrar-ul-Tanzil* by Imam Râzi. The heading of the Chapter IV, Section I, opens with a pompous title—"Reality of the Soul", but the arguments advanced regarding it are very disappointing. All that they prove is that there are certain inherent powers in man which have nothing to do with his material body, and that besides the knowledge derivable from his external senses, he can get knowledge of the spiritual

(18) The Qûrân, 15, 29.

phenomena by the exercise of those powers. Nobody has ever asserted that the power of thinking, reasoning, imagining, etc. is of material substance. The real problems are "whether the soul is created or uncreated?" "What is its nature and essence?" and so forth. But he does not deal with these questions at all.

In Chapter IV, Section II of the same book Imam Râzi states that the soul has a direct relation with the heart, and through the heart it has an indirect relation with the other organs and limbs of the body. He then points out that in the opinion of certain schools of thought, man has three kinds of self,—one kind has the thinking power, and its seat is in the brain; the second relates to the sensory nerves with its seat in the heart; the third relates to the region of desires and its seat is in the kidney. According to him the first kind is the only true self. Then he quotes certain passages from the Qûrân to show that the heart is the seat of inspiration and intuition; that it is the receptacle of faith, and that it will be held responsible for man's omissions and commissions. He stops here, and does not point out what he means by the relation of the soul with the heart, or the mind. But in another place of the same book he says that the soul is the king of the body, and the heart is its throne.(19)

He points out that eminent philosophers (*Hukamâ*) hold that all human souls have the same characteristics and that the difference in the qualities and actions of men arises from their different temperaments. Imam Râzi differs from them.

According to him the individual souls or the human souls are of the same kind (*jins*), but their characteristics (*mahiyat*) are different; and owing to the difference in the characteristics, human qualities and actions differ.(20)

In another part of the same book he describes the nature of the soul thus :

"The soul is light (*nûr*), i.e., of bright substance; the body (matter) is dark (*zulmânî*), i.e., it has shadow and darkness in it, the soul is celestial (*ûlvi*), the body is earthly (*sifî*); the soul is of fine substance (*latîf*), the

(19) *The Asrar-ul-Tanzil*, Chap. IV, Sec. III.

(20) *Ibid.*, Chap. III, Sec. I.

body is of gross material (*kathif*). The soul's delight consists in the mysteries of God, in His love, in His remembrance and in its return towards God; the body feels pleasure in the enjoyment of the senses, and its fondness lies in desires. From this it appears that the conditions of the soul are contrary to those of the body." (20)

VI. ALLAMA IBN-I-MASKUYA.

According to Allâma Ibn-i-Maskuya the soul has an existence (*wajûd*), but not in a material form. In support of this proposition, he adduces the following arguments :

"The peculiarity of the material object is that it always exists in some definite form or shape. So long as it has one particular shape, it does not assume another shape. For instance, a silver cup cannot be made into a jar until the shape of the cup is destroyed. This is the common peculiarity of all material bodies. For this reason a substance which has no such peculiarity in it, is not a material body.

"When a man thinks of anything, its image is pictured in his "self" (*nafs*, used in the sense of the soul), and he can simultaneously imagine (the shapes of) other things. Moreover, as the power of thinking increases, the power of imagination become stronger. From this it is evident that the power of imagination (*qiwat-i-mudrika*) is not material. Therefore the substance in which forms and shapes of different objects are pictured simultaneously and by which man can imagine different things at one time, is called the Soul or the rational (*natiqa*) self. In short, that thing which is the receptacle of imagination (*mahâl-i-idrâk*) is the soul and the self."

Ibn-i-Maskuya advances some arguments to meet the objection of those who deny the existence of the self or the soul on the ground that imagination depends on perception, and the perception is derived through the senses which are material. They, therefore, hold that the perception is either material, or is the peculiar characteristic of the material body. His arguments against this proposition are given below :

(i) It is the characteristic of human senses that when they exert themselves strongly, they become fatigued and weak; but contrary is the case with the reasoning faculty which becomes

more powerful with its exercise. On this account, it may be said that the reason (*'aql*), or the faculty of imagination is not material.(21)

(ii) The peculiarity of the bodily senses is that when they strain themselves at receiving strong perceptions, they cannot receive even weak perceptions for sometime; *e.g.*, after working at the sun, the eyes get so much dazzled that they cannot for sometime see a small thing. But contrary is the case with the faculty of imagination. From this it is evident that this faculty is not material.(22)

(iii) When a person directs his attention to an abstruse subject, he desires to be alone, and keep himself free from the interruption likely to be caused by the function of his outward senses. This also shows that the faculty of understanding is not material; otherwise it would have taken help from the material senses.(23)

(iv) Man can form such ideas, and think of such propositions as have nothing to do with his senses; *e.g.*, he can think that two contrary propositions are incompatible, that time and space have no limit, etc. Formation of such abstract ideas, or propounding abstract theories does not depend on the function of the senses. Hence there is something else, or some power within the body which is not material.(24)

(v) In old age, the power of man's imagination becomes stronger and keener. This shows that this faculty has nothing to do with his body; otherwise with the decline of his physical strength, the power of imagination would have been weaker.(25)

Maulana Shibli Nu'māni points out that similar arguments were also advanced by Aristotle and Plato in support of the

(21) This argument is not sound. The mental faculties also get fatigued after great exertion.

(22) This argument is equally unsound. When the mind or the faculty of understanding gets fatigued, it can hardly exercise its power, or make out the significance of even a plain sentence, or follow a simple argument.

(23) The argument is fallacious. When a man is engaged in solving a difficult problem, he tries to avoid the reception of new impressions through his senses, so that the new perceptions may not disturb his ideas already formed from the old perceptions. But the thinker is using the old materials supplied by his senses.

(24) A proposition or a theory however is based on the result of accumulated experience derived through the senses. Although not convincing, this argument has some substance.

(25) This is of course not correct. When senility sets in, the mental faculties also get weak and dull.

proposition that the soul is not material. As already noted Imam Fakhruddin Râzi has also advanced similar arguments. Such propositions and arguments appear to have been very popular with the School-men of the Mediæval Age, and it is surprising that they were even then considered satisfactory.*

According to Ibn-i-Maskuya the soul is *jowhar*, i.e., it has substantial existence. It is not *'Arz*, i.e., it does not exist in relation with any other thing; or in other words, its existence is not an accident. In support of his proposition he advances the following arguments :

(i) The thing which assumes different shapes and is susceptible of various characteristics, cannot itself be a part and parcel of those shapes and characteristics. For instance, body (*jism*) takes different colours; it may be red, black, yellow, etc. It is necessary for that body or object to be white, i.e., free from all colours; otherwise it cannot take another colour. The body has therefore a real and independent existence; while the shapes it assumes, and the colour it takes, have accidental existences. Now, the soul in which are pictured various images, and which has the capacity of imagining different shapes, is something different from the images and shapes. The latter are accidental (*'arz*), while the soul is *jowhar*, i.e., has a real and independent existence. The thing which is a mere accident (*'arz*) has a relative existence.

(ii) Accidental existence is such that it appears after that body, in relation to which it exists, has come into existence. It has therefore secondary importance. Consequently, it cannot be that the soul which controls the internal and external organs and senses depends upon these senses for its existence.

Maulâna Shibli states the argument more clearly when he points out that although man's physical constitution undergoes change, yet the man remains the same, and can be recognised as such. This clearly shows that his real self is permanent.

Ibn-i-Maskuya is of opinion that the soul is immortal (*ghair fâni*). He says that when it is proved that the soul is not material, and has an independent and substantial existence (*jowhar*) it becomes self-evident that it is not perishable; because

*Cf. *'Ilam-i-Kalâm*, part 1, pp. 97-99.

he holds that *faná* (destruction) is the characteristic of material things, but the substance which has no material body (*jism*) can not be subject to *faná*.

This argument is not sound and open to criticism. According to the majority of the Muslim philosophers (*Mutakallimin*) and especially the school to which Ibn-i-Maskuya belongs, genii and spirits have no material bodies, yet they are subject to *faná*. It is, therefore, too broad a proposition to lay down that material bodies only are liable to *faná*. Further, one of the strong arguments which is invariably advanced to prove the eternal existence of God is that everything including angels, spirits and genie, is liable to *faná* (destruction) save and except the divine essence of God. Some of the *Mutakallimin* (especially the 'Asháryans) went so far as to hold that even the attributes of God are not eternal. However, leaving aside the weakness of the argument of Ibn-i-Maskuya, it is quite clear that according to his reasoned opinion the soul is immortal (*ghair fání*), and not liable to annihilation (*faná*). It should be noted that Ibn-Maskuya does not point out the origin of the soul—whether the soul is created or uncreated, *i.e.*, whether it has a beginning as maintained by Imam Ghazáli. He uses the term "*ghair fání*" and not *qadím* which means "existing all the time." Hence he seems to imply that the soul is immortal, but not eternal.(26)

VII. SHAH WALI-ULLAH.

Shah Wali-ullah of Delhi speaks of two kinds of soul—the real soul (*ruh-i-haqiqi*), and the unreal soul (*ruh-i-hawáyi*). As to the real soul, he holds that "it is distinct from the body; it is a divinely bright point in man; its characteristics are unique, and quite distinct from those changes that take place in human organs and limbs. The real soul has a connexion with the unreal soul, and the human body. It has a divine origin. When the unreal soul acquires the capacity to receive the real soul, this divine soul descends on it."(27)

(26) For the views of Ibn-Maskuya, *vide* the 'Ibn-i-Kalám, Part I, pp. 97-101.

(27) The *Hujjat-ul-Baligha*, Book I, Sec. 6.

His argument is that man's real self or ego never undergoes changes. For instance, a man is for sometime a child, then becomes a youth, and then an old man. His limbs and organs suffer changes, his colour and appearance also undergo changes; sometimes his physical qualities do the same. Yet there always remains his individuality by which he is recognised as the same person. He therefore holds that the special feature in his constitution (*i.e.*, his individuality) by which he is always recognised, cannot be unreal. It is his self—his real soul.

As to the unreal soul he says(27) :

“According to the Tibbī Medical Science, a sort of very fine vapour or gas is generated in the system by the combination of elements of nature. It creates sensibilities. It has in it the power of creating the energy which is produced by the regimen of diet. Experience has shown that the changeability of this vapour which sometimes becomes rarified, sometimes thick, sometimes pure, and sometimes noxious, has great effect on the physical powers, and those actions which proceed from them. If some harm is done to the organs which generates the vapour, its action is disturbed. So long as this vapour is conserved, life remains ; when it is exhausted, life becomes extinct. In the *Badiun-Nazar*, it is called *ruh* (soul). But it is a very low kind of the soul. Its connexion with the body is like the scent of rose in the rose water, or fire in the coal.”

Leaving aside the physiology of the Tibbī Medical Science, it is clear that Shah Wali-ullah has identified the unreal soul with physical vitality. He (with the *Unani Hakims*) calls it a kind of soul—the gaseous soul (*rûh-i-hawâyi*, or *bukhâri*) which is material and perishable.(27)

It is to be seen that the same opinion is also shared by Imam Ghazâli. In discussing the topics relating to the soul he says :

“The effect of death on the composite nature of man is as follows : Man has two souls,—an animal soul (*rûh-i-haiwânî*) and a spiritual soul (*rûh-i-insânî*). The latter is of angelic nature. The seat of the animal soul is the heart (*qalb*) from which this soul issues like a vapour and pervades all the members of the body, giving the power of sight to the

eyes, the power of hearing to the ear, and to every limb the power of performing its own appropriate functions.”(28)

“Just as the health of the animal soul consists in the equilibrium of its component parts, and this equilibrium is upset when disturbed by some disease, so the health of the human soul consists in moral equilibrium which is maintained by ethical instructions and moral precepts.”(29)

The meaning of the “two souls” is now clear. Imam Ghazáli calls them the spiritual or human soul, as distinguished from the animal soul; they correspond to the real soul (*rûh-i-haqiqi*), and the unreal soul (*rur-i-haivâyî*) of Shah Wali-ullah of Delhi. Both Imam Ghazáli and Shah Wali-ullah have derived their notion regarding the two souls from the physiological ideas entertained by the *Unani* medical men. How far their physiology is sound is a subject which does not come within the scope of this article.

VII. ABU NASR FARABI.

Abu Nasr Fârâbi was a famous philosopher who exercised a great influence over European thought in the mediæval ages. His views regarding the nature of the soul require notice. Man is composed of two things—soul and body. The soul has no shape, nor form, nor is it confined to any space; neither is it the object of comprehension. Body has these characteristics. In the theological sense, the soul belongs to the sphere of command (*'alam-i-amr*) and the body to the material world (*'alam-i-khalq*). The *Qûrân* refers to this when it says—“for God is the world of creation, as well as the world of spirits.”

The man whose soul acquires the Divine power (*quwat-i-qudsia*) becomes a prophet. As the ordinary souls acquire dominion over the earthly region (*'alam-i-sifli*), so the souls attaining to the Divine power, get dominion over the spiritual world. It is the effect of this spiritualism by which miracles and supernatural deeds are performed. Whatever is in the

(28) Plato and Pythagoras distributed the soul into two parts—the rational and the irrational. Empedocles considered men to have two souls, and Aristotle held one soul to be the reasoning soul, and the other the animal soul. The philosophers of the mediæval age made a distinction between the *anima bruta* (the animal soul) and the *anima divina* (the divine soul).

(29) The *Kimya-i-Sa'dat*, Book 1, Disc. 1.

Eternal Table (*Lowh-i-mahfuz*) i.e., in the knowledge of God, is pictured on the souls impregnated with Divine power.

The nature of the ordinary soul is that when it turns inward (i.e., contemplates subjectively), the outward world disappears from it; and when it turns to outward things, the inner world becomes indistinct. But nothing can prevent the divinely illuminated souls from knowing the mysteries of both the worlds.(30)

VIII. THE SUFI FRATERNITY.

Sûfi views regarding the nature of the soul may be considered from three different standpoints depending upon their respective conception of the Divine Being. The first is the pantheistic view in which the Divine Being is regarded as the Universal Soul, and all created things as emanations from the manifestations of that soul. This idea is beautifully expressed in the *Matâlib-i-Rashidi* which says that "Really there is one Universal Soul throughout the universe that has branched itself into separate souls (beings) and objects." The individual souls are regarded as so many bubbles arising out of the Universal Soul, or so many branches springing forth from one trunk. In this theory the continuity of the Universal Soul is preserved, and the Universal Soul is identified with God himself. The difficulty of two co-eternals existing side by side (duality) is avoided by an extreme extension of the pantheistic argument. On this view the soul is necessarily uncreated and eternal.

The second view is that of *Wahdat-ul-wajûd*, or the unitary system in which all that exist make up one whole. Accordingly it is conceived that all individual existences compose one entity which is "the necessary Existence"—*Wajib-ul-wajûd*. The *Matâlib-i-Rashidi* expresses this idea when it says that "the whole universe is one single body, and God is the soul of that body. The spirits and angels are its organs and senses. The elements and natural kingdoms are its limbs. This is what is really termed unity (*touhid*), or the unitary system of the

(30) This summary of Fârâbî's view is taken from the *Nusus* by Moulana Shibli Nu'mânî in the *'Ilm-i-Kalam*, Part I, p. 88.

universe (*wahdat-ul-wajūd*).* According to this theory, all individual existences (*wajūd*) arise from and reside in the Universal Existence of God. Consequently, the objection of "two or more co-eternals existing side by side" (duality) does not arise. According to this view the soul is immaterial, divine, and eternal.

The third view is that of *'Alam-i-Shahud* which recognises the separate existence of the phenomenal world, but holds that the Splendour and Beauty of God pervades the whole creation. According to this view the doctrine of *Khāliqwa* and *Mukhlūq*, the Creator and the Creation, is preserved in its entirety.

It is interesting to note in this connexion that according to one section of the Sūfis the world has its beginning in the emanation of a Great Soul (*Rūhi-i-'Azam*) from God Himself. This Great Soul is regarded as a mirror in which Divine beauty, splendour, and perfection as well as all the Divine attributes are reflected. The necessity for the emanation of the Great Soul arose in this way:—when the Supreme Being in the state of Absoluteness became first conscious, as it were, of His own attributes, a desire awoke to see their display. From this desire of His, was emanated the Great Soul which like a mirror reflects His beauty and His attributes. They also hold that the individual souls in their turn emanated from this Great Soul.† Consequently they maintain that a man can see the reflexion of God in his own soul.‡ So long as the human soul remains covered with the dust of impurities the reflexion of God is obscured. When the human soul is cleansed from the rust of corruption, the soul will give a dear and bright reflexion of the glorious beauty of "the True Beloved" (*Janân-haqiqi*).

IX. SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS.

The chief conclusions may be summarized:—

(i) According to one view, shared by certain schools of philosophers and scholastics (*mutakallimīns*), there is one soul

*Cf. the description of "Atman Taisvānara" in *Chānd*. 5:11, and in *Sālah. Br.* 10:6:1.

†Munshi Najimuddin Qādri, *Ayina-i-Khūd Shandisi*, p. 7, also Shibli Nu'māni, *'Ilm-i-Kalām*, p. 95.

(different from man's self) which is an active principle in the universe, it belongs to the sphere of command, is immortal and survives after death.

(ii) According to another view which is based on *Hadiths*, and is shared by the majority of the theologians, the soul is created and is not eternal, but it survives after death.

(iii) All schools are agreed in thinking that the unpurified animal soul is subject to destruction.

(iv) Imam Ghazālī holds that the soul does not belong to the material world but to the sphere of command. It has a beginning, but no end. Ibn Maskuya also holds that the soul is immortal.

(v) Those who accept the doctrine of pantheism or *Wahdat-ul-Wajūd* (theory of the Unitary System of the Universe) escape from the difficulty of two co-eternals by maintaining that individual souls belong to the Universal Soul. Consequently there are not two co-eternals, but there is only one soul which is universal.

APPENDIX: A GLOSSARY.

Ruh—the term literally means 'joy,' or 'happiness.' It signifies relief of the heart from the pangs of grief or sorrow. *Ruh* is, therefore, that essence, or elixir of life which relieves the heart from the grief arising from its contact with wordly impurities, vices, and various human frailties. In the opinion of the Sūfis, the soul's sorrow arises from its separation from God. When the heart becomes free from earthly desires and worldly impurities, the reality of the soul becomes manifest; and it then becomes a source of joy and delight owing to its increased capacity for holding communion with God. In philosophical discussions, the soul (*ruh*) is often identified with the mind (*dil*), vide the *Kimiya-i-Sa'dat*, Book I, Disc. 1.

Nafs literally means the 'self' of a thing, its essence, its substance. In the terminology of the Qūrān, *nafs* means 'self' or 'ego' or 'individuality.' It is sometimes identified with the soul, and sometimes with human conscience. It is also used in the sense of individual being. The Muslim theologians, philosophers and Sūfis hold that the knowledge of 'self' or 'ego' leads to the knowledge of God, and the realisation of "self" to the

realisation of God. They often refer to the well-known *Hadith* "whoever realizes his own self, realizes his God" and "know thyself and thou wilt know thy God." Sometimes it becomes very difficult to draw a sharp line of distinction between the use of the two terms—"soul" and "self" of a man. One is often used interchangeably with the other.

Qalb literally means the 'heart.' Sometimes it is identified with the mind (*dil*) or with the reasoning faculty. According to the *Qûrân*, the heart is the seat of revelation (*wahî*) and intuition (*ilham*) ; in several *Hadiths* it is referred to as "the Throne of God." Imam Râzî and Imam Ghazâlî metaphorically call the soul the king of the body, and the heart the throne of the soul.

In the Sûfistic literature the terms *ruh* (soul), *nafs* (self) and *qalb* (the heart) are explained thus: Man is composed of two things—matter and soul. The soul has four characteristics. When it is prone to evil, it is called *nafs* the irriational soul ; when it inclines towards good action after exercising the power of discrimination between good and evil, it is called the mind (*dil*) ; when it acquires wisdom and acquires the knowledge of God, it is called intelligence (*aql*) ; when it strives after the union with God and feels the pangs of the divine love, it is called the soul (*ruh*). Thus it will be seen that the self or ego passes from one stage to another in the course of its spiritual development. It passes successively through the physical plane ('*alam-i-nâsût*), the moral plane ('*alam-i-malakût*), the spiritual plane ('*alam-i-jabrût*), the plane of divinity ('*alam-i-Lahût*), finally to the plane of the Absolute ('*alam-i-Hahût*). These are the five worlds of the Sûfis through which the "self" or the soul passes until it becomes merged in the Absolute.

The five worlds or planes of the Sûfi are sometimes designated thus :

(i) the world of man ; (ii) the world of phenomena ('*alam-i-nâsût*) ; (iii) the world of similitudes ('*alam-i-mithâl*) ; (iv) the plane of the Relative Invisible, but relatively comprehensible ('*alam-i-Lâhût*) ; and finally the plane of the Absolute Invisible or Incomprehensible ('*alam-i-Hâhût*).

Some say that above the plane of the Absolute Invisible is another plane ('*alam-i-Quds*)—the World of Infinity and Purity—a world of which nothing is known. The five planes are often regarded as Three: the Invisible, the Intermediate, and the Visible. The *Qûrân* gives a vivid description of the Three planes or stages of life through which the soul passes.

Insan literally means 'human being.' It is not the same as self or ego. *Insan* is a generic term for human beings, while *nafs* is his individuality—the sum-total of individual characteristics. The two terms are distinct as the following verses will show :

"We created man (*insan*) and We know what his self (*nafs*) whispereth within him."

"Every soul (*nafs*, i.e., individual self) shall know what it has committed and what it has omitted." Here *nafs* is used in the sense of "every individual," or "every individual soul."

Nas literally means 'mankind', 'human race'. It stands for man in general, but not for 'self.' The two terms signify two different things, e.g., "O men (*nas*), fear your Lord who has created you out of one soul (*nafs*), and from it created his wife."

Note the use of *nas* and *nafs* in the passage. The verse may also mean "God created you out of one man and from him, his wife," in which case *nafs* will mean one individual.

Animal soul and Divine soul. The *Hukama-i-Islam* (Muslim philosophers) distinguish between the animal soul, and the human soul. The former is called *ruh-i-haiwani* or the irrational soul. The latter is called *ruh-i-nitiqa* or the rational soul.

Imam Ghazali speaks of two souls—one, "the human soul" (*ruh-i-insani*) and the other, "the animal soul" (*ruh-i-hawani*). Shah Waliullah also speaks of two souls ; he calls one, "the real soul" (*ruh-i-haqiqi*) ; and the other, "the unreal or vapourous soul" (*ruh-i-hawâyi* or *ruh-i-bukhari*). They correspond to the human and the animal souls spoken of by Imam Ghazali. Imam Fakhruddin Râzi makes a distinction between the soul (*ruh*) and the self (*nafs*) ; while Ibn Maskuya and Abu Nasr Fârâbi speak of one soul only, and identify *nafs* with the rational soul.

GLEANINGS FROM LETTERS.

(Translated from a Bengali letter written by Rabindranath Tagore to Srimati Rani Devi).

SANTINIKETAN,
16th October, 1929.

To-night is the festival of Lakshmi Purnima. This year we have missed the opportunity of celebrating a festival in the Asram owing to the vacation. In our country we have woven into the vacuum of our days ornamentations of festive rituals. The chief reason was that we had plenty of leisure, and we could not remain satisfied with leaving it entirely bare. Petty pursuits of small needs obstruct the feeble flow of every day existence of our villages; life divested of constant strenuous efforts to achieve difficult ends naturally seeks diversions in a series of colourful days in order to break its monotony of greyness, such occasions offer opportunities to the community for meeting together in a generous atmosphere of hospitality and for realising in the fact of these days being dedicated to some deities the suggestion of a realm of truth far above the penury and paltriness of their own little world. It saves a lethargic country like ours from sinking into the mire of despondency.

In a cold country there is a superabundance of energy, and the people can carry on their fight against adverse forces of nature with an indomitable vigour of vitality, and burgle away hidden treasures from her storehouse.

You have seen with your own eyes how exuberantly they have enriched their country and their life—and yet there is no limit to their efforts to open out vistas of undreamt of possibilities in land, water, and air. This is why they have no time for embroidering their leisure in decorative patterns sitting under the languorous shade of village trees. They have given world-wide expansion even to adventures that are of individual self-concern applying to them the mighty power of intellect and resourcefulness.

But in our own country even when we are planning for national welfare our timid imagination hesitates to go further than the mechanical revolution of *Charka*, the *Charka* which demands from us a minimum power of body and mind and only a somnolent manipulation of an antiquated invention.

The very suggestion of such a retrograde path of ineptitude would be despised as an insult in a country of vigorous virility. But we repudiate our pride of manhood and acknowledge that in India nothing more difficult would have any chance of acceptance.

Imagine for a moment that the Mahatma had demanded that each peasant must grow at least one more bushel of crops in every bigha, and had laid it down that Swaraj would be won in strict proportion to the success of this programme. Would not our patriots immediately cry out in despair that this required thought, knowledge, patience, and faith in scientific methods. Of course such a programme does demand all this, but then it can save the country only because it does do so. It is foolish to think that the country can be awakened by the inanity of ignorant minds.

In a country where the majority of the inhabitants are cultivators it is absurd to put repeated emphasis upon their duty to turn the *Charka* instead of urging them to perfect their proper work with the help of a better method and wider knowledge. It would mean an all-India organization by the people of the country for the improvement of agriculture which would have a far wider range of beneficent activity than one for the propagation of *Khaddar*. It would include the development of scientific methods of production on co-operative principles, improved methods of seed distribution, facilities for soil analysis, and the use of suitable manures.

At one time the *Charka* was a household implement not only in our country but all over the world. With improved methods of production it became obsolete just as some more primitive means of spinning had to make place for the *Charka* when it was invented. It may be possible to revive it temporarily by the constant goading of political excitement, but it is bound to go out of use after a short convulsive career, for it is against the spirit of the modern times. On the other hand, whatever little

success we may achieve in improving our agricultural methods it will constantly grow in the direction of progress, for this is in harmony with the tendency of the present age.

I believe that the cult of the *Charka* could spread so easily in India only because the temptation to extort concessions from a merchant nation by putting pressure on Lancashire is strong within us. It only implies that we are still seeking external means for attaining Swaraj, it only indicates a suppressed complex of helpless dependence on others. In the days of the Swadeshi movement the boycott agitation had the same external objective. In all our plans of non-co-operation we are constantly thinking of the effect on our masters, of forcing our rulers to come to terms. All this is entirely superficial.

I confess I am unable to offer any decent explanation for introducing this discussion in this letter of mine. I started with the festival of Lakshmi-purnima. That was all right. To come from that to village festivals in general was also natural. But my mind was waylaid by a powerful digression when I was on the point of putting before you their parallel in festivals in the island of Bali. It stands far apart from the modern world. A purely agricultural country, it grows an abundance of crops; there is no trace of industrialism, no movement of any kind, political or social, but overflowing luxury of leisure; this enables the inhabitants of the green island to turn their idle days into tapestries of variegated designs of ritualism. There is peace and beauty, but no brave struggle for the fulfilment of a heroic destiny.

* * * * *

They neither have the time nor do they feel the need to try to propitiate the goddess of wealth with any idle form of worship who are intent upon winning her favour by their own strength of intelligent determination following the true path of success. The child can play for hours at housekeeping only because it has no real household duties to perform. In the modern age the pursuit of prosperity means a tremendous adventure requiring enormous application of mind. Not having the initiative of mind, the tenacious vigour of purpose, we passively allow things to rot and crumble away, invoke the Goddess of Welfare by

incantations, and take up the mindless cult of the *Charka* as a sublime enterprise. Shall we never aspire after anything greater? And yet we fondly hope to attain the fruits won in other countries by the courage of a comprehensive endeavour for an object which is perplexingly intricate! Such thoughts are continually crowding in my mind, and they come out at the slightest provocation.

I stopped here last night. In the meantime it has started raining in real earnest. I love such days of resonant showers and tender shadow of clouds, but now that it is time to gather the *Aus* crop I cannot shake off my anxiety. Our whole life depends on agriculture and we watch every ill tempered expression on the face of the sky with fear and trembling.

In other countries men have different means of earning their livelihood—big avenues which go round the world. In India we have one narrow little lane with death lurking on every side. Opening my morning paper the first thing I always look at is the weather report. Europe, for its wealth, looks down into the bowels of the earth, India towards the sky; Europe uses her shovel and India her prayers. The sky dominates our life in India.

However I try I am totally unable to-day to get rid of the patriotic note; the only way is to stop writing.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

II. HAVE THE MUNDA LANGUAGES ANY COGNATES IN EUROPE?

By F. A. UXBOND.

In Vol. VII, No. I of this Quarterly, Mr. Julius Germanus dealt with a book of mine: "Munda-Magyar-Maori, An Indian Link between the Antipodes. New Tracks of Hungarian Origins." May it be allowed to me to occupy myself with two of Mr. Germanus statements: with the two most important ones.

Firstly, Mr. Germanus points out (p. 82) that my suggestion* "that the Munda family of languages has anything in common with the language of the Magyars, must be definitely rejected." I believe Mr. Germanus is here wrong. I shall later tell the reasons why.

Secondly, Mr. Germanus says that "it is impossible to compare the Magyar language with another family of languages without establishing the same ties of linguistic affinity in its cognate and antecedent languages," and that "this affinity must need also appear in the other Uralian languages."

Herein Mr. Germanus is perfectly right and I must fully agree with him. But it must be borne in mind that, if no investigations whatever appear about this part of the problem in the book "Munda-Magyar-Maori," it was because the latter was never meant to be a *scientific treatise*. This is emphasized not only on one occasion; thus everybody may note on page 9 that the book was intended to communicate "numerous points which seem worthy of publication, as they may perhaps give an impulse to a *thorough scientific investigation of questions which can only be treated here superficially, that is in their general outlines.*" The book was simply contemplated as a mere collection of material, however heterogenous, that caught my attention, nay, even surprised me, during my studies. Its publication had no other purpose, as it is said therein, but to draw the attention of more competent scholars to the subject. Mr. Germanus himself said (p. 18) that the book comprises "anthropology, ethnography, folklore, linguistic and historical materials," and I could add also "geographical, astronomical and nautical." It is obvious that compara-

Nevertheless, the facts are different. I shall merely refer here to the most remarkable study of Mr. Edmondston Scott, published in the "Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution", 1929, Vol. I, Part III, P. 147, showing striking grammatical similarities between the Munda languages and the still mysterious Basque idiom of Western Europe. But, since I wrote my above quoted book, I have made very detailed and—I think—thorough studies concerning an eventual Munda and Uralian (Finno-Ugrian) relation. The results are apt to *justify entirely*, and in spite of the actually acknowledged different views, the notion that the Munda languages, or at least the Kherwar group of them, belong to the Finno-Ugrian family, standing next to its Magyar branch.

If my theory is true, and the near future will easily decide the case, the results supplied by it will arouse, I think, a certain interest. Thus, amongst others, it will be realized why the *Dravida languages* have been for such a long time considered as Finno-Ugrian. If Khittel, in his Kannada-English Dictionary gives already a list of 401 words that *Sanskrit* (Hindi) has borrowed from the Dravida languages, what must have been the amount borrowed in the course of ages by the Dravidas from the Mundas, considering that the intercourse of the two latter races was, unlike that with the Hindus, always peaceful and most intimate!

And another matter. As soon as a Sanskrit root appears without exception in every Finno-Ugrian language, the question arises whether Sanskrit has not borrowed it through the intermediary of some Finno-Ugrian language of India, let us say a Munda language, instead of *lending* it. It is known—Professor Munkácsi of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences has proved it—that many Magyar words originate from "Sanskrit." Yet, the Santali forms of such words are generally more like Magyar, than the Sanskrit ones.

Finally, another interesting problem arises: does an "Austrie" family of languages exist at all? Common elements between Munda and some Malaccan and Further-Indian languages are incontestable. But common *elements* and a common *family* are two very different things!

Probably everybody will agree that the importance of all these pro-

blems calls for a most thorough study by the author. He hopes that it will induce the scientists to study his results with the same thoroughness. Therefore he is anxious to publish them without the least possible delay. In view of this impending publication I do not want to deal here with some other points and arguments of Mr. Germanus, with which I am afraid I cannot agree, at least cannot agree in toto. Even in case I should be right, these minor points could not decide the question that supplied the title to these lines.

Consequently, may I ask the readers of this Quarterly to postpone their judgment till I have published the above announced study, which will as I believe, show conclusively that the Kherwar group of the Munda languages is Finno-Ugrian.

III. THE EQUIPMENT OF AN IRANIST.*

By I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA, M.A., PH.D.

These are days of specialization ; but that does not mean—indeed, should not mean—that one should confine oneself to a single subject to the exclusion of all others. It is not easy to master many subjects, and in order to gain proficiency in one the average scholar has to go *deep* into that subject and comparatively *wide* of others. “Jack of many and master of one” is I think a very good description of the average modern scholar. In the course of one’s studies, as many must have found, one is led unawares from one subject to another. The process of acquiring knowledge and of continually extending one’s mental horizon is a most pleasant experience. The mental capacity of an individual is limited by nature, but these limits are much wider than most suspect and the brain of man has got an amount of elasticity which would surprise everyone who has tried in right earnest to develop his powers to their utmost capacity.

The student should deliberately set himself to cultivate a wide outlook, and should be ready and willing to accept help from whatever quarter it may be offered. Very often a seemingly trifling bit of information, heard or read casually, may solve an important problem of interpretation. The best scholars always have been those who have commanded a most varied information on a multitude of subjects, besides their own.

Of course these remarks apply to all subjects of study. But I wish to confine myself particularly to those, a knowledge of which is essential

*From an Address to Parsi students.

for a student of Iranian History and Culture. Some of these every Iranist must know, while others are necessary only for studying special aspects of Iranian Culture.

I would also like to make it quite clear that these notes are intended specially for Indian students, particularly for Parsi scholars. There is unfortunately a deplorable tendency in the Indian Universities to-day in the direction of a too early specialization. No specializing is worth the name unless it is based on the firm and broad foundation of an extensive general knowledge.

For us Parsis there is yet another aspect of the question. We possess a natural right to interpret (or, rather, to re-interpret) the message of Zarathushtra. It is devoutly to be wished, therefore, that our community may produce a band of workers willing to undertake this task. I believe that the greatest force in human society is religion and that the only reason why our community—so microscopically small in number—has survived through all these centuries is that the message of Zarathushtra is yet to have some share in the helping forward of humanity. In God's Great Plan nothing survives without reason and *ours* should be the task of retranslating the Ancient Wisdom of Iran for the benefit of the world to-day. We have neglected this duty too long. Our people to-day are heard complaining that we are becoming "irreligious;" that is only because those among us who are moved by the Spirit of the Age fail to derive any inspiration from our Ancient Message. Yet the inspiration is there. Our Age needs a world-wide outlook and a sympathy as broad as humanity itself. We have so long looked upon Zarathushtra as the Prophet of Iran, instead of what He was in very truth—the Prophet of Humanity. All modern tendencies converge towards achieving the Brotherhood of Man and we should not fail to make our contribution to it.

Again, our community has been far too busy making money and vigorously studying science and technology, pursuing commerce and carrying on industries. In a community there is need for everything. A community of mere traders could not exist any more than a community of religious teachers alone. It is good and indeed necessary that young Parsis should go in for industry and commerce, for technology and science. But some, at best, of them should come forward to study our Ancient Faith from first-hand sources. We have had enough of this so-called "want of religion": it is not so much "want" as "neglect." The time has come for the Parsis to organise a band of workers who would devote themselves exclusively to

the study and the preaching of this our most valued possession—the Religion of Zarathushtra. “Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His Righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you”,—I believe these words are *literally* true, and that the salvation of our community lies in the revival of that Ancient Message, which had led Iran to such heights of glory. Of course, all the members of the community need not turn Avesta scholars, but there must be a few prepared to dedicate their whole life to this particular study. Signs are apparent of late, however, that some hearts are already stirring and are trying to find an expression for their inner promptings.

Always, keeping this end in view—the *reinterpretation of Zarathushtra's Message to the World to-day*, we may try to consider the equipment necessary for this purpose. This will have to be two-fold: (i) of the head and (ii) of the heart. I will consider them in this order. But I would at the very first express my unalterable conviction that though the first is very necessary, still without the second it is useless. The first gives merely the body, while the second gives the life. With the help of the first one may produce brilliant essays and great books, but only the second could enable us to lead our people on to the fulfilment of its appointed task in God's Plan. Only out of the heart can one speak to the heart of a community. Learned works and brilliant theses are useful and even necessary, but they leave the common humanity cold and indifferent. For the goal we have set before us the heart is absolutely necessary. Mere intellect would never be able to call forth the answering flame from the human heart.

Taking the culture of the head first, let us consider in some detail the intellectual equipment that a student of Iranian Culture should possess. Of course no one could hope to acquire all the items detailed below. All that is required is that a student should have a general idea of these subjects, and have a knowledge of the literary sources so that he may be able to trace to them any particular reference that he may come across in the course of his investigations. These intellectual studies may be grouped under the following heads:

- A. Iranian Languages,
- B. Other languages (either as auxiliary or as kindred languages),
- C. Comparative Philology,
- D. History including Archæology,

- E. Anthropology and Prehistoric Antiquities,
- F. Comparative Religion.

A. *Iranian Languages.*

A student of Iranian Culture of the Pre-Islamic period should know at least three Iranian languages more or less thoroughly, namely, Avesta, Pahlavi and Persian. It may be necessary to add Old Persian to this list and for one who has acquired a knowledge of Avesta this is not at all difficult. If one wishes to specialize on the language side, it would be well to add some of the other modern Iranian languages, such as Pushto.

B. *Other Languages.*

These might be considered in two groups: (i) the auxiliary languages, and (ii) the kindred languages. Among the former would be included those languages in which the works of modern and ancient Iranists have been written. No one could ever hope to study Iranian subjects thoroughly if he knows only English. A knowledge of French and German is absolutely necessary, because much the best work on Iranian culture has been done in France and Germany. It will be useful, though not essential, to add Italian and Russian to this list. To the auxiliary languages we must also add Gujarati. The work of most of our Parsi writers is contained in their own mother-tongue, and this work is distinctly valuable even though it may not be always "philologically accurate." The chief merit of Parsi writers lies in the fact that they represent a living tradition where the "heart-side" is very strongly represented. Old Gujarati versions of the Zoroastrian texts have been recently made available in the volumes of the *Collected Sanskrit Works of the Parsis*. I may also add here that Pundit Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya of Visva-bharati has also made some valuable contributions on Iranian subjects in Bengali. These might be made available to Parsi scholars in Gujarati translations. In other branches of Iranian studies, especially in history, Greek and Latin writers are valuable auxiliaries. Fortunately all the important works have been translated (and well translated) into the European languages. From the historical point of view, as also from the points of view of religion and philology, Armenian is well worth study. Some of the Armenian writings are available in translation, but a great many have not yet been translated. Just because Iranian historical records are so scanty we must look to the records of

other nations to fill up the gaps. Chinese too is of the utmost importance for fixing the boundaries of Iranian cultural influences. Lanfer's extremely interesting Sino-Iranica should induce some scholars to search in that direction as well. Unfortunately the intrinsic difficulty of acquiring Chinese is a great obstacle. One must depend upon professed scholars of Chinese. I have it on the authority of Prof. Sylvain Levi that references to Iran abound in Chinese records and most valuable information regarding the tenets of Irani is to be found in Chinese. A study of Chinese sources would also supply valuable information regarding the spread of Buddhism in Iran, and this is a subject of which we have hardly yet touched the fringes.

Coming to the "kindred languages," I include under that name languages that are philologically akin to the Iranian languages, or those that have influenced the development of Iranian languages. These are, of course, learnt to some extent when one studies "comparative philology." But this is by no means enough for our purpose. Especially for a full appreciation of both Avesta and Pahlavi we need to know these "kindred languages" pretty thoroughly. Avesta needs Sanskrit, and Pahlavi needs Hebrew or some other Semitic language.

Most of our Avesta scholars are supposed to know Sanskrit of a sort. The older generation of Parsi scholars were better equipped in this respect. It was the custom in those days for Parsi Dasturs to *begin with Sanskrit* and thence pass on to Avesta. One reason for this was that in those days the Sanskrit version of the Scriptures prepared by Nai-yosang was the chief authority for their interpretation. That certainly was a wise procedure. But no knowledge of Sanskrit is required from the students of Avesta in Bombay.

This neglect of Sanskrit is partly due to what may be termed "political reasons." For various reasons (into which it is unnecessary to enter here) the bulk of the Parsis have been holding aloof from the Hindus. This foolish prejudice against Hindus and Hinduism and Sanskrit expresses itself forcibly in the word *varnia*, which is a term applied promiscuously to all Hindus. In my own student days I was dubbed a *varnia* for reading Sanskrit. A good deal of the neglect of this language is undoubtedly to be traced to this prejudice. Of course there have been many brilliant exceptions to this amongst us, but on the whole our Parsi scholars have done very little really valuable original work in the way of translations or of text-criticism because of this serious handicap.

Even for Parsis the study of Sanskrit should precede that of Avesta. And here again what is wanted is not so much the later "classical" Sanskrit as the *earlier Vedic language*, for Avesta is very closely allied, both linguistically and in regard to its contents, to the Vedas. Without a fairly sound knowledge of the Vedic language and of the Vedic grammar the ancient Iranian languages remain unintelligible and their study yields little that is not open to serious doubt. The work of modern Western scholars of Avesta is based on a good knowledge of the Vedas and our scholars are sometimes unable to appreciate it for lack of necessary equipment.

Even among the Hindus the study of the Vedas is comparatively rare, and many people seem to think that the Vedas could be learnt only after years of patient working at "classical" Sanskrit, because the language of the Vedas is very difficult and complex. There is some reason for this belief, because usually we begin to study Sanskrit with the "classical" language. When after that we turn to the Vedic, we find to our great confusion that the rules of "classical" grammar apply no longer. The orthodox Sanskrit grammar takes note of only the "classical" forms, and everything Vedic is put under the very elastic and convenient rule *bahulam chandasi* (the Vedic usage is varied). This method of teaching is responsible for the idea that the Vedic language is altogether irregular and hence very difficult, which is, of course very far from truth.

"Classical" Sanskrit can be traced back direct to the Vedic language, and so it would seem that the natural "philological" way of studying Sanskrit should be to begin at the beginning. I have had to struggle with the same difficulties myself and I know that if the Vedic grammar and language are learnt well, it is far easier to step from that to the "classical" than *vice versa*. The "classical" language is a later growth and many of the forms of the Vedic are wanting there. To take only one example:—the verb in the Vedas shows a variety of forms much more numerous than in the later language. There is besides a system and regularity about the Vedic verb which is entirely lacking in the later ages. This is only natural, for the "classical" verbal system is but a remnant of the Vedic and unless we know the forms that have disappeared it would not be possible to appreciate the central connexions of the fragments remaining.

Recently there has been a movement among scholars of Greek to begin the study of that language with Homer. I have seen the books pre-

pared for teaching Homer to students ignorant of any previous knowledge of Greek, and they are very lucid and give a far better idea of the language than the average classical grammars.

The chief point about this new method is the idea that the scientific study of a language should begin from the earliest records. This gives a truer and clearer perspective and enables the student to put the many "irregularities" of later grammar into their proper places, instead of merely lumping them together in more or less chaotic masses. And incidentally this will go far to overcome the half-concealed contempt with which many (even among the educated) view the science of Comparative Philology.

The study of Greek may also be recommended as a "kindred language" and it will well repay the time and labour spent upon it. In some respects it is to be recommended more strongly than even Sanskrit as a "kindred language," because Sanskrit and Avesta are so close that many points of philology could be elucidated only when we compare these two with Greek. The earlier writings of the Gnostics are capable of throwing a good deal of light on Mithraic worship and thus on the very obscure history of Zoroastrian Religion in the centuries following Alexander's conquest of Iran, and here Greek may come in as an "auxiliary language" also. Latin can serve this two-fold purpose, for there are a good many Byzantine records which have to be looked over again from the Iranian point of view. Personally I think it would be better to have a fair knowledge of *both* of these, but if only one could be handled I would certainly give preference to Greek. Every European scholar of Iranian culture knows all these languages I have mentioned above* and there is no reason whatever why we should not be able to learn them, too. We Parsis would then be but repeating what our ancestors in Achæmenian and Parthian and Sasanian days did. In those days Greek and Latin and other languages formed part of the curriculum of the Iranian ruling classes. We have records of our Iranian monarchs speaking and even writing fluent Greek and enjoying Greek literature.

For Pahlavi a sound knowledge of a Semitic language (preferably Hebrew or Syriac) is necessary. Luckily the Semitic languages are so closely allied that a good knowledge of one of them means a working knowledge of the others as well. This is a great advantage. Arabic

*Even including Chinese—as Sylvain Levi does.

is certainly essential for modern Persian, and for the study of Islamic writers on the history and geography of Iran. Hebrew and Syriac contain valuable historical records as well as works of considerable theological value. Babylonian-Assyrian history and antiquities are of special value, for Achæmenian history is practically a continuation of that of Babylon, and Cyrus and Darius owed a great deal to that ancient empire in the organization of the civil service and the army which they established in their realm. A detailed study of the Cuneiform Inscriptions must necessarily lead the student on to Babylonian. The Behistun inscription, for instance, has many lacunæ, especially in the fifth column, which the Babylonian text would help to fill up. But the chief use of Semitic languages as "kindred languages" lies in the fact that they enable us to get a clear idea of the structure of Pahlavi, and to follow, in detail, all the controversies that have arisen about Pahlavi (and more recently about the Hittite language) and its position among the languages of Iran. Then again there is the very important question of the text of the Avesta, as edited at the close of the Parthian period. Andreas and Wachunagel have striven to restore this ancient form of the text of the *Alumavaiti Gatha* and for understanding this an appreciation of ancient Semitic Scripts is very necessary. This very important piece of work on the Avesta text is practically unknown to our scholars in India.

C. *Comparative Philology.*

The question of *Comparative Philology* is closely associated with the proper acquisition of language-knowledge. It does not follow, as is commonly supposed, that if a student has acquired knowledge of a few languages, he has also acquired a knowledge of comparative philology. Neither is the reverse idea true, viz., that a student of comparative philology is a good linguist. Indeed, the science of Comparative Philology requires a knowledge of the grammatical systems followed in various languages, but it does not necessarily imply a knowledge (in the sense of ability to read and write) of all or even a few languages of the various types. Comparative Philology does require a thorough knowledge of at least *two* (classical) languages, a tolerably fair knowledge of two or three others, a smattering of a few more and a superficial acquaintance with the rest. But that is not everything. Comparative Philology has to-day attained the full stature of a "science" and consequently, it needs, like any other science, years of patient study. The old idea was that any-

body with a smattering of one of the classical languages knew all that was to be known of the subject. And in India even to-day this idea seems to prevail. The consequence is that anyone knowing Sanskrit, or Arabic, or Persian, or Avesta-Pahlavi, is regarded as competent enough to teach the subject. The results are, of course, deplorable.

The most important branch of this subject is Phonetics. It is a fairly complicated study and, in the beginning, at any rate, it is extremely dry and dull. Some scholars seem to think that if two words in two different languages show some sort of superficial resemblance in sound, then the two words must be connected. As a matter of fact the exact reverse is the case. It has been rightly said by a recognised authority on the subject that "sound etymology has nothing to do with sound." Each language has had its own phonetic history and has developed its own set of "sound-laws". These "sound-laws" are different for each language. Hence a trained student of phonetics begins by looking suspiciously upon a pair of words resembling each other closely in sound. A glaring example of that sort is furnished by the pair of words (both meaning "river") Greek *potamos* and North American Indian *potomac*. Nobody would dare to suggest that the two words are in any way connected. On the other hand, words like Sanskrit *cakra*, and English *wheel* are identical. In short, one has to realize that modern phonetics is an exact science, and that if a word has to be properly investigated, every element in it (vowels, consonants and accent) has to be clearly accounted for.

There are other recent developments in Comparative Philology which may be noted. The very close relation of language-development to psychology has to be carefully studied. The subtle working of the human mind (active every moment that one speaks) brings about profound changes in every language. Then again influences of racial and cultural admixture, the interplay of varied minds belonging to various tribes, require careful investigation for which more than a mere acquaintance with the results of modern psychological investigations is needed.

The most interesting part of Comparative Philology is the investigation of the life and genius of a language, which is expressed in the meanings of words and expressions and in sentence-construction. Hence the Science of Meaning (Semantics) and Syntax (comparative and historical) form the most important and the most fascinating branches of Comparative Philology. To take one example, the word *urvan* in Avesta means "the soul", but we, Parsis, use the word *ravan* in Gujarati in the diametrically

opposite sense of a "dead body". It would make an exceedingly interesting study both psychologically and historically to find out exactly how this change came about. Thus, if careful investigation is made regarding the exact meanings of words in Avesta, and then later on in Pahlavi, and later still among us, Parsis, to-day, we should be able to throw a good deal of light on the history of Zoroastrian thought. Another interesting branch of Semantic investigation would be to compare the difference between the meanings of a word as used in Sanskrit and in Avesta. The words *ahura* and *daeva* at once leap to our minds, but there are many others. Thus *dahyu*, *kavi*, *vis* and many others if carefully investigated would throw an unexpected light on many a disputed problem.

The subject of Comparative Syntax is yet in its infancy, but it opens out an immense field of research. I am personally of opinion that a careful syntactical analysis of the Avestan texts and their comparison with Pahlavi would supply us with the surest criterion for determining the relative ages of the former. Avesta syntax and especially the history of Avesta syntax should be carefully compared, step by step, with that of Sanskrit. In fact, the linguistic history of Iran affords a most interesting and informing parallel to that of India. Not only do Sanskrit and Avesta run along parallel lines, but the Prakrits show close resemblances to Pahlavi, and even the development of modern Iranian dialects show interesting comparisons with modern Indian vernaculars.

In many ways the most fascinating branch of Comparative Philology is what is known as Linguistic Palæontology. This investigates the history of the race as embodied in the language. Each word has its own history and its tradition, which can be discovered by patient and trained study. The main purpose of this branch is to investigate the cultural stature of the race in "pre-historic" days. Where historic records cease Linguistic Palæontology takes up the thread and carries on unfolding of the wonderful tale of our forefathers. And here we join hands with archæology, mythology and anthropology.

The results of investigations in the Linguistic Palæontology of the Aryan languages have been sought to be linked up with those of pre-historic archæology and of anthropology in Europe. But to my mind the results are not quite satisfactory. So far only words have been compared and just because only a small percentage of them could be thus compared, the material culture of the Aryans, thus reconstructed, appears to be rather

low. I think that if Comparative Syntax is also taken into consideration and if the amazing wealth of grammatical forms—actually *increasing* in number as we go backwards in time—be carefully investigated, we would probably find another and a very different picture. They must have possessed a high degree of mental powers to have needed and to have used such a vast number of forms expressing often very subtle psychological distinctions.

Thus we see that Comparative Philology as a subject of study can offer the student a very varied programme and can teach scientific precision as well as develop sound judgment. It is not a useless subject as many people are apt to think, nor is it at all an easy subject. As a matter of fact it is a subject growing year by year in bulk, and now-a-days the utmost a student could hope to do is to keep abreast of the investigations in only *one branch* of Comparative Philology, for instance, Indo-Iranian, or Hellenic, or Germanic.

Another very interesting line of philological investigations may also be mentioned with reference to Iranian studies. It is the investigation of the modern Iranian dialects. A very great deal yet remains to be done about the Iranian languages of to-day. The Afghan or Pushto can throw considerable light on Avesta. Then again there is the dialect of our co-religionists in Persia, which deserves careful investigation. It must necessarily differ from that of the Muslim Persians even of the same district. How far such differences have been due to religion and to the fanatic tyranny to which they had been so long subject is worth careful examination. Some learned men, who have travelled in Persia, have reported, that in order to escape religious persecution, the Zoroastrians of Iran have deliberately twisted words and phrases out of all recognition. This is quite possible, nay probable, for in many countries secret fraternities and even whole communities (as in the Punjab) have developed a language of their own for self-protection and mutual recognition.

(To be continued).

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An account of the Poet's visit to Moscow in 1930. Edited by P. C. Mahalanobis. (*Issued November, 1930*). Price -/6/- as.

THE VISVA-BHARATI OFFICE, 210, CORNWALLIS STREET, CALCUTTA

THE VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY.

Vol 8. 1930-31, Parts I & II.

DEDICATION.

By REGINALD A. REYNOLDS.

Through the dark fury of the gale,
Victor, but not inviolate,
Toward an unknown shore I sail
The vast, unchartered, sea of Fate.

The joy that waits the journey's end
Its pain and labour glorifies :
My will, my purpose, cannot blend
When Zove has coveted the prize.

But if disaster guard the strand,
And if to meet it be my task,
A cool head and a steady hand
Is all I need, or dare to ask ;

That you, the solitary goal
Where all my aspirations meet
May know the mettle of his soul
Who dared so much for his defeat.

LETTERS FROM RUSSIA

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

I.

September 19, 1930.

Russia. A palace in a suburb of Moscow. Looking through the window I see an unbroken stretch of forest right up to the horizon. There is wave on wave of green; deep green, light green, green mixed with purple, green with an yellowish glow. Away beyond, stands a village with its line of huts. It is nearly ten in the morning. Clouds pile on clouds, there is no rain, but the sky is busy with its pompous announcement; the tops of the slender poplars are swaying to gusts of wind.

The name of the hotel where I put up during the few days that I was in Moscow is the Grand Hotel. It occupies an immense building which is in a most wretched condition, not unlike that of a millionaire's son gone bankrupt. The trimmings and trappings have been partly sold off; what remain badly require mending and washing—luxuries forbidden in the present destitution. It is the same all over the town. The splendour of old still shines through the extreme squalor, like a pair of gold sleeve-links on a tattered shirt, or a dress of fine muslin disfigured by patches of coarse darning.

Nowhere else in Europe does one come across such utter desolation. Everywhere else, due to the sharp distinction between the rich and the poor, wealth looms prominently before the eye in its massed grandeur, and poverty lurks in the background where everything is disorderly, squalid, unhealthy, dark with misery and destitution and sin. To us, outsiders, in our fleeting view, everything seems so nice, so neat, so prosperous. Were this prosperity to be evenly distributed the fact would be painfully brought home that there is not sufficient food and

clothing for every one. In Russia, because there is no distinction, wealth has been stripped of its glamour, and poverty is no longer ugly—it is just sheer destitution.

Nothing but scarcity. This is the first impression of Russia, a land where wealth is entirely absent. In other countries there are the masses; in Russia only the masses are. All manner of men pass along the streets of Moscow, among them there is not one who is elegantly dressed. The fact seems obvious that the leisured class is no more; everybody now must work for his living.

There is not the slightest suggestion of luxury anywhere. I had been to see a gentleman of the name of Dr. Petroff, who is a high official and a person of considerable standing in Moscow. He has his office in a building which was once the home of a wealthy man. But there was a minimum of furniture in the room where I was received, of outward refinement there was not a trace. A most ordinary-looking table stood in a corner of the uncarpeted floor. That was all. The whole place seemed to have put on mourning—there was no obligation of appearing correctly dressed in public, no need of decorum. The service at my hotel is far from what one is led to expect by its pretentious title—The Grand Hotel. But there is no air of apology about it; conditions are no better elsewhere.

All this reminds me of the days of my childhood. How modest our style of living was judged by present-day standards. But we were never ashamed of it, because there was no acute difference between high and low—the same plain living was the rule everywhere. What difference there was, was purely cultural, relating, that is, to such things as music, learning, etc. There were also differences in family tradition, which found expression in distinctiveness of speech, manners and conduct. But our food, our dress, the paraphernalia of our life generally, were simple, and would probably excite the contempt of ordinary middle-class people of to-day.

The class consciousness that wealth creates has been imported into our country from the West. At one time in our country salary-earners and businessmen with their pockets filled with newly earned money took to exotic luxuries which became

the fashion. Since then the scale of one's outfit has been the sole measure of one's social position. That explains why to-day in our country the distinction that money confers outshines everything else—birth, breeding, culture. The honour which accompanies monetary distinction is man's greatest dishonour, and we must be on our guard lest the vulgarity of it taint our lives at the very core.

What appeals to me most in Russia is that nowhere there is the slightest trace of this vulgarity, snobbery has disappeared altogether. In one instant the common people have been awakened to an unrestrained realization of their self-respect. It fills my heart with wonder and joy to find that everybody, today, peasant or workman, carries his head high, no longer borne down by the weight of humiliation.

I have so much more to write about. But just now I must have rest. So I will recline in the long chair opposite the window, tuck my legs up in a rug, and then, if my eyes are heavy with sleep, I will make no heroic attempt to keep them open.

II.

September 20, 1930.

In Russia at last. Everything seems wonderful, not in the least like what we see in other countries. There is a difference at the very root of things. Everybody here, from top to bottom, has been roused to a sense of absolute equality. There has always been in human civilization a set of men—they are the majority—who remain in the background. It is their business to carry others. Having no time to cultivate humanity, brought up on the refuse of the country's wealth, least fed, least clothed, least educated, they serve the rest. Their toil is hardest, their indignity greatest. Every now and then, they die of disease, they die of starvation, they all but die of injuries and insults hurled on them from those above. They are deprived of every necessity, every comfort, of life. They are the lampstands of civilization; standing erect, they support on their heads lamps lighted with oil: the people above get the light, the oil trickles

down their bodies. I have often thought about them, but no remedy has suggested itself to me. Unless some are at the bottom, others cannot be at the top. And, surely, some needs must be at the top, for, otherwise, men will never see beyond their immediate surroundings. Man's humanity does not consist in the mere earning of a livelihood; civilization is in the transcendence of this compelling need. It is in fields of leisure that civilization's richest crops have been cultivated. Therefore, there is need of preserving leisure as an integral feature of civilization. And so, I had always thought that we should promote as best as we can the education, health and happiness of those that are compelled to work at the bottom not by the force of circumstance only, but by the very disposition of their minds and bodies.

The difficulty is that nothing permanent can be achieved by charity. The good that one would do from outside baulks itself at every step. It is only on a basis of equality that true help can be rendered. However, I could never reach a satisfying conclusion. Yet, it is mortifying to accept it as inevitable that civilization will maintain its lofty standard only by degrading a majority of men to a sub-human level. Just think how England prospers by starving India. Many people in England have an idea that in supporting England lies the fulfilment of India's destiny. In order that England may achieve greatness, it is perfectly justified, they think, that a nation should be kept in perpetual slavery. What does it matter if this subject nation is ill-fed and ill-clad? Yet sometimes they will generously concede that something should be done to improve its conditions of life. But over a hundred years has brought us neither education, nor health, nor wealth. Things are no better even where a country's internal affairs are concerned. Unless you can respect a man you can never do him any good; at any rate, a clash of interests will always lead to blows and bloodshed.

In Russia an attempt is being made to solve this problem at the very base. It is too early yet to judge of its results, but what I see even now fills me with admiration. Education is the high road along which we must seek the solution of all our problems. So far, a majority of men the world over have been

denied full opportunities for education ; in India, of nearly all opportunities. It makes one marvel, therefore, to see the splendid enterprise with which education is being carried to every corner of the country in Russia. The measure of education is not in numbers only, but also in the degree of its completeness and of its power. What an elaborate organization, what vast enterprise, that no man may remain helpless and workless ! Fast as a spate, they are spreading education, not in White Russia only, but among the half-civilized peoples of Central Asia, too, sparing no pains to place in their hands the latest fruits of science.

Huge crowds fill the theatres here whenever a good opera or a famous play is on the programme : it is the peasants and workers who make up these crowds. No disrespect for them anywhere. I have visited only a few institutions so far, but everywhere I have been struck by their awakening of mind, their delight in the sense of self-respect. What a difference with the labouring classes in England, let alone the masses in India !

Here they are doing efficiently over an entire country what we have attempted on the smallest scale at Sriniketan. Every day I compare conditions here with those in India and I am led to think of where we are and where we might have been. India, diseased, starving, utterly helpless, how immeasurably far behind does she linger ! Only a few years ago the conditions of the masses in Russia were exactly similar to the conditions of the masses in India. But in the short period since then things have moved rapidly here, while we are still rotting in the quagmire of our inertia, stuck fast up to the chin.

Not that the system here is absolutely perfect. It has its serious flaw which will one day bring about a catastrophe. Briefly, the flaw is that they have made a mould of the system of education. But character cast in a mould never endures. If the law of man's dynamic mind clashes with the principle of his educational theory, then either the mould will be shattered to bits, or man's mind will be cramped and atrophied or, worse still, be reduced to an automaton.

We have to remember that our real field of work is

Sriniketan. We must contrive to make our educational system complete in every respect. No smattering will do: science should be taught from the very first, specially applied science. When our electric plants are installed, our boys must train themselves by helping to work them. They should also serve, by turns, as apprentices in the printing press we have at Santiniketan, and learn all about motor driving and automobile engineering, too. The hands of our youths are good for no work except wielding the pen; they must be cured of this by constant handling of machinery. The theory of co-operation should be made the main item in the curriculum and physiology, the next.

In Russia, boys are entrusted with responsible work, in groups. I found different groups in charge of different kinds of work, in connexion with residential arrangements, health, stores, etc. There is only a supervisor, otherwise the management is entirely in the hands of the boys. I have all along tried to introduce this system in Santiniketan, but nothing more concrete has been achieved than framing rules. One of the reasons is that success at the examination has always been the obsession of the department of study; everything else is secondary.

Our idle minds hardly relish the idea of doing any work beyond what we must do. Besides, brought up exclusively on text-books from childhood, our teachers are utterly helpless when faced with anything that lies outside of the printed page. So there is no use in framing rules, for when those who frame them are insincere, the rules are sure to be disregarded.

In regard to rural work and the system of education there is nothing here which I had not thought about. Only, there is energy, there is initiative, and there is the wonderful practical wisdom of the organisers. I think a great deal depends on physical strength. It is impossible to work with full vigour when the body is undermined by malaria and mal-nutrition. Here in this cold climate progress in work is rapid because the people are hardier. Perhaps it would not be fair to estimate the number of workers in our country by a count of heads, for nobody is a whole man.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE IN RUSSIA.

An Account of the Poet's Visit to Moscow.

Edited by P. C. MAHALANOBIS.

For a long time Rabindranath Tagore had been anxious to visit Russia. In 1926 he received an invitation from the Soviet Government, but was taken seriously ill with influenza at Vienna towards the end of October. It was already late autumn, and news of an early winter were coming in from all sides; Vienna itself was under snow. Dr. Wenkebach had strictly forbidden all visitors, but the poet managed one day to smuggle into his bed room a representative of the Soviet Government, and made all arrangements to go to Moscow. It was with the greatest difficulty that he was finally persuaded to give up the idea. In 1929 on his way back from Canada he intended to go across Russia by the Trans-Siberian Railway, but unfortunately ill health again prevented him from doing so.

Arrival in Moscow.

This year his long felt desire was fulfilled, and on the 11th September, 1930, he arrived in Moscow*, accompanied by Dr. Harry Timbres, Miss Margaret Einstein of Berlin, the Poet's grand-nephew Soumyendranath Tagore, and his secretaries Mr. Ariam Williams and Mr. A. C. Chakravarti. The Poet was received at the White-Russian Baltic Station by the representative of the USSR Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries: D. Novomirsky, Chief, Anglo-American Section; A. Eshukoff, Chief, Exhibition Department, and M. Dobin, Chief, Foreign Reception Bureau, and by prominent members of the Moscow Writers Association such as the author Alexiev, the eminent constructivist poetess Vera Inber and others.

*The present account is based on the diary and notes of conversations kept by Dr. Harry Timbres and the Poet's own letters from Russia. We regret it has not been possible to have this article checked by Dr. Timbres or any other member of the Poet's party.

Reception at VOKS (Society for Cultural Relations).

A reception was arranged at 12 noon on Friday, the 12th September in the VOKS-building. Prof. F. N. Petroff, President of the Society, explained the aims and objects of the new experiments in Russia. The following notes of the conversation will give some idea of the topics discussed by the Poet.

Conversation at the VOKS-reception.

Petroff.—Please excuse me for my inability to speak your language. I am glad to welcome you to our country. It is a great inspiration to us that you take such interest in our new order of civilization in the Soviet Union.

Tagore.—I thank you for your cordial welcome. I know you are making a tremendous experiment in this country. I am not in a position to give any considered opinion about it, but I cannot help expressing my admiration for your courage, for your keen enthusiasm to build up your social structure on the equitable basis of human freedom. It is wonderful to feel that you are interested not merely in your national problems but in the good of humanity as a whole.

Petroff —This rebuilding of society on a basis of equality is an inevitable consequence of the abundance of tribes and castes in Russia. We have had to deal with this baffling problem of heterogeneity all through our history. The attempt to realize that our differences are negligible in the light of a common need and a common urge of civilization has imparted a great enthusiasm to all our workers, and we fervently believe that we shall be able to offer definite solutions to many of the outstanding problems which have troubled humanity in the past.

Tagore.—By offering education to vast multitudes of you: people who were kept imprisoned in the darkness of ignorance, millions of human beings who never got any chance to realize their humanity, and were obliged to yield to exploitation and oppression in order to preserve their precarious existence, you have made an invaluable contribution to human progress. You are creating a new world of humanity, and for the first time in

history, acknowledging the dignity of man in your scheme of practical work.

Petroff.—We believe, however, that the spread of mass education can only be possible under suitable economic conditions. It is because we could gain full control of the economic resources of Russia that we have been able to spend so much for education and for various forms of cultural work that have now been introduced for the first time in a vast agricultural country.

Tagore.—That is true. No aspect of life can in reality be deducted from another. Education is necessarily connected with economic problems.

Petroff.—After gaining economic control, our first care has been to educate children before they go to school. We bring them up from their very first days in a properly organized social environment, which itself is at once the basis and the superstructure of all educational systems. Nor do we neglect the parents of the children; we carry on a vigorous educational movement among adults. In this way we hope to develop a new race of men with a free and independent outlook co-operating for the mutual good of society as a whole.

Tagore.—Don't you believe that much of what you do to-day has behind it the accumulated forces of active reaction against the oppressive regime of the past government? It is wonderful that this reaction should have been translated into higher forms of activity and not been dissipated in mere retaliatory politics. You have, of course, as I am sure you will freely admit, made grievous mistakes at the time of your first accession to power, but the sense of responsibility that this power brought along with it has quickly given you a full sense of reality, and you seem to lose no opportunity now of merging your racial individualities into a harmonious social existence. I, as an educationist, am concerned vitally with all the great movements you have initiated for the good of the peasant masses. As you know, our country, like yours, is an agricultural one, and we have amongst our peasantry all the obstacles of ignorance, of bigotry, and superstition that you have already overcome to a great extent with the help of education. If we can learn from

your experiences in this line, we shall be able to grapple with rural problems in India in an efficient manner.

Petroff.—Our first educational weapon is to launch an intensive campaign in the villages directed to make the peasants conscious of their own dignity, of their inherent rights of which they had been deprived for so long, and of all the possibilities that lie open to them. We are not ashamed to be propagandists, and our propaganda itself is educative. It is scientific, it is human, it is moral, and carries all the fervour of social service that we are capable of igniting in our minds and hearts.

Whatever line of work we undertake to-day has always the welfare of the people as its direct inspiration. We do not want to enjoy any exclusive privileges at all, because that kind of enjoyment is anti-social and therefore non-human, perhaps even inhuman. All the store-houses of wisdom, of joy, of well-ordered social benefits are open to every one of us, because every one of us has equal human rights to them.

Tagore.—I have come to study your educational methods, to draw strength from the atmosphere of creative efforts which surrounds you. I have my educational colony in India which is linked up with the surrounding villages. With meagre means I and my colleagues there try our best to serve our neighbours, to invite them to our festivals, to supply them with medicine, to demonstrate to them the efficiency of up-to-date methods of agriculture. Whatever you can show me, therefore, of your educational work will be of very great use to me indeed. I wish I had more time and energy to study your work properly, but I shall do all that I can to utilize my visit to your country.

Petroff.—Sir, your name is known and loved by the whole country of Russia. We have over 25 current volumes of your works, and a vast public reads them. We shall be only too happy and proud to show you whatever you want to see of our work, and we feel sure you will appreciate our educational activities.

Concert at the Federation of Soviet Writers, Moscow.

On the evening of the same day a concert was arranged jointly by the VOKS and the Moscow Association of Writers in honour of Rabindranath Tagore at the Club House of the Association. Among those present were Prof. P. S. Kogan (President of the Academy of Arts); Prof. Pinkevitch (Director of the Second Moscow State University); Albert Rhys Williams, the writer, Madame Litvinova, and a number of eminent Soviet writers such as Ognied (author of Diary of Kostya, Ryaptseva, Life of a Soviet School boy), Vera Inber, Fedor Gladkov (who wrote the much-talked-of "Cement"); Eseev (poet, a former futurist and close adherent of Vladimir Mayakovsky) and others.

Speech of Welcome.

Prof. Petroff opened the proceedings with the following speech of welcome :

Representatives of Soviet public life, art and science see among them to-day Rabindranath Tagore, one of the greatest of living poets and thinkers.

Rabindranath Tagore is one of those men who have followed with the closest attention and interest the great events developing during the last ten years in the history of humanity. It is obvious that one so gifted with spiritual and poetic insight could not have gone away without seeing this most important page of human history, that page which bears the name of the Great October Revolution.

We, who have taken part in the October Revolution and assisted at the construction of new forms of human culture, extend a warm welcome to one who has come amongst us, as a profound thinker, to study our culture, to study our strivings for the renewal of human society, and thus of human personality itself.

Rabindranath Tagore is an active worker on the forefront of popular education, as well as a poet and a thinker. He is endeavouring, in the educational institution founded by himself in Santiniketan (near Calcutta), to solve problems regarding the formation of human personality. This branch of work occupies an important place in his activities and makes great demands upon his energy and strength. He has come here to learn about the endeavours of our country, to understand how in new and revo-

progress in economic, in social and in cultural conditions which are all new, expands and formulates. Rabindranath Tagore wishes to understand how the human personality can in the conditions of *socialist reconstruction*, perfect itself and become a veritable creative force in the spheres of art, science, and in human progress of every description.

We welcome the visits of friends who come with an open heart and a pure soul to our country to study our efforts, to try and understand the aspirations of the masses towards a new human life, a new and free system for the perfection of human nature.

Many are the lies which have been spoken and written about us, and monstrous are the rumours industriously spread abroad. There are many who say that culture is languishing in our country, and others that culture has perished altogether in Soviet Russia. It is also said that the Bolsheviks, after accomplishing the greatest revolution in the world, have been unable to cope with the problems thence arising, and have been unable to substitute that which they have destroyed with something else of equal value.

We have only one answer to all this: come and see for yourself, and meditate upon what we are doing, try to understand our aspirations, study our achievements—not only in the spheres of economics, of construction, of industry and agriculture—but our achievements in the solution of the most subtle problems of human creation in the spheres of pedagogics, of art, of poetry and of the science of social life. Realize the special feature introduced into this creative work when the collective, the massed, the emancipated people came forward to replace the isolated aspirations of the individual, with the whole collective force of goodwill of their national creative powers.

Our Soviet culture is of interest at the present stage of revolutionary creation inasmuch as, emancipating both materially and spiritually the many races inhabiting the USSR, it has enabled the million-strong masses of the backward peoples, as well as the toilers of Russian extraction, to apply their powers and their energy to the progress of all humanity, and these backward peoples are now taking the most active part in that historical movement which we, in our country, call socialistic construction. Anyone who has seen the Uzbek theatre and heard Turkoman music, anyone acquainted with the creative manifestations of our Caucasian people, and with the achievements in art and science in the Ukraine, must realize that

the problems of mass culture are solved in our country, not by one, but by many nationalities, by the numerous races in the USSR who are progressing, in their own national forms, towards the creation of an international, free proletarian culture. This in itself is bound to make an impression upon all peoples aspiring towards liberation. All the peoples and races beyond the territory of the USSR are following with profound attention and interest the way in which the USSR peoples, liberated from the Tsarist regime and the yoke of a religious police system, and proceeding towards free creative work in new, in socialist economic conditions, are living and carrying out their affairs.

We believe that our friend, Rabindranath Tagore, who has come to visit us, will approach our intellectual processes and endeavour to understand what is going on in our country, with that serious thoughtfulness which he has shown in all his creative work. We rejoice when a great personality of the contemporary historical moment, such as Tagore, comes to us in true fellowship and speaks with perfect frankness of what he has seen and felt in our Union.

Permit me in the name of VOKS, whose only aim is to demonstrate to the whole world, as impartially, vividly and fairly as possible, all that is going on in our Union, to welcome you; permit me, as a member of the representatives of science and in the name of the representatives of the artistic circles grouped around our Society, to welcome you as a close friend, and to hope that you will understand us and express in fairness and justice your opinion of our socialistic reconstruction to the whole world.

He was followed by Profs. Kogan and Pinkevitch and by the Soviet author Shaklar, the latter speaking on behalf of the Moscow Writers Association.

Rabindranath Tagore spoke a few words in reply.

Reply by Rabindranath Tagore.

I thank you for the honour you have done me in inviting me to your country and also to this feast this evening when I have the opportunity of meeting with some of the greatest representatives of intellectual life in your country. Unfortunately, I do not understand your language, and the language in which I am speaking is neither yours nor mine. I will therefore be brief.

I have come to this country to learn. I want to know how you are solving in your country the great problem, the world

problem of civilization. Civilization to-day has taken man far away from his normal humanity. It has torn individual personality away from society. Modern civilization has given birth to an extraordinarily artificial life ; it has created diseases, evoked specific sufferings and given rise to many anomalies. I do not know what ought to be done to cure modern civilization of its ills. I do not know if the path you have chosen in this country for the solution of this problem is the right one. History will judge the extent to which you have been successful. I do not wish to criticize you. I am filled with enthusiasm for the way in which you have, for the first time, afforded to all, the opportunity of acquiring education. For this I would applaud you. I am myself profoundly interested in problems of education. My idea, my dream, has been to create free human beings who should be surrounded by an environment of creative work. Under modern civilization the human personality is imprisoned in a cage, shut off from the rest of society. In your country you have put an end to this evil. I have heard from many and am beginning myself to be convinced, that your ideas are very much like my own dream for a full life for the individual, for complete education. In your country you are not only giving the individuals scientific education, you are making of him a creative personality. In this way you are realizing the greatest, the highest ideal of humanity. For the first time in history you are giving the hidden wealth of the human mind a chance to express itself. I thank you for this from my heart.

I myself have been working in my own way in my own institutions, and my idea of education is that it should be imparted in contact with life itself ; it should be a part of life. By living a true life one can have proper education, and not through the complete withdrawal from the realities of life which you so often see in the colleges and schools in the civilized world, those brick-built prisons in which children are denied the true goods of life.

Since I have come to this place I have been able to realize that your ideal of education is very similar to mine, that the people are living a complete life through which their mind is prepared to receive education in its full richness and not merely hoard up isolated facts of scientific instruction or information. You have

been stimulating the people's mind for creative work which is the highest privilege of man. It has not been possible for me to give effect to this idea in an adequate manner in my own institutions. In this country you have been able to give it a proper form, and you have succeeded in giving the movement a great impetus. I realize that it will be an immortal gift to humanity from your country, this idea of education for everybody.

I can only thank you in these few brief words. I am still waiting to see in detail something of the work of education which you are carrying out in your various institutions. Unfortunately, I have very little time to spare, and also I cannot forget the fact, I am reminded of it every day—that I am no longer young. Yet I hope I shall be able to see something which I can carry back to my own land in my memory and which will help us in our own work. I offer you my heartiest thanks for giving me this great opportunity to learn from you about your pioneer work in the field of people's education.

Musical Recital.

The following artists participated in the concert :

Tsiganov, a young talented violinist, 26 years of age, gave a recital of Gluck, Schubert and some Hungarian national folk songs. The baritone, Sadomov, sang Russian folk-songs and a piece from the new Soviet Opera "Son of the Sun." The famous Soviet harp-player, Miss Erdely, who is an Artist Emeritus of the Republic, gave a recital of the famous Russian folk-song 'Volga' and the 'Ario' from Faust. Barsova, Artist Emeritus of the Republic (Soprano) and a leading singer at the Large Moscow Opera House, sang pieces from different operas. A group of Eastern singers and dancers exhibited the musical art of the Caucasian Republics, and the folk-dancing and songs of the Daghestan Republic (the well-known "Lezginka").

The First Pioneer Commune.

On the evening of the 14th September the Poet visited the first Pioneer Commune, Isigansky Ploschand, Iovarischsky Pereulok, No. 25, Moscow.

On reaching the staircase of the Commune Building the Poet was greeted by pioneer songs, the boys and girls standing in line on both sides of the steps and joining in the chorus. After the Poet had taken his seat in the central hall, a young pioneer girl of fourteen read a message of welcome in English.

Reply to address of welcome.

The Poet speaking a few words in reply, said :

My friends, I am deeply touched by the warm welcome you have accorded to me. As I look at your bright young faces full of hope and a glorious fortune, I feel stirred to my depths and know that the purpose of my visit to Russia is realized. For, believe me, I have come here, not so much to see what you have done and are doing now, which is great, but to visualize the future which you are creating with such fervour for the welfare of the whole of humanity. In every country I visit I want to come in close touch with the young who have the great privilege of looking ahead and of building up with their lives the basis of a new order of civilization. You know I am a poet, and my work is to give expression to living impulses and youthful hopes, and so I can be one with you to-day in your dreams of the future.

Besides this, I can come close to you because I have spent a great part of my life with children. I have my school in Bengal where I live with them, and where I try to bring them up in an atmosphere of complete life. My idea is to provide them with all possible opportunities for the development of a creative life, and I trust them in their free initiative to make the best use of them.

I believe in freedom, in that freedom which naturally takes upon itself responsibilities in order to express adequately the deeper human impulses of love and service. I have given this freedom to the children of my school, and I am interested to know

how you young pioneers are using the freedom you possess for the good of your community and what methods you follow to give expression to the ideal of the new age which you have realized in your country. I hope this evening to know in detail about your work and your way of life.

I thank you warmly for your reception, and I assure you that I feel very happy indeed to be here with you this evening.

Talk with the Children.

The children gathered round the poet with eager faces and wanted to hear from him about his school in India, and to tell him about their own experiences in the Pioneer Commune which they felt proud to be able to manage by their own efforts.

As soon as the Poet finished a chorus of voices rose, several students wanting at once to answer some of the questions raised by the Poet's speech.

A boy.—Yes, we believe in the good of the Community, we are Communists. The bourgeoisie want their individual profit, but we want that all people should have an equal chance to prosper, and here in this school we want to live in that spirit.

A Girl.—Our freedom is in our own hands, not in the hands of elders, therefore we can consult each other and find out what are the best things all of us want to have.

Another boy.—I will explain it in this way. We pioneers try to show in this school in a small way how the whole country can prosper by not listening to the few powerful autocrats at the top, but by following their own friendly wishes. Here we can make mistakes, and then if we want we can ask for help and advice of those who are older than us, but we try first to do everything ourselves. The younger boys and girls amongst us can consult, if they like, the older boys and girls, and they in their turn can approach those of a higher group and so on till we reach the teachers. Our country has a similar ideal, and we are pioneers to prove the efficiency of this method.

Girl X.—We have no punishments because we punish ourselves, and then punishment becomes something else; nobody minds it.

Tagore.—I want to know more in detail about it. Supposing some one of you has done something wrong, what do you do to make him understand the nature of his offence, and to check his making a similar offence in future? Do you call a special meeting to try the offender, and do you appoint judges from amongst yourselves to conduct the trial? If you find the person guilty of the offence attributed to him, do you inflict any punishment upon him?

Several students rose up at the same time to answer the question. They were each given a chance one after another to express their opinions.

Girl A.—We have no punishment. The trial itself is the punishment. And if the person is found innocent, why he has no punishment at all.

Boy B.—That is to say, he is sorry and we are sorry that all this trial was for nothing—but that cannot be helped.

Tagore.—But does it never happen that the person accused challenges the powers of judgment of the judges themselves—what opportunity does he possess to appeal to a higher authority if he is not pleased with the trial?

Boy B.—If there is a difficulty in coming to a favourable decision we have to take votes, and the person accused has to abide by the opinion of the majority.

Tagore.—What if the person accused happens to differ from the findings of the majority?

The students were puzzled for a time. One girl got up and said :—Perhaps then we shall ask the teacher. The truth is, such a case has never happened here at all !

Boy B.—I shall answer it thus. We do not commit wrongs, because we are chosen pioneers, and we have to know beforehand what is right for us to do and what we should avoid.

The Interpreter.—The pioneers are chosen from orphanages, they have to show special gifts in order to be admitted to the Pioneers' Commune.

Tagore.—I understand what you mean—the atmosphere of your Community is itself a good check on possibilities of wrongdoing on the part of its members, and it is this moral atmosphere again which makes the members realize in their own minds the

wrongness of any offence made against the spirit of the Community life.

Now I want to know from you something about the work you are doing here.

Several boys and girls got up to answer.

A boy.—We are unlike the bourgeois scouts. They want reward, they want military honours, they want everything for themselves individually, not for the good of every one. We pioneers want nothing for ourselves. Whatever good we do for everybody is also of benefit to us. We go to the villages to teach people how to live in a clean manner, we show them the right way of doing things. We go and live with them at times, we perform plays and we tell them all about the conditions of our country, how they were before, how they are now, and what will be the future if we work properly.

Girl B.—We shall show you how we sometimes give the play and the talk together to make it all both interesting and helpful to the people. We shall act a “living newspaper” for you. We pioneers have to learn such informations so that we can know things ourselves and can therefore also make others know about them. It is only when all of us know facts truly and think upon them that we can do some real work.

Boy X.—We know all this from books, from our teachers, and we have to discuss first with each other what we have learnt before we are allowed to go out and tell people about them.

Tagore.—You will be interested to know that we have in our school *Brati-balakas* and *Brati-balikas*, two organizations for boys and girls which are like yours. I do not believe in Boy Scouts and Girl Guides organizations because they have to take all kinds of oaths, and then, as you say, there are amongst those organizations some wrong notions of a military kind. Our boys and girls go out to serve the villagers, to put out fire when fire breaks out in the neighbourhood, they distribute medicine, they show the villagers how to live properly and well. I am very happy indeed to know that you enjoy doing service of this kind because, as you say, by helping the village people you are helping yourselves, you are serving the whole country.

I would like to know now something about your daily life inside the school.

The School Programme.

Their daily routine appeared to be as follows. Get up from bed—7 a.m.; exercise,—7.15; breakfast,—7.30. Classes begin after breakfast, and continue till 3 p.m. with a break at 1 o'clock for lunch.

The subjects of study include history, geography, mathematics, elementary physics, elementary chemistry, elementary biology, mechanics, politics, sociology, literature, manual training, carpentry, bookbinding, handling modern agricultural implements, etc.

There are no Sundays, and every fifth day is a holiday. After 3 p.m. the pioneers go out to visit factories, hospitals, business centres, villages, etc., according to programme. Excursion tours in the country are arranged for. Plays are acted occasionally and visits to theatres and cinemas organized.

In the evening there are story-reading, story-telling, discussion circles, literary and scientific meetings. On holidays the pioneers have to attend to their own laundry, tidy up their rooms, attend to the cleanliness of the house and grounds, and do extra reading or go out on long walks to the villages.

The age of admittance is usually 7, sometimes 8, but this rule is not strictly observed; students leave at the age of sixteen or even earlier. Co-education is followed throughout, and boys and girls share the same dormitories.

"The Living Newspaper."

The pioneers then acted a play called "The Living Newspaper", the theme being the Five Years Plan. The play depicted graphically the different social and economic stages through which the Soviet Union has recently passed, the effect of the introduction of machinery, the rapid benefits of industrialization, the results of collective control and distribution of goods to the Community.

The Pioneers said they took up different subjects for their performance of the "Living Newspaper," sometimes including topics regarding other countries like China, India, Germany, etc. Their purpose is to supply to the public accurate information about everyday life in an interesting manner.

After the performance the young Pioneers again gathered round the Poet and requested him to recite some of his Bengali verses. He gave them a song he had written years ago : "Jana Gana Mana Adhinayaka." One of the young poets of the Commune then recited a poem he had composed specially for this evening in the Russian Language.

After some light refreshment, the Poet again thanked the young Pioneers for their warm hospitality and expressed his genuine appreciation of the atmosphere of Community life which he found in the Pioneers' Commune, and he wished them a future of greater fulfilment.

As the Poet came down the steps to his car the whole Commune sang together two pioneer songs and requested him to come to see them again on his next visit to Russia.

Visit to the Cinema Union.

In the evening of the 15th September, the Poet and his party visited the Amalgamated Cinema Union and were received by M. Rutin, President of the Cinema Union.

The Poet was shown portions of the Russian film "Warshin Potemkin" and some portions of the Russian film "Old and New." These productions were directed by S. Eisenstein. Later the members of the Cinema Board had a conversation with the Poet regarding his new film-stories of which they had heard. They were deeply impressed by the short versions of the stories by the Poet, and they decided to meet him at the Hotel and discuss in detail the possibilities of filming his stories.

The Central Peasant's House.

On the morning of the 16th September the Poet visited the Central Peasants' House.

These Houses which are used also as clubs are scattered all over the country, in cities, towns and villages. They carry on a great deal of cultural, social and educational work among the peasant masses. In these Houses are organized lectures on various agricultural and social topics, groups are formed to do away with illiteracy, and special classes are held to impart to the peasants practical knowledge of scientific methods of working the land. Each of these Houses is furnished with Museums of Natural History, of the Origin and Growth of Religion, of Agriculture and of Social Welfare. Consultation Bureaux are also established in these Houses on a variety of subjects, such as Agriculture, Taxation, etc.

Peasants arriving in town are put up temporarily at these Houses (for the period of from one night to three weeks) at a very low charge (25 kopecks, about six annas, per night). They are assisted by the Consultation Bureaux to solve the difficulties connected with their village life. By means of these Peasant Houses the Soviet Government is carrying on a tremendous amount of work among the widest strata of the onetime illiterate peasants, transforming their life into one of rich civic responsibility with a new social order as its basis.

Reception by the Peasants.

On his arrival at the Central Peasants' House Rabindranath Tagore was received in the main clubroom by the Superintendent of the House, the House Council, and some 150 peasants who were boarding there at the time, representatives from the nearest and the far-distant points of the Soviet Union.

The small meeting of welcome that followed was opened by the Superintendent who explained to the peasants that the Poet had come to visit them in order personally to meet them and to learn about them. The Superintendent welcomed the Poet on behalf of the assembled peasants, and hoped that this first meeting between the great Indian Poet and the Soviet peasants

would lay the foundation for a still deeper contact between the peasant masses of both countries.

In his brief reply the Poet emphasized the importance and significance of the strenuous work being carried on by the peasants and workers of the Soviet Republic in the building up of a new life, a new humanity. He expressed his admiration for the great spirit of good will which inspired this new effort, this great undertaking which demanded the utmost self-sacrifice and self-denial on the part of the Soviet population.

Talk with the Peasants.

A number of questions were then put to the Poet, and he answered them to the full satisfaction of his audience.

Question : What is the position of the National Policy in India to-day and what is the reason for the strife between Hindus and Mussalmans?

Tagore : I find from personal observations that this strife has been going on for the past twenty-five years only. Before this period there was, as far as I can recall—and I have lived for many years in the village—no such animosity and enmity between them. I am certain that this strife has been accentuated by the overwhelming ignorance and illiteracy of the Indian peasants. These feelings of religious hostility can, in my opinion, be liquidated only by the introduction of mass education. The possibility of educating the masses, unfortunately, does not exist to-day in India.

Question : Have you written anything about the peasants in your works, and what are your views regarding the future of the Indian peasants?

Tagore : Not only have I written about peasants but I am working among them, endeavouring, as far as I can, to educate them. I am not only educating children in my schools, but also carrying on this work in the surrounding villages. This work is, of course, of a modest nature in comparison with the gigantic educational work that is being carried on in the Soviet Union.

Question : What is your opinion of the collectivization that is being developed in this country?

Tagore : I realize the great importance of this work (collectivization) that is being carried out by the peasants, but I cannot answer this question as, unfortunately, I know very little about it. Lack of knowledge of how this problem is being solved in the Soviet Union is one of the chief reasons of my visit to your country.

Question : What is known in India concerning our collectivization and about the work of our country generally?

Tagore : Unfortunately, very little, as the existing press in India as well as in other countries is reticent and untrustworthy about all facts concerning your country.

Question : Had you heard before of the existence of the Peasants' Houses and of their work?

Tagore : No, only since my coming to Moscow have I learned of the existence of these welfare centres for the peasants.

Now I would like to hear from the peasants at this meeting of their own opinion about Collectivization and its full significance for the agricultural population.

A young Ukrainian peasant of the name of Semenchiko, about 32 years of age, replied : "I am working on a Collective Farm which was organized two years ago. Our Collective Farm consists of big gardens from which we supply canning factories with vegetables and wheat. We have an 8-hour working day and each fifth day is a holiday." (The 5-day week is now introduced throughout the country and works under the name of "the uninterrupted working week").

"The average crop is twice as large as that of any of the neighbouring individual peasants. In the beginning about 150 individual farms were merged into the common unit. In the spring of 1929, half of them left us owing to faulty understanding and misguided application of the instructions given by Comrade Stalin (the General Secretary of the All-Union Communist Party). He had emphasized that the fundamental principle of collectivization was *Voluntary Social participation* in the organization of these collective farms. This basic principle was not correctly understood in a number of rural areas, and due to its inadequate application and the resulting

bureaucratic mistakes, many peasants withdrew from the collective farms. But now, owing to supplementary explanations and the courageous efforts of the remaining collectivist, about a fourth of those that had left have returned. And to-day we are stronger than ever. We are building new living houses for our members, a new dining-hall and a school."

On this same question further information was advanced by a peasant woman from Siberia. She had been a member of a Commune Farm for ten years. She asked the Poet to bear in mind the intimate connexion between the women's movement and the Collective Farms. She explained how the woman of to-day is more self-reliant than her sisters of even a decade ago. She said: "We have specially organized brigades of women collectivists which travel from one part of the country to the other working among the women, rousing them up, and pointing out to them in detail the economic and cultural advantages of collectivization. In order to lighten the strenuous life of the women collectivists in their farm work, and with a view to making their status truly equal to that of their men comrades, there are in every Collective Farm a nursery, a kindergarten, and a communal kitchen."

A farm-labourer from the famous State Farm (Sovkhoz) "Gigant" also described how the collectivist idea is being realized in Russia. "This farm embraces 100,000 hectare† of farm land. Last year, we had 3,000 workers. This year that figure will slightly decrease although the output per man will increase. This is due to the introduction of advanced methods of agriculture such as scientific manuring, the use of tractors and other machinery. We have now more than 300 tractors. We also have an 8-hour working day. Those of us who work longer receive overtime allowances. During the winter months when there is insufficient work for all the workers, some two-thirds of them are permitted to leave the farm to seek work in the cities (building, road-mending etc.). During their period of work in the towns they will receive one-third of their summer

† 1 hectare=2.47 acres approximately (=7½ bighas nearly).

wage from the farm and their families continue to reside in the rooms given them at the farm."

Tagore.—I should like to know the opinion of some of the individual peasants who are here regarding the Collective Farm, and the views of anyone here present* concerning the principle of private property and whether they regret their surrender of their individual farm-holdings.

A brief pause ensued before the peasants got up to reply to this question. A number of them confessed that they entertained orthodox views on this subject as the idea of collectivization was not clear to their minds; still more of them were shy and embarrassed.

Eventually, a peasant from Bashkir Republic (Central Asia) spoke up. He was still an individual farmer but in a short time, he would enter the neighbouring Collective Farm. Pointing out his reasons for this desire he said: "The Collective method of land exploitation yields a far better and a higher ratio of crop than the individual system. We need machinery for the better cultivation of the land. We individuals cannot afford to purchase machines. Further, even if we owned machines, we could not cultivate the small strips of land that each individual peasant owns. Only through the collectivization of these small plots into large collective farms can we really begin to build a new order of social existence."

A woman peasant from the Tambov region (some 150 miles south of Moscow) then took the floor and said: "There can be no doubt of the superiority of life in Collective Farms to that outside them, and I do not think anyone regrets this change of conditions." Several other peasants confirmed this opinion. Someone from the audience cried out, "How can we regret changing from our former small, dirty huts to our present large, sanitary, hygienic collectivist houses."

Tagore.—I had the pleasure of meeting yesterday M. Karakhan who said that he is particularly proud of the work done by the Soviet Government and the Soviet social organizations in the

*The great majority of those present were peasants, and about half of them were members of Collective Farms or labourers of State Farms.

sphere of the emancipation of women and the education and upbringing of children. In my conversation with him, I expressed my doubts regarding the future of family life, and even of its existence.

He explained that the Soviet authorities had no explicit desire to destroy family life. The state was trying to assume greater responsibilities for the bringing up of children. If this led indirectly to the extinction of family life that would only prove that family life had no survival value for the future civilization of mankind. I should like to hear what your opinions are upon this matter, and whether you believe that family life will continue to exist under the collectivist social system.

The young Ukrainian Semenchiko, who had spoken before, replied: "What I will tell you will show whether family life is being destroyed or not under the new social régime. When my father was alive, he used to work six months of the year in the cities and for the remaining six months (in summer) I was sent with my brothers and sisters to work as shepherds for the wealthy peasants, and therefore we seldom saw our father. Now, I see my son everyday after he returns from the kindergarten, and we are the best of friends."

Another peasant, a woman, also spoke, stating it as her opinion that the introduction of creches and kindergartens has really helped husband and wife to reach a better understanding and happier relations. They foster the growth of a deeper sense of responsibility and appreciation of their duty as parents.

A young Caucasian woman who had been living, excepting for the last four year, in a small village in the Caucasian mountains, spoke with great pathos and understanding. Addressing the interpreter she said: "Tell the Great Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, that we women living in the Soviet Union, and particularly in the Trans-Caucasian Republics, consider that we are really free and happy only since the October Revolution. The dark days of the past before 1917 have now become distant. We are building up a new life in which we are participating fully, conscious of our duties and

responsibilities. We are prepared to go to the extreme length of self-denial for the realization of the ideal we cherish in our hearts. Let the Great Poet know that the various peoples and nationalities of the Soviet Union wish him to convey to the people of India their warmest greetings and sympathy in their dark hours."

Tagore.—Our people are still ignorant, our women are helpless, they need the light of the new age in order to find their place in the world of humanity.

The same woman from Caucasus said: "I would leave my home, my children, all that I have, in order to be able to work amongst your people and to help them!"

Tagore.—Who is that Mongolian looking young man on the left?

The Interpreter.—He is the son of a collective farmer in the Kirghisian Republic. He has come to Moscow to study in the Higher Textile Industrial Technicum. In three years time he will become an engineer and return to his Republic to work on a big plant built since the Revolution.

The Superintendent of the Central Peasants' House in closing this meeting said: "The visit of the Poet to the Soviet Union is of the greatest importance. The coming of such an eminent personage to this country, such an outstanding figure of the cultural world, means a new and bigger step in the mutual contact between the toiling peoples of India and the Soviet Union. We hope the Poet will assist in the spreading of genuine and objective information in India concerning the efforts and activities of the workers and peasants of the First Workers' and Peasants' Republic in History."

The meeting terminated with the singing of the International Hymn.

Exhibition of Drawings.

The exhibition of the paintings of the Poet was opened at the State Moscow Museum of New Western Art on the afternoon of the 17th September. In his introductory speech Prof. Petroff said "to-day we were experiencing the pleasure of meeting Rabindranath Tagore, not only as a great poet and philo-

sopher, but also as an outstanding painter of the day. We greet the great Poet and Painter who has come to our country to observe our building of a new economic, political and social order. We particularly appreciate his visit as a man of great vision and deep intuitive understanding of life's essential realities."

Prof. Sidorov spoke on the essence of the creative art of the Poet as a painter. Prof. Ettingov of the People's Commissariat of Education expressed his warmest welcome on behalf of the Commissariat.

Speech of Welcome.

Prof. Kristy, the Director of the Tretyakov-Gallery in his speech of welcome said :—

"We greet you, revered philosopher and writer, in the name of the greatest museum and region-study department of Moscow, and in the name of the People's Commissariat for Education, directing the affairs of art in the Soviet Union.

"We all know Rabindranath Tagore, philosopher and writer, but it was a pleasant surprise for us to learn that he is also a painter. It is with special pleasure that we have arranged an exhibition of his work in order to acquaint our intellectuals and our working masses with them. We are glad that our guest has come to us at the moment when his own native land is on the eve of emancipation, and that he has come to us when we are ourselves making heroic efforts for the reconstruction of our material and spiritual world.

"We believe that by acquainting himself with our country he will take back much that is useful for his own. For ourselves, we believe that our close contact with this great representative of an old and cultured nation and the consequent fertilization of our own ideas will result in far-reaching benefits for us both."

Reply by Rabindranath Tagore.

The Poet in his reply said :

I return warm thanks for the welcome extended to me. I appreciate intensely this opportunity to get in touch with some of the best minds and best hearts of your country. My most

intimate gift to you are my pictures and I hope that in them we shall truly meet each other. Only this has made me venture to bring my pictures here and exhibit them. I myself value them chiefly because they enable me to get into direct touch with the Western people. Words have failed me, the help of the interpreter has created further distractions in the path of our mutual understanding—let me hope that my pictures will be the messengers of thought between us and bring us close to each other on the plane of harmonious understanding.

Concluding Remarks.

In his concluding remarks Prof. Kristy said :

“We are sincerely grateful for what we have just seen. When we came here we knew Rabindranath Tagore merely as a great philosopher and a poet and supposed that for him art would be merely the hobby of a great man. But the more we acquaint ourselves with his paintings, the more we are struck with the creative skill shown in his pictures. We consider these works to be a great manifestation of artistic life, and that his methods will be, like all high technical achievements assimilated by us from abroad, of the greatest use to our country.”

The Exhibition was very successful, and a large number of people including representatives from various art and educational institutions visited it during the days it was open.

Talks with Art Critics.

The keen interest of the art critics* may be seen from the following notes of conversations kept by Dr. Timbres.

Tagore.—I thank you for your welcome and the words of appreciation. I know that the best communication between nations is the communication of mind and heart. The best products of each country belong to all humanity. This is the proper field of exchange—the field of culture. And I shall be only too glad to show you what I have done in this latest manifestation of my own creative mind.

It came to me all of a sudden without any training or pre-

*In our next number we shall give extracts from articles on Rabindranath Tagore's drawings written by other European critics.—*Editor, V.-B. Q.*

paration, and so it has its psychological value, I believe. In other parts of Europe I must confess, however, those who are very critical of art or products of art, have given me assurance that my pictures not only have a psychological interest, but also a higher interest of art, and they have acknowledged me as an artist, for which I feel very proud. I want now to know what you think of my attempts, because I value your opinion of art very highly indeed.

I have felt a need to bring my pictures to you also because through pictures I can come into direct touch with your mind. I cannot do this with my words owing to the barrier of language. But my pictures, they will speak to you without the medium of an interpreter.

Critic.—What is the idea of this picture?

Tagore.—No idea. It is a picture. Ideas are in words and not in life.

Critic.—What is remarkable in your work is the spirit of youth, and that is why these paintings are so interesting. The spirit of youth meets no difficulty in finding its proper mode of expression and your pictures have created their own technique.

Have you ever painted before?

Tagore.—Never.

Critic.—You are a first-class artists. Every new picture makes a stronger impression and the entire audience is thrilled by this. We are very interested to know when these were made?

Tagore.—These are early ones. They are mainly linear, colours come in later on.

Critic.—Something resembling very much the works of Vrubel, whom you have never seen perhaps?

Tagore.—I do not believe I have seen any of his pictures.

Critic.—We shall be glad to show them to you.

We shall be glad to take your paintings and exhibit them as our own—as those of a Russian artist!

Critic.—We ask whether your paintings have any names?

Tagore.—None at all. I cannot think of any names. I do not know how to describe my pictures.

Critic.—Is this a portrait of Dante?

Tagore.—No, it is not a portrait of Dante. I did it on the

steamer on my way from Japan; last year my pen followed its own impulse which led to this figure you see before you.

Critic.—(With regard to a picture made the day before)
An impression of Moscow?

Tagore.—Well, I did it yesterday. I do not know if Moscow has anything to do with it—perhaps it may be so, who knows!

Critic.—We wish to express our deep pleasure. Professor Kristy says he has known you for a long time as a great poet, and here he expected to see some productions of a dilettant-artist, but what he has seen has amazed him. He was struck by the virility of the paintings he had the pleasure to see. He is sure that your paintings represent a very great event in the history of art. He believes your pictures will have a deep effect on our artists and give them a fuller sense of life.

Tagore.—It gives me great delight to be able to gain your approbation and to know that this came from the expert critics and artists of your land. I almost feel vain of my productions. My pictures being too new, I am not yet accustomed to this, and I always feel the greatest delight when they are praised because I have some diffidence in not having any standard within myself, and have to rely upon those who have a great background of artistic experience.

Visits to Moscow Art Theatres.

On Sunday evening the Poet and his party attended the Second Moscow Art Theatre and saw the play—"Peter the First." The Poet was received at the gate of the Theatre by the Director and the leading actors of the play. He expressed great appreciation of the play and spoke enthusiastically about the fervour of dramatic power with which the play was performed.

The next few days were spent in visiting different institutions and meeting with prominent residents of Moscow. In the First Moscow Art Theatre the Poet saw a performance of Tolstoy's "Resurrection," and had a conversation with the famous Soviet actress Knipper, the widow of Tchekhov. On the 20th he attended the performance of "Biaderka" (an Indian love legend) at the First State Opera House, where he was received by Directoress Malinova Kaya.

In Moscow many distinguished scholars like Prof. Veltman, Prof. Shor and others came to see him, and as usual he had a large number of interviews with scientific workers and students.

Notes of conversations with students kept by Dr. Timbres are given below.

Talks with Students.

Tagore.—I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity of coming into close touch with you.

But I do not know how to have proper communication with you. Through translations we cannot say very much. I do not feel encouraged to talk in English about any subject which is important and serious. I would like to know about your aspirations and also if you still have any misgivings about the society under which you are working and growing up. But these are serious questions which cannot be answered through translations. If you have any curiosity to know about anything which I am doing or any other subject concerning India, I shall be glad to answer your questions.

Maria Steinhaus.—Before I ask you a question I would like to greet you in the name of the scientific workers of Moscow and tell you how glad we are to meet you. Your famous name is known all over our country, and we know that you are interested in our schools and educational work. And our comrades would be glad and happy to show you our work.

I have heard that yesterday you spoke about your educational work in India, and I would like to know how you have combined education with the realities of life.

The Poet's School.

Tagore.—You ought to know one thing—that I am by nature a poet. From my very young days, my only vocation was to express my ideas in verse, give shape to my dreams in my poems.

What was it that impelled me to take up this work for which I am not naturally fit?

When I was young, as usual, I was sent to a school. Some of you may have read from the translation of my *Reminiscences*

about the misadventure I had when I began my career as a student in a school. It was a miserable life, which became absolutely intolerable to me. At that time I did not have the capacity to analyse the reason why I suffered; but then when I grew up, it became quite clear to me what it was that hurt me so deeply to be compelled to attend my class in that school where my parents sent me.

I have my natural love for life, for nature, and for my surroundings where I have my dear ones; and to be snatched away from these natural surroundings with which I had all my deeper life of relationship, and to be sent as an exile to the school, to the class with its bare white walls, and its stare of dead eyes, frightened me every day. When I was once inside these walls, I did not feel natural. It was a fragment torn away from life, and this caused me intense misery because I was uprooted from my own world and sent to surroundings which were dead and unsympathetic, disharmonious and monotonously dull.

It was not possible for the mind of a child to be able to receive anything in those cheerless surroundings, in the environment of dead routine. And the teachers were like living gramophones, repeating the same lessons day by day in a dull manner. My mind refused to accept anything from my teachers. With all my heart and soul I repudiated what was put before me. And then there were some teachers who were utterly unsympathetic, and did not understand at all the sensitive soul of a young boy, and tried to punish him for the mistakes he made. Such teachers in their stupidity did not know how to teach, how to impart education to a living mind. And because they failed, they punished their victim. And this was how I suffered when I was thirteen years old.

And then I left school, and in spite of all the efforts of my guardians, I refused to go to school.

Since then I have been educating myself, and that process is still being carried on. And whatever I have learned, I have learned outside the classes. And I believe that that was a fortunate event in my life—that avoiding the schoolmaster when I was still young. And whatever I have done in later life, if I have shown any special gift or originality, I feel certain it was

owing to the fact that I did not have a respectable education drilled into me.

I took to my own work. I retired to a solitary place near the Ganges, and a great part of my life I lived in a houseboat, writting my poems, stories and plays, dreaming my dreams.

I went on till I gradually became known to my own countrymen and claims were made on me from all parts of the country for writings and for various kinds of help. But I kept to my solitude for a long time. It is very difficult for me to say what it was—how the call came to me to come out of the isolation of my literary life, and live among my fellow-beings to share their life and help them in their living.

And it is also a surprise to me how I had the courage to start an educational institution for our children, for I had no experience in this line at all. But I had confidence in myself. I knew that I had very profound sympathy for children. And about my knowledge of their psychology, I was very certain. I felt that I could help them more than the ordinary teachers.

I selected a beautiful place, far away from the contamination of the town life. I myself, in my young days, was brought up in that town, in the heart of India, Calcutta, and all the time I had a sort of homesickness for the open country where my heart, my soul, could have its true freedom. Though I had no experience of the outer world, I had in my heart a great longing to go away from my enclosure of those walls and from that huge, stony-hearted step-mother, Calcutta. I knew that the mind has its hunger for the ministrations of mother-nature, and so I selected this spot where the sky is unobstructed to the verge of the horizon. There the mind could have its fearless freedom to create its own dreams, and the seasons could come with all their colours and movements and beauty into the very heart of the human dwelling. And there I got a few children around me and I taught them. I was their companion. I sang to them. I composed musical pieces, operas and plays, and they took part in the performances. I recited to them our epics, and this was the beginning of this school. I had only about five or six students at that time. People did not have any confidence in a

lent,' like the growth of population and the decline in the birth and death-rates, are due to this inherent defects of the statistical method or to the very nature of civilization itself which, as Niceforo was forced to concede, 'is never an exclusive mass of benefits, showing an upward tendency, but a mass of values, positive and negative.'

Progress can be best understood as a problem covering the whole field of human endeavour. It has a direction in time. It is a means or tactics of development. Fundamentally it is a problem of the balancing of values.

The scope of the problem is as wide as human society and as deep as human personality. In so far as human values arise only in contact with human consciousness at its different levels, the problem of progress has unique reference to the changing individual living in a particular region at a particular time in association with other individuals who share with him common customs, beliefs, traditions, apperceptions and possibly a common temperament. The dynamic unit is the individual. Social progress in the sense of a movement of the milieu of folk, place and time becomes an abstraction, a process without values, if we exclude the individual. Such exclusion may be convenient for preserving the sanctity of an *a priori* and dogmatic theory of society but is bound to give rise to misleading conclusions. It is not denied that factors other than the individual also change, but the study of such changes properly form the subject-matter of other sciences like Ecology, Climatology or Ethnology. Such changes are not charged with meaning or purpose; for values, meanings, and purposes arise only in connexion with human beings. Social change (including changes of the environment) is only the means for the attainment of the social objective, namely the development of individual personality. The term social progress may in this sense be used to denote the attempt to make social conditions—a set of indispensable means—congenial to the growth of individual personality. It is assumed that the individual personality changes under the given social conditions, but the conditions do not change of their own accord. They can be changed only by the effort of individuals consciously or unconsciously acting in the

light of their own inheritance, biological, social, or temperamental, and in accordance with their needs, desires and values. When conditions are adjusted to individual needs, desires and values, the stage is set for the development of personality. In this drama, the scenes change but only with reference to the hero of the piece, and strictly in accordance with his necessities and initiative. The action of the drama is the adaptation of events to the individual.

Sociologists who are not committed to the theory of evolution often talk of harmonious adjustments of the different sets of factors. Thus, Prof. Ellwood conceives of progress as an 'increasing adaptation to the requirements of social existence which shall harmonise all factors, whether internal or external, present or remote, in the life of humanity, securing the greatest capacity for social survival, the greatest efficiency in mutual co-operation and the greatest possible harmony in all its varied elements.' Prof. Hobhouse also had laid great stress on harmony and orderly adjustment as necessary conditions for progress.

The desire for smooth adjustment implicit in these statements looks suspiciously like the projection of the uneventful life of academic groves. It betrays a theological type of mind that must needs seek unity in diversity. This recognition of progress as a process is only a half-hearted concession to the evolutionist. The type of adjustment-process that is relevant to the study of progress is, as Prof. Carver has pointed out, an active adaptation, by which environmental conditions are modified by human agency.

Certain superstitions have clustered round the word 'adaptation.' In a strictly scientific sense the differences between individuals constitute variation. Variation is the mark of individuality. The given environment does not suit all individuals equally. Individuals for whom the environmental conditions are not suitable die. The survivors necessarily possess qualities better suited to the environmental conditions. Such qualities are handed down to succeeding generations through the mechanism of biological heredity. This process of natural (or survival) selection is in operation all the time. The indivi-

dual qualities which persist in virtue of their survival-value are called adaptations. The process of adaptation is not stressed in Biology; what is emphasized is the selective accumulation and propagation of variations. Adaptations are merely individual differences which have survived, and are good examples of the adage, 'nothing succeeds like success.'

Let us enquire a little more closely into the mechanism of natural selection and adaptation. When a stag grows huge antlers, or when a sun-fish grows out of its relative diodon, 'it is not in the least necessary that each part of the body should be separately moulded by natural selection. The development of one very active growth-centre near the hind end of the body will automatically bring about the bulk of the changes, and selection need only polish, so to speak, and modify detail'—this is with reference to the sun-fish. With reference to the stag with big antlers, 'a mere change in the amount of growth in one region or in one direction can wholly transform an animal.' There are simultaneous and automatic adjustment of other parts if one part is changed by the call of the environment. A most important point is that these adjustments take place within the life-cycle of the individuals as a result of a particular small change. 'The adaptations are made to build themselves anew in each generation; they are not fixed by heredity, and so mutation and selection are never called upon to help produce them.' A vast amount of the detailed adjustment of the body of this sort depend not on racial adaptation but on the functional adaptation of the individual, and the existence of all this functional adaptation means that there is so much less for mutation and natural selection to do.

What is the result of the process of natural selection? It is a temporary balance or a state of relatively good adjustment due to structural adaptation of the organism as a whole. Any change in the environment upsets this balance, and the process of sifting of variations begins again. Ultimately what happens or may happen, the biologist is not concerned with. But in the main natural selection works for stability. There are of course meteorological or biological cataclysms that Huntington and DeVries speak of. But such changes are rare. In this humdrum

life, natural selection is like *Vishnu* the Preserver (and unlike *Mahadeva* the Time-God) all for conservation, and the Wheel is plied against the out-of-the-ordinary who may be suspected of any intention to upset the balance. Mutations are not easily tolerated. On the whole, they are rejected from the germ-plasm of the species, 'the reduced vigour which they entail leads to their automatic elimination.' Usually natural selection is very much against extreme novelties. It may be safely concluded from the above generalization that there is an inertia of the environmental adjustment. It might mean (if environments are comparatively stable) at first an increasing specialization, and finally a perpetuation of such specialization. But owing to constant changes in the environment what actually happens is this—'the result of Evolution and Natural selection is a constant increase in fitness. But there are limitations to the perfection of fit attained. Trial and Error is a rough and ready method. What it produces is something that will work, by no means necessarily something that will work perfectly. The creatures that exist are those that happen to have survived; taken together they represent an equilibrium which manages to be more or less stable, rather than life's best possible way of utilising and sharing the resources of earth'.

Natural selection is thus merely the description of a process, and a rough and ready process at that. It is not a force, it is not a cause, it does not produce anything. It is only a 'non-energetic factor' of evolution, 'simply a passive stop or release of what others had produced.' 'It is a filter; it is a sieve; it is a balance to reject or accept.' It has no purpose. But it must be admitted that 'on the average, the upper level of biological attainment has been continuously raised.' We can even say that it is likely to go on raising the level, and that it is our duty 'not to oppose, but to crown the natural order; to transform it to a better, not by taking a new direction, but by accelerating and intensifying the old.'

I have taken pains to explain the nature of adaptation at some length for the simple reason that many sociologists use the word social selection as an active force operating on social norms or human beings living together. They tacitly assume

poet for bringing up their children and educating them. And so I had very few students to begin with.

My idea was that education should be a part of life itself, and must not be detached from it and be made into something abstract. And so when I brought these children around me, I allowed them to live a complete life. They had perfect freedom to do what they wished, as much liberty as was possible for me to give them. And in all their activities I tried to put before them something which would be interesting to them.

I tried to arouse their interest in all things, in nature's beauty and the surrounding villages, and also in literature. I tried to educate them through play-acting, through listening to music in a natural manner, and not merely by class teaching.

They knew when I was employed in writing a drama, and they took an intense interest as it went on and developed, and in the process of their rehearsals they acquired a real taste for literature more than they could through formal lessons in grammar and class-teaching. And this was my method. I knew the children's mind. Their sub-conscious mind is more active than the conscious one, and therefore the important thing is to surround them with all kinds of activities which could stimulate their minds and gradually arouse their interests.

I had musical evenings—not merely music classes, and those boys who at first did not have any special love of music would, out of curiosity, listen to our songs from outside, and gradually they too were drawn into the room and their taste for music developed. I had some of the very great artists of our land, and while they went on with their work, the boys could watch them and saw day by day how those works of art developed.

An atmosphere was created, and what was important, this atmosphere provided the students with a natural impulse to live in harmony with it. In the beginning it was easier to feel this, when I had only a few students ; I was then almost their only companion and teacher and it was truly the golden age of our school. I know that the boys who had then the privilege of attending my school look back on those days with much love and longing. But as the number grew it became more and more expensive for me to carry on the school in my own way.

According to the old tradition of our country it was the responsibility of the teacher to give education to those who came to him to be taught, and in our country students used to have free tuition and also free lodging in their teacher's house. The teachers acknowledged their responsibility : they themselves had the privilege of being educated, and they owed it to society that they should help their students in return, and should not claim anything in the shape of fees or remuneration.

And I also began like that. Free tuition, lodging and boarding and all necessities of life, I supplied to my students out of my own poor resources. But you can easily imagine that under modern condition of life it was not possible to continue like this, because now you have to get the help of teachers whose salaries are high, and there are other expenses which daily seem to increase. I could not maintain the old tradition that it is the duty and the privilege of the teacher to impart education to his students, and that an educational institution is not a shop where you can buy commodities with money. I was compelled to give up this idea, and now gradually it has taken the shape of an ordinary school.

Only I tried my best to have certain things in the school which they did not have in the orthodox schools. The teachers shared the common life with the boys, it was a community life. In the sports and festivals the teachers and the students fully co-operated with each other. It was not like a cage in which the birds are fed from the outside, but it was like a nest which students themselves co-operated in building up with their own life, with their love, with their daily work, and their play.

I believe that we still have this true to a great extent. It is difficult to maintain this atmosphere owing to the fact that my colleagues with whom I have to work are brought up in a different tradition, not having the same chance as I had to play truant when they were young. They have their own ideas about education, and it is difficult to wholly get rid of them. And so something alien to the central ideal does creep into this institution through those who are there to help me. I had in the beginning to struggle very hard with my teachers, not with the students, as very often happens in other schools. I had to take

sides with the boys when they were punished for no fault of their own, but that of their teachers. I had to be firm and defend the boys, which often offended the teachers. I remember, one day a new teacher came and when he found that some of the boys were doing their lessons up on the tree, he was furious because of this want of discipline on their part. I had to protect the boys from the schoolmaster. I told him that when these boys grew up to his age they will not have the great privilege of climbing up the trees to do their lessons; they would become more respectable and keep away from mother-nature.

But I believe that an atmosphere has been created and it is there. The school has grown. The number of students is increasing year by year, which is not always an advantage. But it cannot be helped.

Another feature which is of later growth is that the number of girls has been increasing. The co-education system is quite a new thing in India. But it is working perfectly in my school. We have had no cause for complaint. Very often the boys and girls go out together on excursions; the boys help the girls in bringing fuel and fetching water, and the girls cook the dinners for the boys and everything is managed by mutual help. That is a great education in itself.

There is another factor which I consider to be important. I always try to get from outside of India, from Europe and from the Far East, lecturers, who come to the school to teach and also to share the simple life of the school with our students. This contributes to the creating of a favourable atmosphere. Our boys are very natural in their relationship with the foreign guests and visitors. My idea is that the mind should find its freedom in every respect, and I am sure that our children have, through their early training, freedom from the barriers of country and race, and creeds and sects. It is always difficult to get rid of these prejudices after we grow up. It is often sedulously cultivated in our school-books, and also by the patriots who wish the boys to be proud of the exploits of their own country by running down other countries. In this way nationalistic prejudices are cultivated. With the help of my visitors from abroad I have tried my best to make our boys' minds hospitable

to the guests who come to us, and I think I have been successful.

Then there are other activities. We have in the neighbouring villages some primitive people who need our help. We have started night-schools for them and our boys go there and teach. Then we have the village work in connexion with our institution; and there our boys have the opportunity to study the conditions of our village life and to know how to help them efficiently through scientific and up-to-date methods of cultivation and of fighting diseases. To impart not merely academic information, but how to live a complete life is, according to me, the purpose of education.

The only thing I have not been able to provide our boys with is science, owing to the enormous expense it would entail, which in a poor country like ours is difficult to meet. I have not yet been able to arrange for it. Our students and I hope that some day it will be possible for me to make up this deficiency.

This is the idea which I have in my mind and in spite of my lack of means, my poor resources, I have done something. Those who have been able to visit our institution can tell you how we have been helping the villages. It is not only for providing needed relief to the villages but also for the educational value of the work itself that children should be trained in the heart of such activities. The villages are the cradles of life, and if we cannot give it what is due to it, then we commit suicide. Modern civilization is depriving the villages of life-stuff, and draining away everything from the villages to the pampered towns. To counteract this I have brought my students around this village work which we have started in order to give them the proper training for helping the villagers.

I think this is, in short, the idea which I have in mind in my school.

Village Schools in India.

Question: What is the condition of women in India as compared with the position of women in this country?

Tagore: This is a very comprehensive question.

Question: What is the social origin of the generality of your pupils? Are they peasants, workers and so on?

Tagore : In the neighbourhood of the village where we are working, we have opened a special school for the villages. You may ask why I should make such a distinction. Why should I not allow the children of the villages to come and attend the other school which is for the children of the upper class people? The reason is that these students who come from comparatively rich families, all want to pass their examinations and get their degrees in order to earn their livelihood. Therefore it is not possible to give to them the ideal kind of education. For instance, they cannot waste their time in manual training, or even in such cultural training as music and art, and they want to cram themselves for their examination and somehow get through. I had to submit to this because otherwise there would be no chance of having a single student in my school. One of the reasons is that our country is exceedingly poor, and it is natural for these boys to want to earn their livelihood and maintain their family when they grow older, and they must have some opportunity to pass their examinations in their schools. So I had to start a parallel school where the villagers who do not have ambitions for finding government employment or employment in merchants' offices, come and join. There I am trying to introduce all my methods which I consider to be absolutely necessary for a perfect education. Before long, this village school, I believe, will be the real school, the ideal school, and the other one will be neglected.

Question : A representative of the literary organization of the people would like to know which are the most interesting currents in Indian literature. 'Are there in India any institutions for training workers for literary activity?'

Tagore : We do not have any organized effort to help the working men to stimulate their creative activities. There have been started various night schools, but that is for the purpose of teaching them how to read and write and to get elementary information of various kinds. We cannot say that we have many schools which are of a higher class than that. One of the reasons is that we should not have any students even if we did start such a school. With some encouragement we can induce villagers to attend the night schools in order to be able just to read and

write, for they consider this quite enough. Only occasionally there are a few intelligent individuals who have the ambition to join the higher classes, and pass through their examinations to get degrees. But their number is very small, and even they after passing their examinations lose touch with their village. They do not want to live in the village. They try to come to the town and take up some kind of work which they consider to be of higher nature.

So we hardly have any institution for training the peasants or the working-men in order to do their own vocation properly in an educated manner. I think the only exception in Bengal which I may mention is this school which I have started in the neighbouring village near our institution. There the real people of the village get a proper training, a real education, not merely a smattering of some elementary subjects.

Institutions of Moscow.

The strenuous programme told heavily on the Poet's health. Prof. Zelinin, the eminent Soviet physician, made a thorough medical examination and advised him to take a good rest. While the Poet himself was resting quietly, the members of his party visited many important institutions. One of the most interesting among these was the Industrial Labourers' Commune for homeless waifs and incorrigible children. Dr. Timbres sends us the following notes.

The children are roughly from 14 to 18 years of age. There are 100 youngsters living in at the colony, and another 100 dine during the day. The period of retention is not longer than 3 years. This labour commune has not only school rooms but also a number of workshops. The idea is to give an industrial training to these one-time homeless waifs, and thus give them that re-education which will mould them into honest social youths.

This commune has self-government, and is managed by the youngsters themselves. There are no warders. The inmates do 4 hours practical work in the workshops, and have 3 hours theoretical study in the classrooms. From 5 to 10 at night they are free for social work or their own amusements. They require

no special permit to leave the Colony to visit the town. All that is required is that they should inform their "brigadier" or squad leader (for convenience' sake they are divided into military groups) of their absence. During the past year the Commune has made experiments endeavouring to discover whether the children going through its course of training are permanently reclaimed from the streets. To discover how far this aim has been achieved, 30 young volunteers worked for 3 days and nights in the reception centres of the homeless waifs, assisting in their distribution among the labour communes in the various towns. The colony youth go regularly each summer to the Crimea for a holiday. The money for these holidays is raised by renting the premises of their winter colony to the excursion departments of the Commissariat of Education.

The Central Ethnographical State Museums for the study of the peoples of the USSR are housed in the former palaces of a favourite of Catherine the Great. They present a scientific and illustrated description of the ethnographical and economical regions of the Union. There are more than 120 different nations inhabiting the territory of the Soviet Union with a total population of 155,000,000. The Soviet Union itself covers an area of one-sixth of the world.

Among the other institutions visited by the members of the party were the Children's Creche and Kindergarten of the Dynamo Works, the Timiryazev Agricultural Academy with nearly 3,000 students under training for agricultural engineering and organization, the Central Station for Educational Experiments of the People's Commissariat for Education which was originally started by M. Shatsky in 1912, the Museum of Handicrafts, the Tretyakov Gallery, the Museum of Revolution and the Lefort House of Isolation.

Farewell Meeting at Dom Soyouzov.

On the evening of the 24th September, the day before the Poet's departure from Moscow a big public meeting was arranged in Dom Soyouzov, the Central House of Trade Unions. This House was formerly the General Meeting Hall of the Moscow aristocracy and was known as "Dvoryanskoye Sobraniye" in

pre-revolution days. More than 2,000 persons were present. On the dais, with Rabindranath Tagore in the centre, sat the distinguished personages of Moscow including Prof. Petroff, Prof. Kogan, D. Novomirsky, A. Eshukoff and a number of eminent writers and artists.

Prof. Petroff opened the proceedings with a few words. The Soviet poet Shingalee then recited the Ode to Rabindranath Tagore which he had specially composed for the occasion.

Rabindranath Tagore gave a short speech in reply.

Farewell Speech by Rabindranath Tagore.

I am highly honoured at the invitation to appear in this hall and I am grateful to Dr. Petroff for the kind words he has said about me. I am thankful to the people for giving me the opportunity of knowing this country and seeing the great work which the people are doing in this land. My mission in life is education. I believe that all human problems find their fundamental solution in education. And outside of my own vocation as a poet I have accepted this responsibility to educate my people as much as lies in my individual power to do. I know that all the evils, almost without exception, from which my land suffers are solely owing to the utter lack of education of the people.

Poverty, pestilence, communal fights and industrial backwardness make our path of life narrow and perilous owing to the meagreness of education. And this is the reason why, in spite of my advanced age and my weak health, I gladly accepted the invitation offered to me to see how you are working out the most important problem of education in this country. I have seen, I have admired and I have envied you in your great opportunities. You will know that our condition in India is very similar to yours. She has an agricultural population which is in need of all the help and encouragement that you have given the people in this country. You know how precarious is the living which depends exclusively upon agriculture, and so how utterly necessary it is for the cultivators to have the knowledge of up-to-date method of producing crops in order to meet the increasing demands of life.

Our people are living on the verge of perpetual famine, and do not know how to help this because they have lost their faith and confidence in their own humanity. This is the greatest misfortune of our people, three hundred millions of men and women burdened with profound ignorance, without any hope in life.

So I came to this land to see how you deal with this problem, you who have struggled against the incubus of ignorance, superstition, and apathy which were once prevalent in this land among the working-men and peasantry. The little that I have seen has convinced me of the marvellous progress that has been made, the miracle that has been achieved. How the mental attitude of the people has been changed in such a short time, it is difficult for us to realize, we who live in the darkest shadow of ignorance and futility. It gladdens my heart to know that the people, the real people who maintain the life of society and bear the burden of civilization, are not deprived of their own rights and that they enjoy an equal share of all the advantages of a progressive community.

And I dream of the time when it will be possible for that ancient land of Aryan civilization also to enjoy the great boon of education and equal opportunities for all the people. I am thankful, truly thankful to you all who have helped me in visualising in a concrete form the dream which I have been carrying for a long time in my mind, the dream of emancipating the people's minds which have been shackled for ages. For this I thank you.

Musical programme.

Then followed the first and second parts of the musical recital of a composition by Borchtman, executed by a company of singers with Borchtman himself at the piano. The author Galperin then recited in Russian three pieces of Tagore's poems, and Ruslanov, an actor of the Vaghtanov Theatre, recited two prose pieces from Tagore's works.

This was followed by the third part of the Borchtman programme. Other musical selections were given with the author-composer Dzegelyanka at the piano, and also a special recital, in honour of the Poet, by Kozlovsky, Artist Emeritus of the Re-

public, of the Ario from the Russian Opera "Sadko" by Rimsky-Korsakov. A rough translation of a few lines of this song is given below :

"Oh, wonderful land, India,
Where on the white shore of
the beautiful warm sea grows
the tree of wisdom.
Many coloured birds sing the music of heaven,
and all is forgotten in bliss
.....in Far India of miracles."

The actor Simonov gave selections from the Post Office.

Rabindranath Tagore then recited two of his poems in Bengalee, "the rain song" and "a love poem." These were received with tremendous applause and aroused great admiration and enthusiasm. After a short interval an exhibition of dancing and folk music was given by various artists such as Zagoraskya, the famous Russian folk-singer, Messerer of the First Moscow Opera House who danced the "Ribbon Dance" from the Red Poppy ballet, Ryabtsev and his group from the first Moscow Opera House who gave a demonstration of Russian village songs, Yablotchka in the sailor's "Apple Dance," and Madame Chevtchenko, the Russian folk-singer. The programme terminated with a recital of Russian folk-songs and dances of Northern and Central regions of the USSR by a peasant choir directed by Piatinitsky.

At the close of the evening the whole audience gave a great ovation to the Poet as a farewell expression of their admiration.

Impressions of Moscow.

On the 25th September, just before the Poet's departure from Moscow a reporter from the "Izvestia" came to see him. We give below a translation of the reported interview.

The Poet was asked to say what things in Moscow had impressed him the most.

He replied :—The Orphans at the Home of the Young Pioneers showed great confidence in their ability to realize their ideal for a new world. Their behaviour to me was so natural.

Their conduct impressed me very deeply. Then at the Peasants' House I met the peasants. We questioned each other quite frankly. Their problems are similar to the problems of the peasants in my own country. I was deeply impressed by the attitude of mind of your peasants.

Places which I have not been able to visit have been visited by my secretaries. My doctor tells me of the fine work you are doing in sanitation, hygiene, scientific research. You are accomplishing a great deal in these lines under conditions not nearly as favourable, economically at least, as in other countries. My secretaries tell me of your splendid work in training students of agriculture, in caring for and training the homeless children left by war and famine, and of the outstanding experiment in practical education being carried on by Mr. Shatsky in his colony. Mr. Shatsky did me the honour of coming to visit me. I find that the ideal of his institution I also share. I am certain that your methods of education would be of great benefit in other countries where there is so much in education that is merely academic and abstract. Yours is much more practical and therefore moral, and it is closer in touch with the varied aspects and purposes of life.

The Poet's Comments on Soviet Activities.

On being asked if he would express a few words in regard to his general impressions of Moscow, the Poet replied :

I wish to let you know how deeply I have been impressed by the amazing intensity of your energy in spreading education among masses, the most intelligent direction which you have given to this noble work and also the variety of channels that have been opened out to train their minds and senses and limbs. I appreciate it all the more keenly because I belong to that country where millions of my fellow-countrymen are denied the light that education can bring to them. For human beings all other boons that are external and superficial, that are imposed from outside, are like paints and patches that never represent the bloom of health but only disguise the anaemic skin without enriching the blood. You have recognized the truth that in

extirpating all social evils one has to go to the root, which can only be done through education, and not through police batons and military brow-beating.

But I find here certain contradictions to the great mission which you have undertaken. Certain attitudes of mind are being cultivated which are contrary to your ideal.

I must ask you : Are you doing your ideal a service by arousing in the minds of those under your training, anger, class hatred and revengefulness against those not sharing your ideal, against those whom you consider to be your enemies? True, you have to fight against obstacles, you have to overcome ignorance and lack of sympathy, even persistently virulent antagonism. But your mission is not restricted to your own nation or own party, it is for the betterment of humanity according to your light. But does not humanity include those who do not agree with your aim? Just as you try to help peasants who have other ideas than yours about religion, economics, and social life, not by getting fatally angry with them, but by patiently teaching them and showing them where the evil lurks in secret, should you not have the same mission to those other people who have other ideals than your own? These you may consider to be mistaken ideals, but they have an historical origin and have become inevitable through combination of circumstances. You may consider the men who hold them as misguided. But it should all the more be your mission to try to convert them by pity and love, realizing that they are as much a part of humanity as the peasants whom you serve.

If you dwell too much upon the evil elements in your opponents and assume that they are inherent in human nature meriting eternal damnation, you inspire an attitude of mind which with its content of hatred and revengefulness may some day react against your own ideal and destroy it. You are working in a great cause. Therefore you must be great in your mind, great in your mercy, your understanding and your patience. I feel profound admiration for the greatness of the things you are trying to do, therefore I cannot help expecting for it a motive force of love and an environment of a charitable understanding.

There must be disagreement where minds are allowed to be free. It would not only be an uninteresting but a sterile world of mechanical regularity if all of our opinions were forcibly made alike. If you have a mission which includes all humanity, you must, for the sake of that living humanity, acknowledge the existence of differences of opinion. Opinions are constantly changed and rechanged only through the free circulation of intellectual forces and moral persuasion. Violence begets violence and blind stupidity. Freedom of mind is needed for the reception of truth; terror hopelessly kills it. The brute cannot subdue the brute. It is only the man who can do it.

Before leaving your country let me once again assure you that I am struck with admiration by all that you are doing to free those who once were in slavery, to raise up those who were lowly and oppressed, endeavouring to bring help to those who are utterly helpless all through the world, reminding them that the source of their salvation lies in a proper education and their power to combine their human resources. Therefore, for the sake of humanity I hope that you may never create a vicious force of violence which will go on weaving an interminable chain of violence and cruelty. Already you have inherited much of this legacy from the Tsarist régime. It is the worst legacy you possibly could have. You have tried to destroy many of the other evils of that régime. Why not try to destroy this one also? I have learned much from you, how skilfully you evolve usefulness out of the helpfulness of the weak and ignorant. Your ideal is great and so I ask you for perfection in serving it, and a broad field of freedom for laying its permanent foundation.

Departure from Moscow.

On the 25th of September the Poet left Moscow.* He rested quietly for 3 or 4 days in the house of Dr. and Mrs. Mendel at Wannsee in Berlin, and left for the United States of America on the 3rd of October.

*The Poet has written a large number of letters which not only give a vivid picture of Soviet Moscow but contain a critical appraisal of the communistic experiments in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. We are publishing translations of two letters in this issue, and intend to publish translations of extracts from other letters in our next number.

PROGRESS AND PERSONALITY.

By DHURJATI PRASAD MUKHERJEE.

Chit said to Mr. Blettsworthy, "part of your madness, Lunatic is to be for ever talking of this Progress of yours. Are there no Megatheria in your world?—that world of yours that keep going on and on. Does nothing in your world refuse either to breed or die"?

A student of sociology perplexed by books on Progress may very well reply :—

"There are too many ideas in our world ; they breed but they refuse to die. They are the catchwords of other days. Equality, Fraternity, Liberty, General Will are notable examples from the 18th century ideology. Group-mind and Progress are typical examples of the 19th. With us, Progress is an article of faith. Like many other similar articles, it is either a wish-fulfilment or a defence-mechanism set up against a fear of the loss of social prestige and service. In league with leaders in other spheres of knowledge we have established a group-equilibrium of mental patterns which is sacrosanct. Scientists had postulated the continuity and immutability of natural laws, the uniformity of nature and the conservation of energy. Politicians had posited the stability of government and the virtues of the representative system or of Democracy. Philosophers had spun out their systems round free-will and necessity. The theologians had placed the divine order high above the world of change. Even classical economists had their theory of laissez-faire, the inherent virtues of competition and self-interest. Our ideas of Progress are no less fixed than any of these hypotheses. That every day and in every way every thing is becoming better and better is the cult of our order."

In such an intellectual climate all individual questionings are quashed. The individual, to escape his own awkward queries resigns himself to Alexander's Time, Bergson's élan vital, Spengler's Cyclic History, Croce's Unfolding of the

Spirit or Nicefero's statistical aggregates, indices and averages, for peace is best preserved by the surrender of intelligence to mystic symbols. The idea of progress has become clouded in a maze of abstract theories all of which agree in completely ignoring the life of the individual in the concrete.

Progress, according to the sociologist, is either a fact to be measured in terms of numbers and indices, or a theory to be described in terms of spirals, cycles, or evolutionary concepts. But common sense tells us that it is neither a master-idea, nor a myth, neither a fact, nor a fiction. The nature of progress is a challenge to our intellect and therefore a problem.

Generally speaking, a problem can arise only when a new fact is discovered, and must be related to the known series of facts, or when it is felt that the old ordering of facts is not adequate and it is considered desirable to attempt a new organization of facts.

Neither facts nor generalizations are isolated. They have meaning only in reference to life in the concrete, primarily that of an individual, living in association with other individuals, in a region, at a particular time, in the line of certain beliefs, customs and traditions. In other words, both facts and ideas are events. Before events fall in order, there must be an effort to order them. (This effort is interpreted as conflict by a certain school of sociologists). The consciousness of this effort varies in different individuals in different stages of civilization, and according to different degrees of organization of facts and ideas. The urge for making this effort varies from a vague feeling of tension to a detached scientific curiosity.

At first there is a sort of logical ambivalence in which A may be both A and not-A at one and the same time, a state of mind generally observed, both in primitive and modern societies, when potentialities are held in balance. Even when the relationship between two groups of events is causal, the common idea of cause as a force and a compelling agency introduces a sense of conflict. Another type of relationship may be called mutuality. Logically, mutuality is the settle-

ment of a problem, rather than its *dénouement*. Yet even mutuality becomes a problem when the settlement has to be adjusted to a previous result. The need for adjustment signifies the presence of tension. The problem of progress* can be understood only as a succession of tensions, in other words, as a problem of the co-ordination of events, of facts and ideas.

In the 19th century, faith in Progress received a tremendous impetus from Darwinism. The political and economic optimists of the period seized upon the concept of evolution to support their own theories. It was applied indiscriminately to every form of organization which was considered to have any analogy to an organism. In the heyday of Darwinism, the validity of the analogy was never seriously questioned (except by Butler in England); instances of regression and futile evolution were ignored; the fallacy of formulating a universal law by generalization from one limited series of facts was not noticed; the part played by conscious selection as a modifying factor was not taken into account; and the importance of personality was not properly appreciated. The utmost that the theory of evolution could teach the sociologist was that changes took place and happened in course of time, and that such changes could possibly be interpreted as a movement with a direction.

With the evolutionary sociologist, progress is not a problem to be tackled, but a natural phenomenon to be described accurately. Soon there was a change initiated by Ward. His emphasis was on man, *i.e.*, on man's ability (and duty) to modify nature in the light of human purpose. From Ward to Hobhouse, we notice an attempt to emphasize the importance of social selection, social choice and social purpose. But when

*In recent years numerous books have been written on the nature and history of the idea of progress: Delavaille, Todd, Bury, Hertzler, Weatherly, Dean Inge, Giddings, Ward, Park, Burgess, Dewey, Allport, Willcox, Julian Huxley, Niceforo, Radhakamal Mukherji and others. Among older writers, I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Spencer, Comte, Condorcet, Bodin and Lucretius. I am not directly concerned with a classification of their ideas. I do not believe in their formulæ. With a majority of them, belief in Progress is an act of faith which releases the energy to write books. Dean Inge among others, however, calls it a superstition which has enslaved the philosophies of Hegel, Comte and Darwin.

Ward writes, 'progress is in proportion to the opportunities and facilities for exercising the faculties and satisfying desire,' he is primarily concerned with the means of attaining progress (and only indirectly concerned with the question of values), that is, with the problem of determining which faculties are to be fostered by exercise and education, which are to be allowed to die of disuse, which desires are to be cultivated and which are to be socially controlled and inhibited. When Hobhouse writes, 'there is progress just where the factor of social tradition comes into play and just so far as its influence extends,' he is primarily concerned with the psychological aspect of progress, and leaves undiscussed the valuation of particular social traditions and the reciprocal inter-actions of social traditions and individual judgments.

Dewey recognizes the problematic nature of progress. He writes, 'it is a problem of discovering the needs and capacities of collective human nature as we find it aggregated in racial or national groups on the surface of the globe, and of inventing social machinery which will set available powers operating for the satisfaction of these needs.' Dewey rightly mentions the needs and capacities which form the framework of values. Be it noted however that the needs and capacities are not values; they have to be translated into terms of values. When Dewey refers to the invention of a social machinery to utilize the capacities for the satisfaction of these needs, he obfuscates the real issue by his pragmatist leanings and a sentimental attachment for Demos made in U.S.A. Besides, when Dewey refers to 'collective human nature aggregated in racial or national groups', he is artificially limiting the extent of collectivity and inviting a new series of conflicts, the only virtue of which is their gigantic scale. If progress is national or racial, it is easy for a powerful nation or race to justify the exploitation of less powerful groups on the ground that such exploitation advances the cause of progress. (To enact anti-immigration laws becomes incidentally a moral duty). Progress is certainly a problem; it involves the attempt to erect social machinery for the elimination of losses and conflicts, but it is not merely a national or a racial problem.

The recent tendency among evolutionist-philosophers is to substitute new words for old. Thus 'elan vital', 'the Will to Live,' 'the Life-Force' have taken the place of natural selection. The first two were made current by two philosophers and the third by a dramatist who himself has been a most merciless critic of catch-phrases. The great literary gifts of these three writers have been responsible for the wide currency of their phrases, and the phrase-mongers of universities have borrowed these phrases in order to make up for their own lack of style and original thought.

Bernard Shaw and Bergson both believe in progress. In describing the modes of progress, both of them make use of evolution. Beneath the shifting exterior of adaptation, there is a Life-Force which is essentially purposive. The function of man is to make this purpose conscious. Here is an instance of drawing right conclusions from wrong premises. We are unable to trace the reforming spirit of Mr. Shaw to a tape-worm, for despite natural and nurtural differences, our vanity makes us remember that Mr. Shaw and ourselves are born of human chromosomes. Amending D'Israeli's statement, we might say, as sociologists we are on the side of human beings. When our insufficient knowledge of genetics prevents us from accepting the transmission of acquired characters, the primitive purpose of the tape-worm can only escheat to the Divine State—the rightful owner of such mystic properties. As Shaw's Life-Force is 'Lamarckism in caricature' so is Bergson's 'elan vital' nothing but 'Orthogenesis translated into vitalistic terms, a mere metaphor.' As Prof. Haldane has shown in his Gifford Lectures, the chief defect of vitalism is its uselessness as a working hypothesis. Elementary physico-chemical and biological processes, reproduction with its tendency towards overpopulation, and factors of selective mortality are sufficient to account for what is sought to be explained by the vitalist in terms of a highly mystical and poetic, and often brilliant, language. In spite of M. Bergson's half-hearted denial, this elan vital is purposive on his own showing, for 'unassisted by such material considerations as the struggle for existence and the elimination of the less fit by natural selection, it makes

tactfully, but firmly, for movement onward and on the whole upward in Evolution.'

Bergson might be wrong, like Bernard Shaw, in his biology. The element of purposiveness they have laid stress on might be totally absent from the processes of natural evolution, but it is a useful concept for the study of social changes. Variation and selection might be random and purposeless in the non-social world; 'the prevision of an end and a determination to reach that end' which are implied in purpose might not have become manifest in the non-human species, and yet it must be admitted that purposiveness has emerged as a factor of importance in the case of human beings. It is a more efficient method than that of trial and error, and is likely not only to accelerate the process of human evolution but also to open out new possibilities of human progress.

The conclusion I want to draw is that in so far as progress involves an element of purpose we can think of it with reference to human beings only. Angels, animals or vegetables, are out of court. Evolution, as a scientific theory, has no connexion with moral or social values, while the concept of progress involves the determination of values. Only in so far as valuation has reference to adjustments with non-social nature is it necessary to take cognisance of purely scientific aspects of the theory of evolution in which no clear distinction is made between progress and mere change as a process in time. In other words, development is not distinguished from growth. The emergence of values and their dynamic character are not given due consideration in discussions of progress by the evolutionary sociologists.

The idea of ceaseless change, first brought into fashion by evolutionists, has gained a further accession of strength from the Time-Philosophers of the 20th century. A new cult with an esoteric doctrine of a transcendental *cum* immanent Time-God has found favour among historians, sociologists and professors with the result that there is hardly any branch of recent thought which has remained unaffected by it. Spengler furnishes a typical example of this outbreak of a new religion.

According to this writer, history is 'becoming' in strict accordance with certain laws, which operate in temporal cycles. With the help of these laws, he comes to the conclusion that the modern West has entered into the declining phase. However alluring the picture of a declining West might be to the vanity of an inhabitant of the East, accustomed on one hand to theories of predetermination and cycles of *Kalpas* and embittered on the other hand through a scientifically efficient exploitation by the West, a careful examination of the theory will show that it has little reference to reality. In the hands of Spengler, 'becoming' has become inexorable and acquired a fatality with which no becoming, as such, is ever charged. Inexorability is extraneous to change and is generally imposed on it by interested motives. (The only value of such an idea seems to be that it might help the West in getting rid of its easy self-complacency. But the practical result has been a reaction against the East and what it stands for. From more than one point in view, *Massis* is a consequence of Spengler. In India, Spenglerism is feeding fat the ancient grudge against England. It has pandered to the culture-chauvinists to the detriment of the East and the West alike). But in recent years the mystic philosophy of time has gained a tremendous prestige and has clouded the critical spirit of the intellectuals. It has found particular favour with the sociologist who is now snobbishly trying to rise into the superior caste of scientists by denying his own mind and cultivating the 20th century spirit in an attitude indiscriminately reverential to all esoteric doctrines. We are anxiously waiting for a sociologist of time who, in the name of the eternal flux or social morphology, would tell us that Time, (with a capital T), moves society, and teach us to possess our soul in patience until the days of Final Social Resurrection. So long as he does not emerge on the scene, the concept of time is to be understood only as a means, a mechanism, of social adjustment. The extent to which a balance between conventional or public time and private time is struck is a measure of the direction, the purpose, and the sense of values of the individual. For it is quite clear that an individual who has no private time of his own, who does not lend meaning to the public

time to which he is expected to conform, is no better than a social butterfly.

There are yet other sociologists, with a more rigorous discipline, who would discover indices of progress. Figures for optimum population and the increase in the average expectation of life are for them measures of social progress. They would seek to establish an equitable distribution of opportunities by a survey of abilities, and try to measure the advance of material comforts by investigating whether a happy balance had been struck between resources and human needs. Another series of statistical tests would include "lower death rates, higher wages, better balanced family budgets, more years of schooling, extension of the life-period, increase of reading, higher productivity of machines and workers." Prof. Hertzler has drawn up a series of multiple tests of progress in five closely written pages under the following headings:—moral, economic, political, biological, educational, religious, domestic, aesthetic, intellectual, recreational and racial. These tests number nearly two hundred and yet they are not complete. The very attempt shows the futility of any series of individual tests. The infinite possibilities of life cannot be exhausted by counting.

Yet in one sense figures are more assuring than ideas. For such social phenomena as lend themselves to quantitative measurement, these indices are more reliable than vague generalities. Not that these indices are fixed and eternal. Even the optimum population varies from time to time and from region to region. Besides, no test is to be trusted by itself. If a raising of the status of women is adopted as a test, even a modern American girl would find it hard to compete with a Khasi or an Iroquois matron. Divorce-rates may only indicate laxity of marriage-laws; lower crime-rates stricter police control; homogeneity may mean dead levelism and a stagnation. We all know the limitations of the statistical method. Le Play, the initiator of social survey, had no toleration for 'the disdainful method of invention.' He did not want to leave anything to 'the imagination, presupposition or prejudices of the observer'; he was all for scientific exactitude. By a study of different family-systems he had come to the con-

clusion that a family-group on the model of the Chinese or the English type was the best solution of the evils of individualism. He was so convinced of the merits of this particular type that he offered a 'reward to anyone who could show him a single happy family except under conditions of this kind.' 'But,' he adds, naïvely, 'all my efforts proved fruitless.' In fact, the prejudices of the statistician, chiefly his temperamental optimism or pessimism, are too deeply entrenched in the sub-conscious to be driven out by equations. For what are these tests after all? They are nothing but symbolic representations of certain general features drawn from an enthusiastic study of a favoured country in a favoured epoch. Almost invariably the favoured country is the fatherland of the statistician and the favoured epoch is the period adorned by him. It is Athens, Rome, Florence, Geneva, London, Berlin, Paris, Boston or Philadelphia. The scientific detachment is offset by a natural egotism, by personal, class, and national bias. On such insecure bases, comparisons cannot be just, especially when all the countries are changing and changing differently.

The fundamental difficulty is that the behaviour-patterns which are compared are on different levels. Some are on the level of instincts where survival-value is the predominating consideration. Some others are only on the hedonistic level where value is governed by the greatest good of the greatest number. Yet other patterns are there which are of the 'non-advantageous type.' Different groups of people lay different emphasis on different patterns of behaviour at different times. No one series of tests will be valid for all peoples, or for the same people for all time. Tests or indices are merely symbols of value; as values differ the significance of tests also must vary. Possibly it is this limitation of the statistical method which sometimes gives rise to contradictions between different tests. For example, although homogeneity is a great asset, the diffusion of culture is more possible when a nation is racially heterogeneous than otherwise. Again, the cultural productivity of a people or the birth of creative geniuses is not always a function of universal literacy. I do not know whether 'the paradoxical symptoms of superiority in progress,' which H. Ellis calls 'ambiva-

that social selection is an active force. We have seen that its original model, natural selection itself, is not a force; it is merely a wasteful process which serves mainly to conserve the existing order through a rough selection of random variations and occasional mutations. Social evolution is on a different footing altogether. It starts with human invention and proceeds through the interaction of human minds. Human inventions are not simply chance combinations, but rational reconstructions of past experiences having a cumulative effect on the whole. Rational inventions, as opposed to random variations and mutations, are stimulated by wants which with the march of time cease to be primary and instinctive and begin to be secondary and creative. Besides these wants and propensities there are other occasions which stimulate invention or creation. 'Instinctive activities, and after the beginning of social evolution, the habits that are built up about instincts and supplement them with conduct almost as automatic as the functioning of instincts and involving only a minimum of attention, flow on unchanged until an occasion arises in which this instinctive and habitual conduct does not satisfy the wants, so that the propensities are unusually stimulated and attention unusually excited; then inventions may occur.' Natural selection is blind. Social change is not, and if there are intelligent people in society, *i.e.*, if knowledge and reason are spread in the community, and the facilities for imitation, of rational conduct are present, social change can very well afford to have both eyes wide open. The non-immediate, the non-instinctive, the non-necessary, the non-hedonistic, and the non-blind urges of human beings living together and communicating with one another break up the linear unity of nature into two main gradients. The emergence of human purpose is a fact of supreme importance in sociology. It may itself be the outcome of natural selection, but its distinction from natural selection is clear and decisive for social evolution.

A study of psychological adjustment between man and his social environment is therefore of greater importance to sociology than a study of biological selection. The social environment lengthens and weakens the chain that binds man with nature.

The word environment must be used with great caution with reference to society. There is something of givenness in its concept, but in fact the social environment which creates the stimuli for human beings to respond to is essentially artificial in the sense of man-made. For any particular individual the environment is more or less given. But considering the environment as a whole it consists of nothing but a series of inventions, not all of the highest order, but nevertheless inventions.

Mr. Bernard has given a valuable analysis of the different types of environments.* The social environments are divided into two main categories, (1) the Physico-social, like machines, tools, communications, etc, including all mechanical and scientific inventions. In this category are 'the products of the human reaction upon the physical environments, and by means of which cosmic processes, chemical factors in the soil, other inorganic resources, such as the metals and the natural fuels, and natural dynamic agencies, such as falling water, winds, tides, etc., are so transformed as better to meet the needs of man'; (2) the Bio-social, consisting of domesticated plants and animals and in some cases human beings used as tools; the inventions transform 'the organic world in such a way as to render it more serviceable to man as a means to his adjustment to nature and to other men than it is in its natural form.' It must be admitted that inventions under these two heads, even when accidental and environmental, have some element of conscious adaptation of means to ends and some sort of purposiveness. Then we come to another type of environment, itself a by-product of the previous two types, but having such a unique element of its own that it exercises a most potent influence on man. (3) The Psycho-social environment, consisting of the inner behaviours of individuals, such as attitudes and ideas, of the 'uniformities of inner behaviour occurring in collective units and perceived as customs, folk-ways, conventions, traditions, beliefs, mores, etc., and language-symbols, requiring a new type of invention, and necessarily a new type of communicable content, *viz.*, science.'

*Introduction to Social Psychology, Ch. VI. *American Journal of Sociology*, 1925. Davis and Baracus: Introduction to Sociology, Book II, Ch. II.

Social institutions emerge as a result of the interaction of the derivative environments for social control. The distinguishing feature of the psycho-social control is the predominance of the psychic element in the inventions. Says Prof. Bernard, "the psychic element is even more marked in the recent inventions which are made projectively and abstractly rather than empirically. The more complex modern inventions are made not as step by step improvements of existing instruments or compounds of the same class or kind, but as new synthetic creations which utilise the formulas of science for the building of wholly new objects. Such inventions are created first in the imagination, perhaps by the use of mathematical or other symbolic formulas and are later transformed into visible material structures. Such a process of invention is in the highest degree Psychic." With written language, a new gradient of social environment is discovered. Once man learns to respond to words and their meanings, the reproduction of responses and behaviours is made communicable. The possibility of such a human behaviour marks the highest gradient of the past series of adjustments for controlling nature. Language has put man on a different level altogether.

Such is the picture of the history of social adjustment in gradients. The main direction of change is indicated by the history. The direction, however, is not linear. Social evolution has passed through many phases, and it is not possible to trace a uniform tendency everywhere. It will be probably better to call the tendency a directivity rather than a direction. This directivity is not a force or a cause. Primarily it is the description of movement, an interpretation of changes or transformation taking place in time. In the process of adjustment between man and his social environment, directivity is posited in the transition from the levels in which controls of the automatic nervous system (concerned with nutrition, reproduction, protection and well-being) are dominant, to the stage in which cortical controls, through the integration of past experience, establish new modes of development. Through repression and sublimation, symbols are created by which previous modes of action and thought-patterns are either reinstated or rejected.

These symbolic psycho-social controls in their turn begin to dominate the cortical and the automatic process. This transition from the dominance of automatic controls to the dominance of storage symbols is the most important aspect of the element of directivity involved in social progress.

It is all right to stress the true point of view, but, at the same time, it is equally necessary to understand why the true point of view is so easily missed. I believe there are three chief reasons for the misunderstanding. The first is that the symbolic controls, *i.e.*, words and ideas, become stereotyped in course of time. Thus the idea of progress or of equality or liberty lose their meaning after a certain period when they no longer 'serve as suggestion stimuli for the release of conditioned responses.' A reconstruction of their original significance is next to impossible. The second reason is that the tempo of social change or movement is wrongly supposed to be of a uniform quality. This error is the corollary to a mistaken application of the theory of evolution by which species were at first believed to be fixed, and when the idea of fixity of species was shaken, the tempo of natural selection working through variation was assumed to be unchanging. But even more striking than the survival of the fittest is the belatedness of the fitting. This is with reference to Nature, the evolution of which may either become a graceless drift towards a dead end or a triumphant procession towards perfection, with the choice governed by chance or Providence. In social evolution, however, there are many cross currents. For example human beings often show a surprising degree of adjustment to misfits. According to Dr. Radhakamal Mukherji, in certain extremely congested areas the hopelessly low standard of living has made Indian peasants perfectly contented. Prof. Hocking says, 'no being is so domiciled in mutilations as man, His fitness for the unfit must have its scope.' If it is so in the case of the ordinary man, for the genius the maladjustment is tragic. The tears of the hungry man of genius drown all the philosophy of the struggle for existence, and no sermonizing on his lack of character, *i.e.*, his incapacity for achieving success in this world of social selection, is adequate compensation for the loss sustained in the meanwhile. The third reason for

the misunderstanding is that social change is often mistaken to be a rectilinear and unilinear advance in time.

A discussion of the last source of misunderstanding is necessary. Time is the hero of the piece. Optimists fondly believe that just because a certain number of years have been added to the 1st year after the death of Christ, everything is for the good, and all is right with the world: They find virtue in mere quantity and accumulation. They are the liberal reformers who must do good. There are also the pessimists who, for the very same reason, condemn whatever has happened. They are the conservatives and historians of ancient times who would reconstruct the present in the light of the past. In one case, anticipation, and in the other, memory, governs the attitude towards change. As anticipation and memory are extensions of the specious present forward and backward in time, they have no intrinsic quality of their own except their appeal to sentiment. We must know something more about time, for another very important problem of progress is whether time moves the universe or time is only a feature of the unceasing flux of events, whether time is superior to man or man is out to conquer time.

Religion, Mathematics, Physics and the Philosophy of Evolution have all tried to comprehend the nature of time. I shall not attempt to describe what religion has achieved, for the reason that religion being the tactics of a particular line of development cannot have any disinterested understanding of the problem of development itself. When there is a hiatus between individual death and general final resurrection, the soul can only hope, and hope in the faith it was born in. The nature of time involved in such conceptions is often nothing but a compound of faith and hope mixed in different proportions by the priest. I know nothing about Mathematics and Physics. But this is what I am told by eminent scientists in their lucid intervals. Before Einstein, it was considered that all purposes would be served in all circumstances if there were a single physical space and a single public time unrelated to each other, but correlated to the private space and time of any individual. Now Einstein denies the sufficiency for all purposes of this construct, a single physical space and a single public time,

independent of each other, as affording the basis of a system of spatial and temporal measurements which will completely accord with the spatio-temporal experiences of all observers under all circumstances. There is this much of truth in the new metrics that different individuals in different situations may have different rhythms of time which need not necessarily coincide; in other words, the flow of time is not necessarily uniform, the lapse of time of which alone men can be ordinarily conscious is not simply the difference of two numbers of a simply ordered manifold, the arithmetic continuum, which is the sole element of temporal intuition allowed by Newton. On the other hand, the new notion of space-time, based as it is on a new geometry and a new kinematics, reduces every item of our experience to a system of singularities in the metric system and leaves us more or less in the air. The disciples of Einstein are humble enough to admit however that it is not their business to prove that space-time is real. For them the question of reality does not arise. If physical events and entities can be suitably represented in the new geometry (4, 5, or more dimensional) they are satisfied. We therefore bid adieu to Mathematics and Physics, for we as laymen refuse to read more in Einstein than Profs. Whitehead, Hobson, or Eddington can do. We appreciate their humility and pass on with the remark that their admirable views of space-time cannot serve as the basis of a new conception of Reality or Progress.

As an ordinary individual is not a *Yogi*, he must co-ordinate his life with other individuals living in association with him. The individual has got a private time of his own determined by his own memory and anticipation, *i.e.*, the ensemblage of his mental patterns. As he lives in society he is obliged to adjust his private time in terms of conventional time which is divisible into units of the same length and quality but distinguishable by numbers. Apart from these two aspects there is an universal aspect of time, for societies are related to one another, and we must think of the world as an integral whole. As adjustments are made between the private and social aspects of time in terms of a single time-order, so must we relate social events to world-history in the same unique series. A further generalization

yields time as a mystic, abstract, entity flowing eternally in a set measure but divisible into past and future according to the dictates of memory and purpose. Beyond these three there is yet another aspect, timelessness, a state in which there is no sequence, no change, no movement, no direction, no division of attention. Mystics claim to have reached this state and conquered time. But it is a Pyrrhic victory for at the moment of triumph (called *nirvikalpa samadhi*) movement, direction and all dynamic experiences vanish. A glimpse of this state may perhaps be had in dreamland or '*sushupti*,' the world of the Unconscious, where there is no time or only a different order of time, as Dunne has recorded, because of its sheltered existence from the world of change.

For our purpose, it is therefore best to understand time as 'a concept constructed by each individual under the influence of society in which he lives.' It is a part, a mechanism of social adjustment. Psychologically speaking, time has no structure. Metaphysically, if it is made prior to the universe, it becomes nonsense. 'It cannot be made an independent terminus of knowledge,' as Prof. Whitehead himself has pointed out. We can experience duration only through our senses. The specious present is the 'vivid fringe of memory tinged with anticipation. This vividness lights up the discriminated field within duration.' In other words, time is, because events happen. Events happen to individuals who lend them meanings. Events happen to groups of men also, in which case they are invested with social meanings. Social organization of time, as Mary Burt has shown, is centred in the content of time. But this content is purely mental. Mental organization differs from individual to individual, and even in the same individual in different situations. As soon as the individual succeeds in relating events, he can be said to have partially transcended the colourless, meaningless and barren uniformity of conventional time. When he relates them to his own changing experiences, he establishes meanings. This mental act of giving meanings endows conventional time with values. With the endowment of values time ceases to be an extraneous entity thrust upon the individual from outside. The investment of conventional time with values may

therefore be considered to be a process in which the individual attains freedom from the necessity of conforming to an external series of temporal succession.

Progress, so far as time adjustment is concerned, is therefore a movement of freedom. I have noted how this freedom is incompatible with any theory of 'History as Becoming.' One confession of M. Bergson is highly significant in this connexion. 'An inner life with well-distinguished moments and with clearly characterised states will answer better the requirements of social life.' How far this inner life is intuitive or not is not important here. What is of vital significance is that our time-adjustments should be made in such a way that we should be free from the necessity of remaining in social contact for every moment of our life. This is an important condition of progress. In leisure alone can man conquer the tyranny of time, by investing it with a meaning, a direction, a memory and a purpose. Obstacles to leisure, including the demands of a hectic social life often mistaken for progress, must be removed in order that the inner personality of man may get the opportunity for development. This is why the Hindu philosopher wisely insists on the daily hour of contemplation, and after a certain age a well-marked period of retirement from the turmoil of life. The bustle of modern civilization is growing apace and the need for retirement is becoming greater.

So Natural Selection and Time do not furnish men with the motive-power of progress, for they are not forces at all. The real motive-power is the individual's sense of values. When this sense is creative the process of adjustment with directivity and purpose is transformed into progress. The choice of values of course has its own background of natural environment in so far as it is conditioned by the region to which the individual belongs. It has also the background of social environment which is chiefly the recruiting ground of acquired traits. These two environments supply the appetites and needs which must be satisfied. In they remain unsatisfied, the individual's freedom to guide his conduct, private and social, and thus control his environment, becomes limited. It is a matter of common knowledge that maladjustments are drags on progress. The sense of

values, *i.e.*, the capacity for judgment and selection is a result of experience. Once experience in one sphere is gathered, the sense of values of that gradient may become the starting point of another set of experiences leading to a new gradient. (The new gradient may be called 'higher' or 'lower'; this point is not important.)

The sense of values is not simply intellectual discrimination. It includes instinctive attractions and repulsions, tropisms and reflexes, as well as cognitive, affective and conative elements. The sense of values is not stationary. It changes with the life of the individual, and at any given instant may be considered to be a resultant of the whole body of his past experience, conscious and unconscious. In other words, the perception of values has a history, but a history not in the sense of Spengler or Croce, as becoming or unfolding in accordance with its own secret laws, obliterating all marks and periods and closing with a flourish in the present, *i.e.*, the moment when the author is composing his grandiose sentences. The sense of values is cumulative, for the past acts of evolution leave their trace. A cumulative sense cannot but have a direction and a richness of purpose. This purpose must not have its origin referred to the present moment, either to make us feel infinitely superior to all that had preceded, or to make us abjectly humble before the potentialities which are in the lap of the future. A sense of superiority or inferiority has nothing to do with the values themselves. The element of purpose in the sense of values is again not to be understood as purely teleological. This purpose is primarily the satisfaction of needs and appetites. But as has been noted already, with increasing cortical dominance, new needs and appetites are created which have no basis in the mere preservation of life. From this point of view, valuation can be disinterested. Each need or appetite is a store of energy. Its energy is liberated by the opposition of another need which demands immediate attention. The need creates a behaviour pattern which is more stable and real than the need itself, which, it must be admitted, never works singly, but always in alliance with other subsidiary needs and is coloured by emotions. The instability of a behaviour-pattern is the only index available to the urge of the

appetite. This behaviouristic explanation goes a great way towards explaining the process of valuation.

In the needs created by social and biological environments the behaviouristic explanation may suffice. There the unifying element is supplied by the homogeneity of common customs, beliefs, traditions and folkways. There is no need to postulate the third device of intuition for the explanation of spiritual appetites. It is a consequence of the further development of individuality.

But there is point about the behaviourist explanation of values regarding which I am not clear. By meaning, I generally understand the relation of needs to a human being. Einstein's theory (or explanation, whatever it may be), might appear useless to an ordinary man, or to a composer, or to an architect, but it was certainly full of meaning for Einstein himself and also to his disciples. Yet the behaviourists assert that value is self-generated. I can never persuade myself to think that behaviourism is the complete explanation of values.

There is something residing somewhere which eludes the grasp of the behaviourist. That residual something need not be god, need not be soul, nor any other such mystic substance. Let us give it any name we like, the fact remains that it is there, and that it exercises potent influence on the acts of valuation. Let us provisionally call it Personality. There is some justification for doing so. It has been observed that beneath or behind the different behaviours of different 'personalities' of the same individual, there is one ultimate personality which is indissoluble. We know little that is definite regarding this unanalysed element. There cannot, however, be any doubt that it has an important function in our lives. It is that guiding force which co-ordinates and binds together different patterns of behaviour; and in its act of co-ordination it gives rise to meanings and values.

But change, purposiveness, directivity, or meanings all fail to give a completely satisfactory solution of the problem of progress. The very nature of the human mind is such as to seek a basic foundation. This foundation is called Reality by the philosophers. It has been sought to be described in many ways and with the help of many names. One out of these many factors

is usually conceived as the active principle in terms of which the remaining elements are explained. The choice of the particular principle which is thus seized upon for the purpose of explanation depends entirely on the personal predilections of the individual philosopher. It is ultimately a matter of individual choice.

Probably a better way of comprehending Reality is to look upon it as the ensemble of the whole system of reals (known and unknown) possessing an independent value of its own which transcends the separate values of the individual reals. On this view, however, it is still necessary to construct the system of reals. And here the difficulty of personal choice again crops up. This difficulty, however, is inherent in the problem itself, for in a question of values we can never completely eliminate the personal factor.

The description of Reality given by the Upanishads has an irresistible appeal for the Indian mind: Shantam, Shivam, Advaitam. The first is the principle of harmony which sustains the universe amidst all its incessant changes, movements and conflicts. The second is the principle of co-ordination in the social environment. The third gives expression to the Unity which transcending all the diverse forms of states, behaviours, and conflicts, permeates thought and action with ineffable joy. We reach three ultimate values; Peace, Welfare and Unity. The motive power of progress is the urge towards Joy in Harmony, Welfare and Unity. There are different levels at which this urge operates, but it is only when the individual begins to realize the three-fold principle that life becomes fully charged with meaning. In and through such realization the life of the individual attains its personality. On this view, progress ultimately depends on the development of personality, on the realization of the principle of Harmony, Welfare and Unity.

How far existing social agencies help the growth of personality is a different question. In modern times Science probably fulfils this purpose more than anything else. But Science itself will be futile unless it is related to the co-ordinating principle in the life of the individual, namely, the personality of man.

(Mss. received August, 1930.)

MODERN MOVEMENTS IN ISLAM.

By JULIUS GERMANUS.

III. Persia.

The Persians take a unique position among the peoples professing Islam. Numberless centuries before the revelation of the Koranic religion Persia had a remarkable culture and a highly developed civilization. In ancient times it was the cradle of thoughts and aspirations which illumined mankind with deep religious ideas radiating to Iranian and non-Iranian peoples. It was the centre of a mighty political organization which brought forth imperial influences reaching even to the far-off Balkans and stirring up the evolution of Greece. The arts and crafts of administration and of military organization were first developed to a paramount superiority by Persians in their defensive actions against their Northern foes, the ever-roaming restless hordes of the Central Asiatic plains, the Turanians. Their strategy and state-craft became a model to the Turks who adopted and further developed Persian achievements on the field of warfare.

Speculative and fanciful, but endowed with an uncommonly rich intellect, the history of Persian culture is one of the most splendid spectacles in the evolution of civilization. Every external influence which has enriched their mental store in the course of their history, became blended with their character, which augmented, embellished and variegated, has still in its innermost recesses retained an irradicable fascination for the spiritual, the fantastic, the extravagant, and the artistic. Islam, with its matter of fact theology, grew through contact with the Persian intellect into a vivid transcendentalism which reared a metaphysics, the exuberant foliage of which threatened to crush its very roots and foundations. Islamic doctrine even in its most sober aspects gained an allegoric meaning in the eyes of Persians with whom everything was so highly spiritualized that contact with reality was often lost. Islam suffered more

heresies at the hands of Persians than of all other races professing the religion of the Prophet. The dogmatism of Semitic Islam blossomed into metaphysical speculations in which lie embedded the memories of Persian mental history. We therefore find that the same old theme crops up again and again in a new garment and under a new name and is always hailed with boundless enthusiasm.

In modern times a movement which has rapidly gained ground not only in the East but also in Europe and America and which has become a religion supposedly professed by millions has its roots in Persia. A new religion has arisen, a religion of humanity, a universal creed for the whole of mankind which in its present form is not only a factor of social and perhaps of political importance in Persia, but to judge by its literature written in English, seems to have been enthusiastically accepted by many Americans. The religion of Bahá'ism is a characteristic example of the Persian spirit. It is a remarkable phenomenon that in countries which show such a deep contrast in cultural matters as America and Persia, this religion has made such an amazing progress. This alone would justify our interest in its study.

It is known that after the death of the Prophet Muhammad, the Muslim community soon split asunder into hostile parties which in the course of time developed into distinct theological sects: the Sunnis and the Shiites, the latter being the partisans of Ali. According to the Shiite view Muhammad appointed Ali to succeed him as the spiritual head of Islam but his rights were usurped by the first three Caliphs (Abu Bakar, Omar, and Othman). The Shiites of course do not approve of and do not believe in the legality of the election of a Caliph, as this office, or as they call it, the Imámate, is inherent in Ali and his descendants. It was conferred by God first upon the Prophet, then upon Ali by the Prophet and afterwards on Ali's descendants. It has, therefore, nothing to do with popular choice or approval. The Caliph of the Sunnis is an outward, visible, defender of the faith; the Imám of the Shiites is the divinely ordained successor of the Prophet, endowed with all

perfections and spiritual gifts, whom all the faithful must obey, whose decision is absolute and final, whose wisdom is superhuman, and whose words are authoritative. The Imámítes are descendants of Ali's son Husayn who according to popular belief had married the daughter of the Persian-Sassanian king, Yazdigird III, and who died a martyr's death at Kerbela (A.D. 680). This explains the affection in which the Imáms are held in Persia, since they are regarded as the direct descendants not only of the Prophet but also of the royal house of Sassan. The Imámítes are divided into the Ismáílís or adherents of the seven Imáms, and the Ithna Ashariya or adherents of the twelve Imáms. We are mostly concerned with the latter here.

The twelfth Imám left no male issue, but as the world cannot do without an Imám, the Shiites of the sect of the twelve Imáms—the state religion of Persia since the 16th century—believed that the last Imám never died but only retired from mortal ken and resides in a fabulous town called Jabulka among his faithful disciples from where he will issue forth in the fullness of time to do justice among mankind. He will appear as the Imám Mahdi, the God-directed, whose messianic advent every Shiite is eagerly expecting. It is held that since the disappearance of the Imám two main periods have passed : (a) the minor occultation (*ghaibat-i-sughra*) A.H. 260-329 (A. D. 873-942) during which four intermediaries communicated his instructions who were called the *Báb*, or gate, as they permitted entrance to the will of the Imám; (b) the major occultation (*ghaibat-i-kubra*) during which no intercourse, not even indirect, was possible with the Imám. At the end of the 19th century Sheikh Ahmed al-Ahsai revived the idea that amongst the Shiites there must always be one perfect man capable of serving as a channel of grace between the absent Imám and his church. Thus such personages as were convinced of their superhuman faculty and Godly inspiration may consider themselves as intermediaries, as gates so to say, to the knowledge of the absent Imám. In the 10th century a certain Ash-Shalmaghani ibn Abi Azakir had suffered death under the Caliph Ar-Rádhí for assuming this same title of *Báb* and for teaching heretical doctrines which included among others the tenet of

transmigration of souls. Sheikh Ahmed and his successor, Seyyid Kazim of Rasht, did not however make use of the title Báb, but their conception of the 'perfect Shiite' was identical with the idea connoted by this title.

The tenets of the Sheikhhi school may be summarised as follows: Sheikh Ahmed believed that the body of man was composed of parts derived from each of the nine heavens and the four elements; that the grosser elemental part perished irrevocably at death and that only the more subtle celestial portion would appear at the resurrection. He named the subtle body: *jism huwarkilya* (which seems to be derived from a Greek word, perhaps Hercules?) and believed it to be similar in substance to the forms in the world of similitudes. He denied that the Prophet's material body had, on the occasion of his night journey to heaven, moved from the spot where it lay in a trance. He believed himself to be under the special guidance of the Imáms. He regarded the Imáms as creative forces and based his thesis on dialectics. For God is spoken of in the Koran (23.14.) "the best of Creators"; consequently He cannot be the sole creator. He went so far in his ultra-Shiite tendencies that he interpreted the words of the first chapter of the Koran: *iiyáka na'budu* (Thee do we worship) as referring to Ali.

After the death of Seikh Ahmed, Hajji Seyyid Kazim of Rasht was unanimously recognized as the leader of his school. Kazim did not nominate a successor. According to Bábi historians he had hinted that the transitional state of things under which he and his master Sheikh Ahmed had assumed the guidance of the faithful was drawing to a close, and that a brighter light was about to shine forth from the horizon of the spiritual world. From whatever quarter the sun of truth shall arise it will irradiate all horizons and render the mirrors of believers' hearts capable of receiving the effulgence of the lights of wisdom. The Sheikhis were anxiously expecting the appearance of some one who should assume the leadership of their party. One of them, Mulla Husayn of Bushrawayh proceeded to Shiráz, and on his arrival there paid a visit to Mirza Ali Muhammad, with whom he had

¹ I have closely followed the histories of Bábism and Baháism translated, edited and ably expounded by the late Prof. Browne.

become acquainted at Kerbela and who was also a staunch adherent of the school.¹ Mirza Ali Muhammad learning of the death of Kázim, announced his divine mission, and adduced in support of his claims, the commentary on the Sura of Joseph. Mulla Husayn of Bushrawayh was soon convinced of the truth of the young man's assertion and heralded the advent of the new leader, who assumed the title of 'Báb'. Mulla Husayn of Bushrawayh became the gate of the gate and the first letter or the first to believe. The rapidity with which the movement spread was wonderful. Representatives of all classes hastened to tender their allegiance to the young Seer of Shiráz, but it was from the old Sheikhi party that the most eminent supporters of the new faith were recruited. The followers of the Báb were called Bábis. A number of the Sheikhis however refused to recognise him and adhered to another representative of the doctrine, Hajji Muhammad Karim Khán; and a fierce quarrel ensued between the two parties. The orthodox Sheikhis proved to be the foremost and most implacable enemies of the Bábis and their relentless persecutors. There was very little difference between the preachings of Mirza Ali Muhammad called the 'Báb,' and those of Hajji Muhammad Karim, since each claimed to be neither more nor less than the intermediary between the absent Imám and his followers, exactly in the same way as were the four original gates who had served as channels of communication between the Twelfth Imám and his followers during the period of the minor occultation.

It was in 1844 that the new light arose on the horizon of the Shiites, but it was bitterly challenged by the followers of other 'lights' who claimed an equally valid heavenly inspiration, although their success among mankind still continued to be determined by mundane factors. The historical importance of any idea is not determined by its intrinsic merits, or its alleged divine origin, but often depends on the skill with which it is adapted by its expounders to suit local conditions. The history of Bábism, a new religion arising out of the soil of Persian Shiism, with its appeal to the imaginative, the heroic perseverance of its martyrs, the unscrupulous machinations by which each faction assailed its antagonists, and the final adaptation of

the doctrine to the tastes and predilections of modern minds, corroborates this old maxim of history.

The Báb was only 27 years of age at the time of his manifestation. The sensation created by his advent frightened the ulamas, and they induced the Government to arrest him and after a trial to condemn him to imprisonment. This action on the part of the Persian Government added to his fame, and gave impetus to the proselytizing efforts of his followers. The clash with the intolerant followers of orthodoxy soon provoked reprisals which led to bloody conflicts. Mulla Husayn of Bushrawayh and Hajji Muhammad Ali took shelter in an old fortress in Mazenderán which had to be taken by storm after a siege of 7 months; revolts and risings of the followers of the Báb occurred at Zanjan, Yazd and Niriz which were put down with great cruelty on the part of Government. The spread of the new creed was amazing. In the course of 6 years the whole of Persia was filled with Bábis, a clear proof that the idea appealed to the imaginative Persians. The revolutionary attitude of the Bábis gained many adherents among the peasants who were dissatisfied with the economic situation in Persia, and the Government was compelled to try to crush the movement at its root. The lenient treatment accorded to the Báb up till then was abandoned and he was sentenced to death on the charge of high treason and was executed at Tabriz in 1850. This was followed by a vigorous persecution of his followers. Finally in 1852, when an attempt at the life of the Shah was perpetuated by some of the Bábis, the whole sect was violently suppressed. The beautiful poetess Kurrat ul Ayn and many others, innocent of all complicity in the conspiracy, were tormented and cruelly murdered. Some of the initiates fled to Baghdad, and a branch of Bábis arose from this small group of exiles. They modified the doctrine and developed it into a form more acceptable to those who had no sympathy for the exuberant fancies of the Persian mind. Among these fugitives there was a lad, called Mirza Yahya who was such an enthusiastic believer in the Báb's manifestation that he had travelled across the whole of Persia with his half-brother Mirza Husayn Ali to see the Báb. The Báb heard of Mirza Yahya's zeal and devotion, and declared that in him was fulfilled

the prophecy long current in Shiite tradition in the form of a conversation between Ali and Kumayl 'regarding the coming of a light shining from the dawn of eternity.' The Báb conferred on Mirza Yahya the title of Subh-i-Ezel (the dawn of eternity),² gave him his own ring and authorized him to develop the philosophy of Bábism as he thought fit, and appointed him as his own successor.

On the Báb's death Subh-i-Ezel was unanimously recognised as the spiritual head of the sect. But his half-brother who had received the name of Baháullah, the Splendour of God, came into greater prominence owing to the retiring habits and also on account of the extreme youth of the leader himself. Other claimants to the leadership also arose but did not gain any following. The two brothers lived in peace and harmony at Baghdad, where the Turkish Government had permitted them to reside and where they had many followers. Here the original doctrine underwent many changes. Baháullah conducted a secret but successful propaganda in Persia. He matured his ideas for the future, and gradually remodelled the tenets for which the martyrs in Persia had sacrificed their lives. The circumstances in Baghdad gave him a wider horizon and this compelled him to take a broader view. He retired for two years to the hills of Kurdistan to meditate upon his ideas. Subh-i-Ezel still adhered to the orthodox tenets of Bábism but his peace-loving nature prevented an open hostility with Baháullah.

As time ripens the blossom into luscious fruit there occurs a profound change in the outward appearance, although the organic continuity is not destroyed. Similarly a religious idea becomes changed in the course of time by the influence of leaders who have an active grasp of the realities of the situation. Bábism has been altered profoundly by the gradual assimilation of new conceptions, some of which were entirely foreign to the original doctrine. According to Bábi views, the essence of God, the primal divine Unity, is unknowable and entirely transcends human comprehension. We can know nothing about it, we

² The language of the Báb himself and the terminology of transcendental lore used by his followers reflect the exuberant flight of fancy which often glorified beautiful words without much meaning. The followers were given fantastic names full of esoteric allusions.

see only its manifestation in the succession of prophets. There is no fundamental divergence or conflict between the prophets, all of whom represent the same Universal Reason. Their teachings differ only in outward form according to the particular needs of the time. The Báb is also considered to be one of these manifestations (the Ismá'ili sect has seven incarnations of the Deity, called Nátik, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Christ, Muhammad and Ismá'il), and the party of Subh-i-Ezel continued to revere him as such, while the followers of Bahá'ullah looked upon Bahá'ullah as this manifestation. It is incumbent on the prophets to use the language appropriate to his audience. It will be different for little children, or for young men or for men of mature age. The prophet's words must not therefore be taken too literally, but must be explained with reference to the actual circumstances in which they are uttered. This is the justification of an allegorical interpretation which is so dear to the Shiite mind. The Ismá'ili sect was equally prone to explain away the literal meaning of revealed scriptures; when the Korán says, that Jesus had no father, the interpretation is that he received instructions from no trustworthy teacher: when it says that he raised the dead, it signifies that he brought knowledge to dead understanding. The Bábis handled this allegorical interpretation (ta'wil) in a masterly way. They denied the physical existence of Paradise or Hell; as the rough Arabs could not understand ethical values Muhammad spoke to them of Good and Evil in symbolic form. When, in course of time, one particular form of expression in the teachings of a prophet becomes obsolete, a new manifestation appears and modifies the teaching in a suitable way to advance the eternal progress of the world. The Bábi doctrine is most definite on this point. It recognises and emphasizes changes in human affairs, and wishes to mould every thought in accordance with the progress of the world. There can be no final revelation and no last prophet, an idea which was very sympathetic to the philosophy of evolution, and which in its narrowest sense had also been avowed by Mirza Ghulám Ahmad. According to the Bábi doctrine the prophets, as manifestations of the Universal Reason, were forerunners of progress and were always in advance of mankind. This is why every

prophet had been and must be rejected by his own people. So did also the Báb fare, when one thousand years after the disappearance of the Twelfth Imám (A. H. 260; the Báb's manifestation took place in 1260 A. H.), he was persecuted and put to death. In order to prevent mankind from falling into the same error he emphasized that even his manifestation was not the last and that others would again come in future ages to bring new revelations suited to new circumstances and altered conditions.

The theory of evolution seems to be embodied in a theology which believed in a succession of prophethood all manifesting the one and the same Universal Intelligence but under diverse conditions and aspects. This view, which is apt to make Bábism a sympathetic doctrine even to modern rationalists, was not, however, the source of inspiration for the innumerable martyrs who died for Bábism. What attracted them to the new creed even at the cost of their lives was the mystic doctrine of Bábism which was full of transcendental correspondences and equivalents between names based on numerical values of letters, and of the theory of divine manifestation.

Almost all the constituent elements of Bábism had their source in the mediæval heresies of Persian origin. The nation instinctively cherished and clung to these mystic doctrines in which it found a peculiar charm.

Muhammad very soon discarded the title of the Báb and assumed that of the Point (*Nuqta*). There is a spurious tradition according to which Ali is supposed to have said that all that was in the Korán was contained implicitly in the opening chapter, and all that was in this chapter was contained in the first line (*Bismillah*), and finally in turn in the initial *B* of the *Bismillah* and this in turn in the point which stands under the Arabic *B*, and Ali is also supposed to have said "I am the point which stands under the *B*."

Mirza Muhammad was henceforth called the Primal Point, or His Holiness the First Point : the manifestation of the Primal Will. The Bábis believed that the primal will is incarnated in the intermediaries between man and God. In one sense it is identical with God, for a tradition says that whosoever visited

Husayn in his tomb was as one who hath visited God on His Throne. So likewise the Báb said "Oh Ali, none hath known God save I and thee; and none hath known me save God and thee, and none hath known thee save God and I."

Bábi mentality may be appreciated by the following extracts from the *Nuqtatu'l-Káf*, one of the earliest and most authentic histories: 'as the same mirror may at different times reflect different objects, so the same individual may successively become the returns (or recurrences) of different prototypes.' When Mirza Muhammad, speaking more freely, as his followers became more receptive of divine mysteries, declared himself to be the Point, Mullah Husayn ceased to be only the Gate of Gate and became the actual Gate; and when he was killed, his brother Mirza Muhammad Hasan in turn received the title. But this is not all. Mirza Ali Muhammad was first of all, Báb, or Gate, then Zikr or Reminder, than Nuqta or Point. For a while Mullah Muhammad Ali of Barfurush became the Point, and Mirza Ali Muhammad relapsed into being his Báb and during this time wrote nothing. "Sometimes it happens," so runs the *Nuqtatu'l-Káf*, "that the Point becomes quiescent in effulgence and that this effulgence becomes manifested in the Gate, just as the apostle of God did not wield the sword but his wrath was made manifested in the form of Ali. But after the death of God's apostle, Ali became the Point and Heaven of Will, and Hasan became the Gate and the Earth of Devotion, while Husayn and Salmán and the rest were the Letters of the Living. So likewise in speaking of the Islamic cycle of prophethood, so long as Muhammad was alive, Ali declared himself to be only a servant amongst his servants, but that, so soon as the Prophetic Mirror (by which is meant the sovereign form of Muhammad) was shattered to pieces, in less time than a twinkling of an eye, it (the Sun of Truth) arose in the mirror of Saintship (saintship represents the esoteric aspect of religion) so that Ali thus became the Mirror or 'Manifestation' of the Primal Will and the Proof of God upon earth was able to say: 'I am Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad.' All theophanies are identical in essence and differ only in circumstance, just as the sun which shines to-day is the same as that which shone yesterday

or that which will shine to-morrow. These lights of the firmament of Prophethood and Saintships, like the celestial luminaries, have a rising and a setting, a manifestation and an occultation."

It is obvious that all these notions can be explained only by means of allegorical comparisons with the phenomena of nature with which they really have nothing in common. A figurative expression takes here the place of rational thinking in terms of concepts corresponding to realities.

As to the eschatology of Bábism, it denies bodily resurrection but the spirit of the deceased may continue to take an interest in his earthly affairs, and some passages in Bábí writings also refer to the transmigration of souls, while the return to the life of his world is conceived in a symbolic sense as a reflection upon a mirror. However vague the Bábí doctrine may be on certain points it is essentially dogmatic and every utterance of the manifestation of the period must be accepted without demur. The *Kitáb-i-Aqdas* (the "Most Holy Book") of Bahá'ullah begins with "The first thing which God has presented unto His servants is knowledge of the Day, spring of His Revelation and the Dawning-place of His Command, which is the Station of His Spirit in the world of Creation and Command. Whosoever attaineth unto this hath attained unto all good, and whosoever is debarred therefrom is of the people of error, even though he produce all kinds of good deeds." The Báb and his immediate followers were not inclined to tolerance. According to the 'Bayán,' no unbelievers were to be suffered to dwell in the five principal provinces of Persia, and everywhere they were, as far as possible, to be subjected to restrictions, and kept in a position of inferiority. The Bábís are strongly antagonistic to Súfis on account of their individualism and 'inner light,' and to the orthodox Musulmans because they did not acknowledge in the Manifestations the fulfilment of Islam.

A most characteristic feature of Bábism is the belief in the intrinsic value of the letters of the Alphabet. The algebraic correspondences have puzzled men since the time of Pythagoras. In Muslim history it was the Hurúfis who first attached magic power to numbers and tried to derive secret meanings out of the numerical value of the letters of the Alphabet. Their system

was eagerly taken up and elaborated by the Turkish Bektáshi writers. The Ismáiliya sect believed in the number seven. The Deity had seven incarnations, between each of the seven incarnations there arose seven Imáms, each Imám was at the head of a heptad; seven operations were required in the making of a convert and so on. The algebraic correspondences, developed by the Bábis, are amazing. The theological system is practically built upon algebraic correspondence. The formula *Bismillah irrahmán, irrahim* (in the name of God the merciful, the compassionate) comprises 19 letters in Arabic script which are the 'Manifestation' of the Point under the B, just as the whole Korán is the further Manifestation on a plane of greater plurality of the Bismillah. The number 19 became a kind of a sacred number, a fundamental basis of the Bábi doctrine by which the truth of its tenets could be algebraically proved.

The Arabic word for one is *Wáhid*, and the numerical value of the letters composing the word give the sum ($6+1+8+4$) of 19. This unity of 19 in turn manifests itself as $19 \times 19 = 361$, which is the number of "all things" (*Kullu Shay*); the letters are numerically equivalent ($20+30+300+10$) = 360 to which by adding "the one which underlies all plurality" we get 361, the number of all things, which again is the square of 19. The number 19 was made the basis of all divisions of time, money, etc. The Bábi's idea of a coinage having 19 as its basis has however been abandoned along with many other impracticable ordinances. Thus the Bábi year comprised 19 solar months of 19 days each, to which intercalary days are added between the 18th and 19th months. The last month is consecrated to fasting. The unity is also manifested in the divine attribute *Hayy*, the Living, which equals $8+10=18$, and with the one which underlies all plurality makes 19. The Báb together with his 18 disciples constituted the letters of the Living (19). The choice of Mirza Yahya by the Báb as his successor was probably determined by the fact that the numerical value of the name Yahya was 36, a multiple of 18 on which account he was also called *Wáhid* which is numerically equivalent to 28, the number of letters constituting the Arabic alphabet. The town Adrianople, where the Bábis were exiled, was called by them the land

of mystery because the syllables in the name of the town had the same numerical value (260) which corresponds to the year in which the twelfth Imám disappeared.

This doctrine is full of metaphysical transcendentalism, and even such reforms as savour of utility, such as the amelioration of the position of women or the prohibition of chastisement of children are entirely based on mystical considerations. For example, the Báb taught that the future manifestation of God shall first appear as a child, it would therefore constitute a grave sin for any one to treat the august infant harshly, and hence it was necessary that the chastisement of children should cease. The play on words formed another important element in the philosophy of Bábism.

The conflict between Mirza Muhammad the Báb and Hajji Muhammad Karim Khán regarding the status of the Intermediary to the hidden Imám clearly shows, however, the reaction of external factors on the growth of a revealed religion. It was not the intrinsic value of the rival doctrines which decided the issue, but the influence exerted by the respective leaders on their contemporaries. The growth of a doctrine and its ultimate success is determined by the simplest human factors, anthropological and social. The fact that the social factors were of greater importance than the transcendental and metaphysical nature of the doctrines was clearly recognised by the new leader Baháullah, who by his carefully conducted propaganda succeeded in attaining a supremacy over the more dogmatic and single-minded Subh-i-Ezel.

A new period in the history of the movement set in with the rise of Baháullah. The little party of emigrants at Baghdad were too near the Persian frontier, and the Persian Government requested the Porte for their transfer to Adrianople in 1864. Here Baháullah publicly announced that it was he in whom God had become manifest in accordance with the prediction of the Báb. He strictly adhered to the doctrines of Bábism, and although there is some evidence to show that he had at one time considered himself to be merely the successor of the Báb, he now assumed a new role: he was the promised one, the real manifestation of God, to whom the Báb was only a forerunner

and herald. This announcement, like the previous announcement of a similar nature, was not accepted and recognised un-animously. Some, even among those who originally belonged to the circle of the Báb, vehemently opposed the new manifestation of God. A fierce and disgraceful quarrel attended with violence broke out between the rival parties, until finally the Turkish Government had to intervene in the fight between the two brothers. The hostile factions were segregated and exiled separately. Subh-i-Ezel, who had been nominated by the Primal point as his successor, was transferred to Famagusta in the island of Cyprus, while Baháullah was sent to Akka. To each of the factions four adherents of the opposite group were attached, so that the Turkish Government could be kept informed regarding the activities of both the parties. The followers of Baháullah put to death all the four Ezelis attached to their party. The hostility between the two Bábi factions continued with pen and dagger alike. The sect of the Ezelis which had adhered to the original doctrine in its rigid and narrow form, gradually declined in influence while the followers of Baháullah gained in strength. Baháullah succeeded in getting recognised by a large number of people as the manifestation of God, and he gradually put the Báb in the background as compared with his own heavenly splendour. The name of the sect was changed from that of Bábism to Baháism. The doctrines of the Báb were regarded only as preparatory and provisional, while Baháullah was authorized to give them a final shape and sanction. And Baháullah made full use of his authority. The Bábi religion was firmly rooted in Persian Shiitism and it had no chance of making proselytes outside the Shiite world. Baháullah discarded all restricting metaphysical peculiarities. He also modified the attitude of uncompromising hostility to the orthodox Musulmans, and to the Shah of Persia which had animated the Bábis, and adopted a conciliatory and even sympathetic attitude towards all likely converts. He developed the ethical side of the teaching, and in his letters to potentates he used a gentle and patient tone. He had a clear grasp of the aspirations of the human mind in the 20th century, and included in his teachings a very wide scheme of social

reform in a most sympathetic way, but with the simplistic views of a dreamer. Anti-alcoholism, unemployment help, women's suffrage, reform of criminology, socialism, local autonomy in political administration, universal language, international union, and general peace, all figured in his programme.

Nor was Baháullah devoid of the power of clairvoyance. In the year 1869 he wrote to Napoleon III rebuking him for his lust of war and for the contempt with which he had treated a former letter from him. The epistle contains the following stern warning: 'Thy doings will throw thy kingdom into confusion; sovereignty shall pass from thy hands to requite thee for thy deeds, and thus thou shalt find thyself in grievous loss. Convulsions shall seize all peoples in yonder land, unless thou dost arise in this cause and in this straight path follow the spirit. Hath thy pomp made thee vainglorious? By my life, it shall not endure, nay, it shall pass away, unless thou dost cling unto this strong cord. We behold abasement hastening upon thy heels and thou art yet of them that are heedless'. It is characteristic that an English Bahái writer believes firmly that the debacle of France in 1870 would have been averted if Napoleon had adopted the noble cause and the straight path of the Bahái.

Baháullah was by no means led by Germanophile motives 'in beholding abasement hastening upon the heels' of Napoleon. In the *Kitáb-i-Aqdas* which was begun in Adrianople and finished in Akka, he sent a similar stern admonition to the emperor of Germany:—

'O King of Berlin . . . Recollect the one who was greater than thee in station (Napoleon III), and whose position was higher than thine. Where is he? and where are his possessions? Be admonished and be not of those who sleep. He cast the tablet of God behind him when we informed him of what had befallen us from the hosts of oppression and this disgrace beset him from all sides until he returned to the dust in great loss. O King, think deeply concerning him as well as about those like unto thee who conquered cities and ruled over servants of God—and God brought them down from palaces to graves. Be warned and be of those who are mindful'.

'O Banks of the River Rhine, we have seen you drenched in gore because the swords of retribution were drawn against you. You shall have another turn. And we hear the lamentation of Berlin, although it be to-day in manifest glory.'

The English writer alluded to above says: "during the period of German success in the Great War of 1914-18, and especially during the last German offensive in the spring of 1918, this well-known prophecy was extensively quoted by the opponents of the Baháí movement in Persia in order to discredit Baháullah; but when the forward sweep of the victorious Germans was suddenly transformed into a crushing and overwhelming disaster, the efforts of these enemies of the Baháí cause recoiled on themselves, and the notoriety which they had given to the prophecy became a powerful means of enhancing the reputation of Baháullah."

A message of consolation is addressed to Persia in the *Kitáb-i-Akdas*:—

'O land of Ta (Teheran) be not sorrowful from any cause. God hath made thee the dawning place of the joy of the world. If He will, He will bless thy throne with one who will rule with justice and gather together the sheep of God which have been scattered by the wolves. Verily he will treat the people of Bahá with joy and gladness. So, he is of the essence of the people in the sight of God.'

'Rejoice, for God hath made thee a Horizon of light, because in thee was born the Dawning Place of the Manifestation. Soon affairs will be changed in thee and a republic of men shall rule over thee. Verily the countenance of Grace will not cease to behold thee with the eyes of love. Soon peace will overtake thee after commotion. Thus it hath been decreed in the Book of Wonders.'

Turkey, which had given shelter to Baháullah and his followers, did not fare better at his hands than France and Germany. There are several passages in the *Kitáb-i-Aqdas* which predict the downfall of the Ottomans, but evidently his wrath was directed against this kingdom, 'than which a handful of dust is greater before God,' because it did not take up his cause in a way which would have satisfied him. 'Thou didst

unite with the Ruler of Persia for doing me harm,' so he wrote to Ali Pasha, 'although I had come to you from the Dawning Place of the Almighty, the Great, with a cause which refreshed the eyes of the favoured ones of God. Didst thou think that thou couldst put out the fire which God hath enkindled in the Universe? Its blaze and flame will be increased. Soon it will encompass the world and its inhabitants. Soon the land of martyrs (Adrianople) will be changed and will pass out of the hands of the King³ and commotion shall appear in the districts and affairs will be in confusion because of what hath happened to those captives' (Baháullah and his companions).

The Turks cared little for the threats of Baháullah. The Shiite element in his doctrine did not appeal to them, and his cosmopolitan teachings found deaf ears among the awakening nationalists. The Government had an eye on him, and when his quarrel with Subh-i-Ezel led to violence, it prevented further blood-shed by separating the rival factions, and Baháullah never attained any political power in Turkey.

His exhortations sound overbearing and egoistic if we dare doubt his infallible prophethood and venture to judge them as those of a normal mortal. He addressed Americans in the *Kitáb-i-Aqdas* some fifty years ago in the following words: 'O Rulers of America, Presidents and Governors of the Republic therein, hear the call from the Dawning Place on High. There is no God but me, the speaker and the Omniscient: Bind up the broken limb with the hands of justice, and break the sound limb of the oppressor with the rod of the Command of your Lord, the Ruler, the Wise.'

In the writings of Baháullah we notice a clearness of style which is in striking contrast to the rugged and unintelligible character of Bábi literature. Through him God addresses His creatures, proclaiming His love for them, teaching them His attributes, making His will known, announcing His laws for their guidance and pleading for their love, allegiance and service. In his writings the form of expression frequently changes. Sometimes it is evident that the man himself is speaking, then

³ This prophecy was not yet been fulfilled, for Adrianople is still in the hands of the Turks.

without a break the writing continues as if God Himself were speaking in the first person.

His mission was to bring about unity of all mankind in and through God. He said :

'Of the Tree of Knowledge the all-glorious fruit is this exalted word : of one tree are all ye the fruits and of one bough the leaves. Let no man glory in this that he loves his country, but let him rather glory in this that he loves his kind.'

It was this ethical and humanitarian spirit, rather than the dry metaphysical doctrines of Baháísm which gained new followers all over the world, while those who were allured by the glamour of mysticism still found ample scope in it. In Akka, where Baháullah lived as an exile, people flocked to see him, and by this intercourse with the world his doctrines broadened. He dropped most of the minor restriction imposed by the Báb, which were dictated in many cases by his personal tastes and feelings. Such were the prohibition of smoking and the eating of onions, the regulations as to clothing, forms of salutation, the use of rings, perfumes, the names by which children might be named and so on. The laws of Baháullah, with the exception of the law of inheritance, are much simpler in character and are such as may be enforced in practice. For example, smoking is not now unusual among the followers of Baháullah, while the Ezelis still maintain the prohibition as strictly as ever.*

In the nineties, a Syrian Christian converted to Baháísm, Ibráhim George Khair-ullah, settled in the United States, and started active propaganda in America on behalf of the new revelation. He delivered a large number of lectures on Baháísm and published a number of books which were favourably received. The monotonous factory life of over-industrialized America harbours a naive sentimentalism which finds pleasure and enthusiasm in all humanitarian ideas, and it was not surprising that Baháísm developed a vigorous branch-

*While acting as an interpreter to Abdul Bahá during his tour in Hungary, I remember that I once offered him cigarettes, and he carefully selected one and smoked it with apparent enjoyment.

movement in America, marked by the production of a copious but shallow literature.

Baháullah died in 1892. He nominated as his successor his eldest son Abbas, also called Abdul Bahá, servant of Bahá. Baháullah had conferred on his son, in accordance with the usual practice in his community, the sonorous title 'Ghusn-i-Azam,' the most mighty branch ; the younger son Mirza Muhammad Ali was called 'Ghusn-i-Akbar,' the most great branch. Abdul Bahá's life was accompanied by thrilling romance. He was born at Teheran before midnight on the 23rd May, 1844 (5 Djumádha'tula, 1260) in the very same hour in which the Báb declared his mission.

He was eight years of age when his father was thrown into prison. On one occasion he saw his father moving along the prison yard heavily shackled, his neck bowed under the weight of a heavy steel collar, his body bent by iron chains. This awful sight created a lasting impression on the mind of the boy. At Baghdad, long before the manifestation of God became clear to Baháullah, the son suddenly felt a conviction that it was his father in whom the divine spirit shall shine forth. Sixty years later he dictated to his secretary his impressions of that period in the following words :

"I am the servant of the Blessed Perfection Baháullah. In Baghdad I was a child. Then and there He announced to me the Words and I believed in Him. As soon as He proclaimed to me the word, I threw myself at His holy feet and implored and supplicated Him to accept my blood as a sacrifice in His pathway. What greater glory can I conceive than to see this neck chained for His sake, these feet fettered for His love, this body mutilated or thrown to the depths of the sea for His cause. If in reality we are His sincere lovers, if in reality I am His sincere servant, than I must sacrifice my life, nay all, at his Blessed Threshold."

From this time his friends began to call him : the mystery of God ; a title by which he was known during the residence in Baghdad. Several wonderful stories are related about the innate sagacity with which while yet a boy he solved the most intricate metaphysical problems. A curious story is current about the

circumstances of his marriage. For a long time he showed no inclination for marriage, and no one understood the reason for this. Afterwards it became known that there was a girl who was destined to become his wife, one whose birth came about through the blessing which the Báb had given to her parents in Ispahan. They had no children although the wife was longing for a child. On hearing this the Báb gave the husband an apple and told him to share it with his wife. After they had eaten of that apple, it soon became apparent that their long cherished hopes of parenthood were about to be fulfilled, and in due course a daughter was born to them. This daughter was the elected wife of Abdul Bahá. In the constant odour of sanctity and miracles, Abdul Bahá was brought up as the future leader of the community.

In the face of the clear testament of Baháullah little room was left for dissension, and yet a conflict over the same old principles soon broke out among the followers. The question was again whether Baháism was a final revelation in which the possibility of new innovations ceased with the passing of the Manifestation of God, or whether Abdul Bahá was entitled to further inspirations of his own. In the *Kitáb-i-Aqdas* Baháullah himself had explicitly stated that 'whosoever lays claim to any authority to promulgate fresh revelations before the completion of a millenium is assuredly a liar and an imposter'. Abdul Bahá's brothers and some of the leading Baháis therefore strenuously resisted the claim of Abdul Bahá to promulgate new doctrines or fresh ordinances, on the ground that a millenium of occultation must pass before a new exposition of the divine will would be necessary. Thus the Bahái religion split into two hostile parties fighting in Persia as well as in America and other countries of the world. Ibráhim Khair-ullah espoused the cause of the conservative party, and consequently Abdul Bahá was also obliged to send missionaries to America to counteract Khair-ullah's propaganda. The strife between the different Bábi factions, the heads of all of which claim direct divine inspiration, is a disfiguring flaw in the history of the movement, and is an insoluble contradiction in its basic principles. Assuming the Báb to have been divinely inspired (and this

assumption must be made not only by every Bábi but by every Baháí) it is difficult to suppose that he should have chosen for his successor a person who was destined to be the chief opponent of the Báb himself.

The rise of Abdul Bahá to supremacy was decided by forces which were not in the least divine, but most human. The reason for the success of Baháism and its expansion during the life time of Abdul Bahá must be sought in the peculiar appeal of its teachings to certain moods generated by the stress of the industrial civilization of the West. The mind tired by the drab monotony of factory life sought solace in the mystic doctrines of Baháism. It found a peculiar charm in mysterious phrases : "there is a mystic unity between Baháullah and Abdul Bahá. He is myself." Baháullah spoke in the same way of the Báb : 'Had the Primal Point been some one else besides Me, as ye claim, and reached the event of My appearance, verily, he would never have left Me, but rather we would have had mutual delights with each other in My days.'

A summary of Abdul Bahá's creed is given in his Tablets : 'My name is Abdul Bahá (Servant of Bahá), my qualification is Abdul Bahá, my reality is Abdul Bahá, my praise is Abdul Bahá. Thralldom to the Blessed Perfection is my glorious and refulgent diadem and servitude to all the human race is my perpetual religion. Through the bounty and favour of the Blessed Perfection, Abdul Bahá is the Ensign of the Most Sacred Peace, which is waving from the supreme Apex; and through the gift of the Greatest Name, he is the Lamp of Universal Salvation, which is shining with the love of God. The Herald of Kingdom is he so that he may awaken the people of the East and West. The voice of Friendship, Uprightness, Truth and Reconciliation is he, so as to cause quickening throughout all regions. No name, no title, no mention, no commendation hath he, nor will ever have, except Abdul Bahá, the friends of God must assist and help Abdul Bahá in the adoration of the True One; in servitude to the human race; in the well being of the human world and in divine love and kindness.'

'O ye friends of God : Abdul Bahá is the manifestation of Thralldom, and not the Christ. The servant of the human realm

is he, and not a Chief. Non-existent is he, and not Existent. Pure nothingness is he and not the Eternal Lord. No one must believe that Abdul Bahá is the second Christ, nay rather, he must believe that he is the manifestation of servitude, the manifestation of the unity of the human world, the Herald of the true One with spiritual power throughout all regions, the Commentator of the Book according to the divine fact and the Ransom to each one of the believers of God in this transitory world.'

As the teachings of the Baháullah represented a great advance from the metaphysical and ultra-Shiite doctrines of Bábism, the teachings of Abdul Bahá represented a still greater step forward in the ethical and practical development of the movement. He included all the noble aspirations of the age, all the humanitarian and social ideas floating in the air. All nations of the world should become of one faith and all men as brothers; the bonds of affection and unity between sons of men should be strengthened; the conflict between different religions should cease, and differences of race be annulled. This noble aim could be achieved only by a fundamental change of heart among the peoples of the world, and education must be organized for this purpose. According to Abdul Bahá all religions and sciences have a common purpose and a common aim.

In spite of such teachings we find that Baháism was troubled by bitter internecine quarrels from beginning to end. We must conclude that all these humanitarian ideals were still dreams and were far from being realized in practice. The interpretation of history given by Baháis is equally fantastic. They believe that the 20th century begins an unprecedented new era in history, dissimilar in geography, and in technical and economical conditions to all previous eras, and fundamentally suited to the need of Bahái teachings. The technical inventions, and the knowledge of foreign languages especially appear to fill Baháis with an optimistic hope for the cessation of bloody conflicts between men. The synthetic aim of the movement can be appreciated from the definite instructions left by Baháullah for the creation of temples of worship, which he called *Mashrik-ul-adhkár*. 'The dawning place of God's Praise.' The temple should be a nine-sided building surrounded by a dome, and as beautiful as

possible in design and workmanship. It should stand in a large garden, surrounded by a number of accessory buildings devoted to educational, charitable and social purposes so that the worship of God in the temple may always be closely associated with reverent delight in the beauties of nature and practical work. Such temples are being built in Ishkábád, Bombay and Wilmette on lake Michigan near Chicago.

Abdul Bahá lived at Akka, under the strict supervision of the Turkish Government. He was visited from all parts of the world by ardent followers or curious sightseers. After the Turkish revolution he was declared free and in 1911 he undertook tours in Europe and America, delivering lectures, answering questions and expounding the doctrines of his religion of unity. The reception accorded to him must have deeply impressed him, and probably created an impression in his mind that his religion will soon be universal on earth. The universality of his teaching naturally attracted a large number of pacifists, suffragettes, esperantists, theosophists, prohibitionists, socialists and the ultra-liberals, while the mysterious effect, which oriental dress, beauty of personal appearance and the unfamiliar music of oriental language never fail to produce on Western minds, drew others out of pure curiosity. He succeeded in establishing new centres of Baháism in Germany, France and elsewhere, while in America he gained a final ascendancy over the followers of his brother.

In Persia the persecution of Bábis and Baháis has gradually ceased. There are a few Bábis belonging to the old school, who call themselves *Kullu Shayis*, and do not care about the quarrel between Ezelis and Baháis, and a large but indeterminable number of Baháis proper. Lord Curzon in his book on "Persia and the Persian Question," published in 1892, wrote: "the lowest estimates place the number of Bábis in Persia at half of a million. I am disposed to think from conversations with persons well qualified to judge that the total is nearer one million. They are to be found in every walk of life from the ministers and nobles of the Court to the scavenger or the groom, not the least arena of their activity being the Musalman priesthood itself. If Bábism continues to grow at its present rate of progress, a time

may conceivably come when it will oust Mohammadanism from the field in Persia. This, I think, it would be unlikely to do, did it appear upon the ground under the flag of a hostile faith. But since its recruits are won from the best soldiers of the garrison whom it is attacking, there is greater reason to believe that it may ultimately prevail." This prediction however was not fulfilled; the movement after a phenomenal rise again subsided within normal limits.

Abdul Bahá survived the Great War, and saw a good deal of his life-work come to fruition. The Baháís set a good example of material work in transforming the barren Akka (Akhrab-ulbilád) into a little garden. They organized extensive agricultural operations near Tiberias during the war, and secured a great supply of wheat by which a famine was averted. Since the British occupation of Syria, Abdul Bahá became the centre of a large circle listening to his illuminating talks, and hundreds of visitors from the East and West flocked to his house. The British Government was so profoundly impressed by his noble character and his great work in the interest of peace and prosperity of the people that they conferred on him a knighthood of the British Empire. When he departed from the earthly life in 1921 the British High Commissioner officially took part in his funeral.

He died without male issue. His grand-son Shauk-i-Rabbani, a student of Oxford, was proclaimed as his successor, but he was unable to gather round him a group of followers. It is not unlikely that the Baháí movement will ebb out in platitudes of universalism. A typical example of recent writings is furnished by the book on 'the New Humanity' by Mirza Ahmad Sohrab, the Secretary of Abdul Bahá, in which the idea of universality is indiscriminately applied to such concepts as universal peace, universal patriotism, universal language, universal opinion, universal dawn (?), universal age,¹ universal newspaper, universal femininity,² universal painting and

¹ P. 181. "This is the age of women, for this very reason if for no other, it is a universal age."

² P. 230. "In her hands is the jar of atar (scent) of the rose of understanding. An artist whispered into my ear; "I would rather spend one hour with her than seventy years with a saint."

literature, universal aviation and broadcasting, universal penance and so on. It is a work not devoid of charm but without the slightest basis of science or a positive back-ground of history.

The after-effects of the Great War in Persia are however not very conducive towards the growth of mysticism. In the West there was a decided reaction against materialism, in the East there was a movement towards positivism, a process which has its psychological as well as social reasons. Baháism is not likely to continue to exercise its old magic influence on the Persian mind, which is now more inclined to be captivated by the forward march of industrialism. Romance will pass away with the growth of factories, and the colour of life will dissolve into the gray haze of outward uniformity. Nothing is more cruel than realities, for even if they give contact with truth, they fail to bring happiness, the illusion of pious hearts.

Water when analysed consists of two elements without taste and flavour, still it quenches the thirst and is the substance of life. Likewise every religion can be analysed into elements of myth, legends and popular lore; still it quenches the thirst of man for guidance and truth and sustains him in his stumbling progress through errors and deficiencies in his slow approach to the harmony pervading the universe.

(Mss. received March, 1930.)

CO-OPERATION IN BENGAL.

By HARIS CHANDRA SINHA.

To Bengal belongs the credit of initiating the co-operative movement long before it had taken actual shape in the rest of India. The names of two Bengalee pioneers come to mind, S. J. Ambika Charan Ukil and Rai Parbati Shankar Chaudhuri. It is true that the societies started by the former were not co-operative in the strict sense of the term, but there is nevertheless to be perceived in them a dim consciousness of co-operative principles. In the case of the grain banks started by the latter, there was also a religious halo somewhat obscuring the principle of "each for all, and all for each." The original idea was to call these grain banks "Lakshmi Golas", i.e., granaries presided over by the Hindu Goddess of Plenty, but in order not to offend against the susceptibilities of non-Hindus, the name "Dharma Gola" (literally, religious granary) was given. The plan put forward at first was to secure contributions of grain after a bumper harvest, more or less as a charity measure, and to store it up for future use, not only by contributors but also by other villagers, who were, however, to be charged a somewhat higher rate of interest than the former. Gradually these methods were replaced by more up-to-date principles. It is pleasant to recall that the first grain bank started by Rai Parbati Shankar Chaudhuri at Joyganj in the district of Dinajpur as early as 1892 continued its useful career as an unregistered society till December, 1914, after which it was registered in the usual way.

The earliest co-operative credit society was started at the village Kushmore (P. O. Labpur in the district of Birbhum) on the 12th July, 1902. From the statement as at 31st March, 1905, it appears that there were 71 members and 37 borrowers. The highest loan was for Rs. 20 and the lowest for Rs. 3, the rate of interest charged being 9% per annum. The earliest available balance sheet of the society is reproduced below, exactly as it appears in the first annual report of the Co-operative Department of Bengal, curiously enough with assets on the left hand side and liabilities on the right.

**Balance Sheet of Kushmore Co-operative Society as at
March 31st, 1905.**

ASSETS.			LIABILITIES.		
	Rs.	As. P.		Rs.	As. P.
1. Loans outstanding ...	345	0 0	1. Loans due to Govt. ...	400	0 0
2. Interest on ditto. ...	17	8 10½	2. Interest on ditto. ...	25	0 0
3. Deposit in Post Office			3. Deposits ...	9	4 0
Savings Bank ...	19	0 9			
4. Interests on ditto. ...	0	7 9	4. Interest on ditto ...	0	12 9
5. Balance in hand ...	110	15 10½	5. Reserve fund (en- trance fees) ...	18	0 0
			6. Balance being "worth"	40	0 8
	Rs. 493	1 8		Rs. 493	1 8

The strangely worded last item on the "liabilities" side is really "profits," which should have been credited to the Reserve Fund.

From such humble beginnings the movement has made rapid progress during the last twenty-five years. How the progress in Bengal compares with that in the rest of India will appear from Table I.

Table I.—Statistics of Co-operative Societies for 1927-1928.

Particulars	Bengal	British India
Number of societies per 100,000 inhabitants ...	38.7	33.5
Number of members of primary societies per 1,000 inhabitants ...	12.9	13.3
Working capital in annas per head of population ...	38	46

It is thus clear that in Bengal quality has been sacrificed to quantity, for although more numerous, the societies here have fewer members and less funds than in the rest of British India.

Table II gives additional details of the comparative position at the end of 1927-28.

Table II—Comparative Statistics of Co-operative Societies at the end of 1927-1928.

Territory	Kind of Societies	Number of Societies	Number of members	Loan from private persons, other societies and banks.	Share Capital	Deposits by members	State aid	Reserve	Loans issued to members, other societies and banks	CO-OPERATION IN BENGAL
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	
				Rs. (1,000)	Rs. (1,000)	Rs. (1,000)	Rs. (1,000)	Rs. (1,000)	Rs. (1,000)	
Bengal	Central	114	20,184	4,09,91	53,37			22,41	2,77,64	
	Agricultural	16,428	441,208	2,95,44	39,35	15,77	46	57,24	1,83,04	
	Non-Agricultural	1,520	160,631	94,96	50,21	50,04	14	12,47	1,80,14	
—+—										
British India	Central	1,907	234,007	27,69,74	2,90,74		16,73	1,48,78	19,23,03	
	Agricultural	72,640	2,487,178	18,86,59	2,96,45	1,49,74	24,19	3,99,21	12,25,43	
	Non-Agricultural	7,689	783,169	3,44,85	2,78,01	3,22,12	53,69	64,21	8,27,18	

From column (3) it appears that in Bengal a Central Bank controls 157 Primary Societies (both agricultural and non-agricultural) on an average, the corresponding figure for British India being only 42. The proportion of agricultural to non-agricultural societies is the same in Bengal as elsewhere, *viz.*, about 10:1, showing that the underlying economic conditions are not dissimilar. On reference to column (8) it will be seen that Bengal is less dependent on state aid than the rest of India.

The effect of this inadequate control by Central Bank is clearly revealed in the inefficiency in the working of Agricultural Credit Societies. The Audit classification of such Societies (excluding grain societies) is given for the last five years in Table III.

Table III.—Classification of Agricultural Societies in Bengal.

Year	A	B	C	D	E	Not classified	Total
1924-25	110	630	5,401	656	487	2,527	9,811
25-26	132	797	6,531	726	492	2,456	11,136
26-27	150	787	7,384	863	575	3,607	13,366
27-28	152	850	8,453	1,108	687	4,402	15,657
28-29	166	855	10,177	1,427	807	3,457	16,889

The "C" class societies, which are usually spoken of as average societies, are really worse than average, being defined* as societies "in which the general condition is promising but members are in arrears and the general working is not satisfactory and in which more supervision is necessary." However that may be, the above table clearly shows that C, D and E Societies are increasing at a much faster rate than A and B Societies. This is a most disquieting feature. In his latest

*This is the official definition adopted by the Registrar of Co-operative Societies.

annual report, the Registrar has rightly sounded the following note of warning :—

“The real work of a Central Bank should . . . be judged not by the amount of deposits it is able to attract from capitalist depositors, nor by the imposing building it puts up, but by the efficiency of the working of village societies under it and the growth of a real co-operative spirit among the members of village societies resulting in their economic improvement.”

Besides these Agricultural Credit Societies all with unlimited liability, there were at the end of 1928-29, other types of Agricultural Societies as listed below :—

(a) 41 Grain Banks, 8 with limited liability and 33 with unlimited liability.

(b) 100 Purchase and Sale Societies, all with limited liability, most of the funds being employed for the marketing of jute.

(c) 773 Irrigation Societies all with limited liability;

(d) 172 Production and Sale Societies, mostly with limited liability, practically all of them being organised for the sale of milk; and

(e) 34 other Societies, such as Agricultural Associations.

The Grain Societies are to be found mostly in the district of Bankura, where this form of societies continues to flourish. The Purchase and Sale Societies have probably the worst records of any single class of societies in Bengal, the relevant statistics for the past three years are reproduced below in Table IV.

Table IV.—Purchase and Sale Societies.

Year	No. of Societies	Paid-up Capital	Reserve Fund	Loss for the year
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1926-27	78	3,22,920	28,897	54,918
1927-28	85	4,09,071	50,718	4,20,093
1928-29	100	5,68,641	58,802	1,84,579

Thus during the last three years, there has been a total loss of Rs. 6,59,590, which exceeds the paid-up capital and reserve fund. The situation is alarming, but the Registrar has rested content merely with the following remark in his latest annual report :—

“The movement for the marketing of agricultural produce has not yet emerged from the stage of experiment and the department is following a policy of caution.”

Unfortunately, however, even this timid policy has not prevented the frittering away of the entire resources of the societies during the past three years, seriously crippling the entire movement.

The only agricultural sale society which has achieved great success in Bengal is the Naogaon Ganja Cultivators' Co-operative Societies. But as has been rightly observed in the annual report of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Bengal, for 1928-29, “the working of the society furnishes no model to the working of other sale and supply societies which are not based on a monopoly of supply.”

The Irrigation Societies form a special feature of agricultural co-operation in Bengal. They are mostly confined to the dry districts of Bankura and Birbhum and the portion of Burdwan lying to the west of 88° longitude, which marks the boundary for deficient rainfall in Bengal. The total number rose from 525 to 775 during 1928-29 and the working capital from Rs. 3,13,455 to Rs. 3,83,063 but there was a loss of Rs. 12,048, which was slightly less than the previous year's loss.

The latest development in Production and Sale Societies, which are mostly Milk Societies, as stated above, is the setting up by the Darjeeling Milk Union of a fairly well equipped modern factory, probably the only factory in India working on the gravitation system.

The Non-agricultural Societies of Bengal may be classified in the following way :—

(a) 410 Credit Societies, 381 with unlimited liability and 29 with limited liability ;

(b) 69 Stores and Supply Societies, all with limited liability ;

(c) 528 Artisans' Societies, of which 290 are Weavers' Societies; and

(d) 726 Miscellaneous Societies, of which 662 are Anti-Malarial and Public Health Societies, which form a special feature of the co-operative movement in this presidency.

Thus it is clear that co-operation has proceeded in diverse directions in Bengal. But there is one direction in which co-operation has not made any appreciable progress, although it is precisely in that direction that co-operation can be most fruitful. At present, different departments of the Bengal Government are charged with different aspects of Bengal's social and economic life such as Education, Sanitation, Agriculture, Industries, etc. Under this system of watertight division of functions, there is a total absence of co-ordination of effort and unnecessary duplication in the agencies for inspection, audit and propaganda. If the problem of rural Bengal is to be effectively tackled, the present inefficiency and waste must be avoided. For instance, instead of starting ill-equipped schools with low-salaried teachers at numerous centres, the school must be assigned its rightful place in the village economy. It should be started at a convenient market place, easy of access from neighbouring villages, the villagers themselves arranging for boats or carts, which will bring their boys to the school along with their crops to the market place. The teachers must not only impart the ordinary instruction of primary and secondary schools but must also be prepared to work for the villagers in other ways. For instance, one teacher must be an expert agriculturist, who will have to popularise the results of the researches of the Agricultural Department. He will have to analyse the soils of adjacent villages and procure the necessary manure. He will be required to get the seeds for the crop, which he considers most suitable for the area. All this and more he can do, if he tries to enlist the confidence of the guardians of his boys and shows good results in the experimental farm attached to the school. Similarly another teacher will be in charge of the Co-operative Credit Society for financing both short-term and long-term agricultural needs of the region. A

third teacher may be in charge of the Co-operative Sale and Supply Society, through which the produce of the neighbouring villages will be marketed in an organized manner, eliminating unnecessary middle-men and securing better prices for the cultivators. Another teacher will manage the Co-operative Store. Other teachers will be called upon to provide medical relief and veterinary assistance to the neighbouring villages. There will be two positive gains from this scheme of centralisation. One is that villagers will look upon the school as an integral part of village life and will be prepared to remunerate the teachers for their services. The other is that for the students the present incongruity between the school life and the home life will be done away with. Education will no longer be looked upon as a costly luxury, and fewer students will lapse back to illiteracy in the same way as now. If the site of the school is properly chosen, there is no reason why the cost should be prohibitive. A beginning has already been made by Sir Daniel Hamilton in his zemindary at Gosaba, and the success so far achieved there shows the power of co-operation on organized lines. The last annual report of the Registrar mentions a similar scheme of colonisation by landless agriculturists in the district of Chittagong. If attempts are made from the very beginning to organise the entire life of the colony on co-operative lines, the experiment will, it is hoped, prove such a success that it will be able to furnish an object lesson for the rest of Bengal.

(Mss. received August, 1930).

MAHĀYĀNAVIMŚAKA OF NĀGĀRJUNA

Restored in Sanskrit from the Tibetan and Chinese Versions
and Translated into English.

By

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

The Tibetan and the Chinese translations of the present treatise with an English translation made by him was published in a paper in 1927 by Mr. Susumu Yamaguchi in *The Eastern Buddhist*, Vol. IV, No. 1-2, pp. 56-72, 167-176. Having gone through the edition it occurred to me that further studies in it were required and I made an attempt to reconstruct the lost Sanskrit text from the Tibetan and the Chinese versions collating them as far as was possible for me. And the result is now placed before the public.

There are two Tibetan versions, T¹ and T², and Mr. Yamaguchi used the "Red" or the Peking edition (=P) of them. I have compared it as printed in the paper with the "Black" or the Narthang edition (=N) in our library. He does not give any particulars regarding the edition of the Chinese version (=C) he has used. I have compared it with the Shanghai edition and found only one variation in the end of the third line of the kārīkā, No. 5 as noted in the Notes.

For the sake of convenience of comparison I have followed the number of the order of the kārīkāś as given by Mr. Yamaguchi, but the right order, in my humble opinion, is indicated by numbers above the kārīkāś.

The kārīkāś, only four in number, which, I think, are added afterwards, are printed in smaller types.

For easy reference both the Tibetan texts and a facsimile of the Chinese version of the Shanghai (1909-1913) edition are given here.

In the Comparative Notes I have translated into Sanskrit each line of every káriká in its three versions, two Tibetan and one Chinese, where all of them are found. I have also tried to find out their mutual agreement and disagreement, though in some cases very slight, and to show from which line or lines of them each line of a káriká is reconstructed. An attempt has also been made to explain the difficult words or passages in the text.

As regards the Chinese portion of the work I am much indebted to my dear friend Prof. Dr. G. Tucci for the indispensable help he has given me.

There has been added an English translation.

INTRODUCTION.

§1. THE MAHAYANAVIMSAKA.

The small treatise of which the original Sanskrit is lost and a Reconstruction from the Tibetan and Chinese versions is now presented here for the first time is called *Mahāyānavimśaka*, as evident from the Tibetan and Chinese sources. In Tibetan the very name is transliterated together with its translation, *Theg. pa. chen. po. ni. ñi. su*. In Chinese version it is named *Ta shang erh shi sung lung* literally meaning *Mahāyānagāthā-* (or *kārikā-*)*vimśaka-śāstra*.

There are other two works of the same or similar name, *Mahāyānavimśati* (Tib. *Theg. pa. chen. po. ñi. su*) and *Tattvamahāyānavimśati* (Tib. *De. kho. na. ñid. theg. pa. chen. po. ñi. su*).¹ But as an examination of the contents of them shows these two books are quite different from our *Mahāyānavimśaka*. They are edited² in the original Sanskrit by Pandit Haraprasad Shastri under somewhat different names, *Mahāyānavimśikā* and *Tattvavimśikā* respectively, in a volume called *Advayavajrasaṃgraha*, GOS, 1927, pp. 54, 52. They are attributed to Advayavajra.

§2. THE AUTHOR.

The authorship of the work is assigned to Nāgārjuna in the colophons of the Tibetan and Chinese translations. While T² has prefixed to his name the epithet *ācārya* (slob. *dpon*), and T¹ *ācārya āryā* (slob. *dpon. ḥphags*), C has *Mahā-* (*ta*). Now in Buddhist literature there are more than one Nāgārjuna ; one Nāgārjuna who systematized the Mādhyamika philosophy is well-known ; there is another Nāgārjuna who is said to have been one of the eighty four *Siddhas* and to whom the authorship of most of the books found against his name in the *Rgyud.hgrel* or *Tantravṛtti* section of Cordier's Catalogue of Tanjur, Vol. III, may rightly be attributed. The second Nāgārjuna is also called *ārya*, *ācārya-ārya*, and besides them *mahācārya*, *mahācārya-ārya*, *bhikṣu*, and *bhaṭṭāraka*. Which of these two Nāgārjunas is the real author of the *Mahāyānavimśaka* is a natural question, but it should now remain unsettled owing to want of sufficient materials. It may, however, be observed that there is no evidence to show that it is the first Nāgārjuna to whom we may assign the authorship of the

¹ Cordier, Vol. II, p. 217.

² This edition is not critical and full of mistakes, and as such should be used very carefully.

work. It may be noted here that the date of the first Nāgārjuna is *circa* 200 A.D., while the second Nāgārjuna is believed to have flourished in about the first half of the seventh century A.D.

§3. TRANSLATIONS

Tibetan and Chinese.

There are two Tibetan translations of the *Mahāyānaviṃśaka*, and both are preserved in the Tanjur, Mdo ; one in Gi (fols. 211^b.8—213^a.2) and the other in Tsa (fols. 156^a.4—157^a.5) (Cordier, Vol. III, pp. 357, 293). For the sake of reference we mark them by T¹ and T² respectively. There is nothing to show that these two translators knew of each other's translation.

T¹ was made by one Paṇḍita Ānanda (Jayānanda) of Kashmir and the Tibetan Translator Bhikṣu Kirttibhutiprajña (*Dge. loṇ. grags. ḥbyor. śes. rab*) and T² by an Indian Paṇḍita Candrakumāra and Bhikṣu Śākyaprabha (*Dge. loṇ. śā. kya. ḥod*). Śākyaprabha is also the translator of the *Tattva-mahāyānaviṃśatī* already referred to. He was contemporary of Gopāla,¹ the founder of the Pal dynasty in Bengal (800 A.D.).

There is a Chinese translation made by Dānapāla (*Shī-hu*) in 980—1000 A.D. in the later Sung dynasty, 960—1127 (B. Nanjio, No. 1308).

§4. THE DATE OF THE ORIGINAL TEXT.

No definite date can be assigned to our work until more materials are forthcoming. That the work was existent in 1000 A. D. is quite clear from the Chinese translation as shown above. Its existence in 800 A. D. is proved by the fact that it was translated into Tibetan by Śākyaprabha, contemporary of Gopāla. The very name Nāgārjuna itself as its author, as found from both the sources, Tibetan and Chinese, clearly shows that it cannot be later than the last part of the seventh century A. D. It is further supported by the following fact. Indrabhūti who is believed to have flourished in 700 A. D. or just a few years after has the following *śloka* in his *Jñānasiddhi*¹, XI. 8 :

kalpanājalapūṛṇasya saṃsārasya mahodadheḥ |
vajrayānam anāruhya² ko vā pāram gamiṣyati ||

¹ Pousin, *Pañcākrama*, 1896, p. ix.

² *Two Vajrayāna Works*, ed. Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, GOS, Baroda, 1929, p. 68.

³ The actual reading in the text is *saṃāruhya* which is evidently wrong. The Tib. version reads *anāruḥkaḥ* (*ma. loṇ. par*).

This is in fact the *kārikā*, No. 22, of our *Mahāyānavimśaka* with the single variation that while the former which deals with the *Vajrayāna* uses the word *vajra*-, the latter treating of the truth of *Mahāyāna* has there rightly *mahā*-. That this identity is not accidental but is a deliberate quotation by *Indrabhūti* from the *Mahāyānavimśaka* may be clear if one considers the fact that *Indrabhūti* expressly quotes from different works and writes at least a portion of his book with the materials taken from others.¹ In reality it is partly a compilation just like the *Subhāṣitasamgraha*, ed. Bendall. It can therefore be said that it is *Indrabhūti* who has borrowed the *kārikā* from the *Mahāyānavimśaka*.

§5. ITS AUTHENTICITY.

That the present work is an authentic one can be known from the quotation referred to above. Moreover, the following *kārikā* (No. 10) is quoted from it as an *āgama*² in the Sanskrit commentary on the *Āścaryacaryācaya*³ edited by *Pandit Haraprasad Sastri*, p. 6, in his *Buddha Gana o Doha*:⁴

yathā citrakaro rūpaṁ yakṣasyāstibhaṁkaram l
samālikhya svayaṁ bhītaḥ saṁsāre'py abudhas tathā ll

But the term *āgama* as used in the commentary alluded to may not necessarily imply so much authenticity as the old canonical works have. For, while the word is once used (p. 56) with regard to a quotation⁵ from the *Samādhirvāja-sūtra* (BTS, p. 28), or to that⁶ from the *Gaṇḍavyūha*,⁷ it is employed with reference to an *Apabhraṁṣa* passage⁸ or to a stanza⁹ in the *Mahāyānavimśati* (or *Mahāyānavimśikā*)¹⁰ of *Advayaavajra*, the time of which is believed to be about 978-1030 A. D.

¹ Op. Cit. p. 75: sarvatantre sthitam tattvaṁ, tebhyaḥ (?) kiñcin nigadyate: Tattvasamgraha-tantrādau sthitam; p. 69: yuktir apy ucyate 'dhunā Yogatantrōkta dṛṣṭāntaiḥ; p. 65: uktam ca—Kālpāntād'. See also the whole of Chapter XV.

² Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 75: "sākṣād atindriyārthavidāṁ āptānaṁ yad vacanaṁ sa āgamaḥ." 'The speech of those authoritative persons who directly perceive things beyond the cognizance of the senses is called *āgama*.'

³ Not *Caryācaryaviniścaya* as writes the editor. See IHQ, Vol. V., No. 4; *Pravṛti* (a Bengali Monthly), 1336 B.S., Kārttika, p. 141.

⁴ *Vaṅṭya Sāhityā-Parīṣat-Granthāvalī*, No. 55, Cal. 1323 B.S.

⁵ "Yathā kumārī": Here are many wrong readings; for better ones see *Madhyamakavṛtti* by Candrakīrti, p. 178.

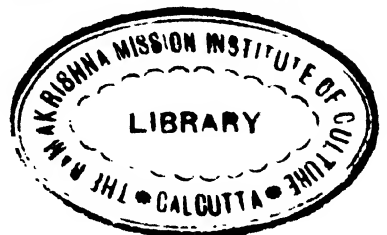
⁶ P. 58: "dhūmena jñāyate vahnirō."

⁷ See *Subhāṣitasamgraha*, p. 13.

⁸ P. 70: "jima jalao."

⁹ P. 77: "na kleśā bodhito bhinnāo."

¹⁰ *Advayaavajrasamgraha*, GOS, p. 56.



§6. THE KĀRIKAS OF THE WORK.

As regards the number of the kārīkās in the present treatise there is much discrepancy among the different versions ; T¹ has twenty kārīkās, T² twenty-three, and C twenty-four. The word *vimśaka* itself in the title of the work, *Mahāyāyanavimśaka*, clearly shows that it is composed of twenty kārīkās. But this fact alone cannot safely lead us to the final conclusion regarding the actual number of the kārīkās in the work. For, it is often seen that books which bear titles indicating the number of stanzas in them do not necessarily contain the same number of them. For instance, the *Vimśikā* of Vasubandhu (ed. Lévi) has *twenty-two* kārīkās with the commentary instead of *twenty* as signified by the name. In the present case, where there are different versions of the same work and each of them gives a different number of kārīkās, this difference cannot be ignored, and attempt should be made to explain it as far as possible.

In dealing with such questions preference is sometimes given to the shortest text ; but this is not always safe, for somehow or other a portion of the original may have been left out. Nor is it always safe to discard the longest text simply on account of the fact that it is the longest. One should therefore proceed to discuss the matter very cautiously depending more on the internal evidences, if any, than on the external.

If a kārīkā is found in all the versions, even with variants, we may safely take it as a genuine one. But if it is not so, there is room for doubt of its genuineness.

Now, we see that out of the twenty-three kārīkās in T² nineteen are to be found in all the three versions, and the numbers are 1-7, 10-17, and 19-22. And as such they can be regarded as genuine. The doubt is, however, in regard to the remaining four, viz., Nos. 8, 9, 18 and 23. They are entirely wanting in T¹, and are found only in T² and C.

In the longest text, C, the number of the kārīkās is, as said before, twenty-four. Here the additional number is due to the fact that where T² has one kārīkā, C and T¹ have two (see No. 21).

As the consequence of *kalpanā* is well described in Nos. 11 and 12, which are found in each of the versions, it appears that No. 8 which is only in T² and C is not necessary. Similarly when the nature of *sattvas* is already shown in No. 2 in all the texts, and *pralītyasamutpāda* already mentioned in No. 3 and in No. 15 is spoken of again, it seems that No. 9 which occurs only in T² and C is not required. One may, therefore, think

that these two *kārikās*, Nos. 8 and 9, were added afterwards. It should, however, be noted that the reason advanced here is not conclusive.

As regards No. 18 it may be observed that when *samskṛta* is already described as *sūnya* in No. 3, to say of it again in No. 18, though with some addition, after what has been said in Nos. 16 and 17, seems to be quite unnecessary. Nor can it be put just before the concluding *kārikā*, No. 22 (=T¹20, T²22, C 24), in accordance with the Chinese version.

No. 22 (=T¹20, T²22, C 24) is to be found in all the versions. Its subject matter and the number of order in T¹ and C (*viz.*, 20 and 24 respectively) taken together with what is said in the preceding *kārikā*, No. 21, clearly point out that it is the concluding *kārikā* of the treatise. Therefore No. 23 cannot be placed at the end as it is done in T². This is perfectly clear also from the number of order in C. No. 20 is C 21; after it let one read No. 23 and it will be *apī TEXT*, even here it cannot rightly be placed.

Thus one may think that the above four *kārikās*, 8, 9, 18 and 23, did not originally form a part of our *Mahāyānavi*.

The four *kārikās* mentioned above being excluded we have twenty *kārikās* in all in T¹. According to it the *kārikā* No. 18^a which in fact is 17 in T¹ is to be put before No. 19 in the place of No. 18. C, too, has thus twenty *kārikās*. But in T² there are only nineteen and it is due to the fact that No. 18^a or T¹17 corresponding partly to Nos. 18 and 19 of C is here completely omitted.

§7. THE ORDER OF THE KĀRIKĀS.

The following table shows the actual order of the *kārikās* as arranged in the Tibetan and Chinese versions:

T ²	T ¹	C
1—5	1—5	1—5
6	6	7
7	7	6
8	0	8
9	0	9
10	8	10
11	9	11
12	10	12
13	11	13
14	12	14

15	13	15
16	14	16
17	15	17
18	0	23
19	18	20
20	19	21
*	*	*
22	20	24
23	0	22

§8. INTER-RELATION OF THE VERSIONS.

The comparative notes will show that in most cases T¹ has agreement more with C than with T². Only in four kārīkās, Nos. 4, 14, 15, 22, T¹ agrees more with T² of kārīk C.

made to
with such

SUBJECT AND ITS TREATMENT.

After expressing this obeisance to the Buddha the author tells us some of the general conceptions of the Mādhyamikas which can be regarded as common to Yogācāra system. Next, he advises one to realise Buddhahood, so that one may help the people suffering from the false notions of things. Then he says that through the knowledge of *pratītyasamutpāda* one can see the transcendental truth (*bhūtārtha*) and by it can understand that the world is *śūnya*. To the wise, he continues, there is no *saṃsāra*, just as the object of dream has no existence to one in the waking state. Next he teaches us that there is nothing but mind (*cittamātra*) and such notions as the bad and evil *karman*, their consequences, etc., are only owing to that mind, and when the mind is completely suppressed there is none of them. The things have no independent existence, yet one imagines them variously and then falls into the ocean of *saṃsāra*, and cannot come out of it without resort to the *Mahāyāna*.

These are mere statements without any arguments or discussion, and thus the subject is not treated here thoroughly.

The only thing that may be specially noted here is the advocacy by the author of the idealistic views in the treatise. Mr. Yamaguchi has noticed this in his *Prefatory Notes* (*The Eastern Buddhist*, 1926, Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 57-58) and found out even from *Nāgārjuna's* own work, *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā*, 34, 36, that the main idealistic thought is adopted there by

*For T² 21, T¹ 14-17, and C 18-19 see note on No. 21.

the author himself. Idealistic views are expounded in various canonical works and the Mādhyamikas explain the fact saying that they are meant only to lead the disciples who are not keenly intelligent to the highest truth. See *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 276. Nāgārjuna himself says :

cittamatram jagat sarvam iti yā deśanā munēḥ |
uttrāsaparihārārtham bālānām sā na tattvataḥ ||¹

Subhāṣitasamgraha, p. 20.

One may, therefore, say that the *Mahāyānvinīśaka* represents the views of both the Vijñāna- and Sūnya-vādas, and as such it does not belong to a particular school of the Mahāyāna. It is simply a book of the Mahāyāna, as shows its title.

§10. THE SUMMARY OF THE TEXT.

Having indicated in the first kārikā in which he has paid his homage to the Buddha that the truth he is going to propound can hardly be expressed by words the author says that in the transcendental truth (*paramārtha*) there is neither *utpāda* 'appearance' nor *nirodha* 'disappearance.' The Buddha and the beings are of the same nature and they are just like the sky which has no real existence. There is no origination (*jāti*) on either side of the world. A compound thing (*samskṛta*) comes into existence through its cause and conditions, and therefore in its essence it is nothing but *sūnya*. This is what comes into the range of an omniscient one. In regard to their own nature all things are just like a shadow. Worldlings imagine an *ātman* when in fact there is no *ātman*. They also imagine pain and pleasure, and such other things, but in reality they are non-existent. It is on account of this false imagination that people suffer from *kleśas* 'evil passions,' as a forest is burnt by fire. As a painter is frightened having seen a picture of a Yakṣa drawn by himself, so it is owing to his false notions that a man is frightened in the *samsāra*. As a stupid person moving himself is drowned in mud, so are drowned the beings in the mire of false discrimination and cannot come out of it. Seeing that these men are helpless one should try to become

asti khalv iti nīlādī jagad iti jādīyase |
bhāvagrāhagrahāveśa-(veśād) gambhīranayabhīrave ||
vijñānamātram evedam citram jagad udāhṛtam |
grāhyagrāhakabhedena rahitam mandamedhuse ||
gandharvanagarākāraṁ satyadvitayalāñchitam |
ameyānantakalpaughabhāvanāśuddhabuddhaye ||

Subhāṣitasamgraha, pp. 14-15

a Buddha, so that one can help them. The world is *sūnya* to him who realizes the transcendental truth having known *pratītyasamutpāda*. The *samsāra* and *nirvāṇa* are mere appearance ; in fact, they have no existence ; the truth is that the things are quiescent from the very beginning (*ādiśānta*), clean, changeless and pure. All this is nothing but mind (*citta*), and just like *māyā*. When the wheel of this mind (*citta-cakra*) is destroyed all things disappear ; therefore they are *anātman* (i.e., without any definite nature). The things have no nature whatsoever, yet, the people take them to be eternal, think them to be *ātman*, and consider that happiness may be derived from them. And thus they are covered with the darkness of ignorance and attachment and fall into the ocean of *samsāra*. And without the 'great conveyance' (*Mahāyāna*) no body can reach the other side of that ocean.

ABBREVIATIONS.

The letters *a*, *b*, *c* and *d* imply the four lines of a stanza respectively.

C stands for Chinese version (B. Nanjio, No. 1308).

T¹ stands for Tibetan version, Tanjur, Mdo, Gi, fols, 211b.8—213a.2 (Cordier, Vol. III, 357).

T² stands for Tibetan version, Tanjur, Mdo, Tsa, fols, 156a.4—157a.5 (Cordier, Vol. III, p. 293).

N.B.—In the Tibetan in Roman transcription, *ṇ* has been used for the guttural nasal (= *ng* as in English *sing*). This letter, *ṇ*, is used for the Sanskrit and other Indian cerebral *n*, but as the press did not have the proper letter for the guttural nasal we have used *ṇ* as a makeshift. In Sanskrit words, simple *n* before gutturals stands for the guttural nasal.

RESTORED SANSKRIT TEXT.

MAHĀYĀNAVIMŚAKAM

Namas Triratnāya.

1

namo vācā'vācyam api dayayā yen deśitam l
dhimate vītarāgāya buddhāyācintyaśaktaye ll 1 ll

2

paramārthena notpādo nirodho'pi na tattvataḥ l
buddha ākāśavat tadvat sattvā apy ekalakṣaṇāḥ ll 2 ll

3

jātir nāsti tata itaḥ saṃskṛtaṃ pratyayodbhavam l
śūnyam eva svarūpeṇa sarvajñajñānagocaraḥ ll 3 ll

4

sarve bhāvāḥ svabhāvena pratibimbamā matāḥ l
śuddhāḥ śāntasvabhāvāś ca advayās tathatā samāḥ ll 4 ll

5

tattvenānātmani pṛthag-janenātmā vikalpitaḥ l
sukhaṃ duḥkham upekṣā ca kleśo mokṣas tathaiva ca ll 5 ll

6

gatayaḥ saḍ hi saṃsāre sugatau sukham uttamam l
narake ca mahad duḥkham sarvaṃ na tattvagocaraḥ ll 6 ll

7

aśubhād duḥkham atyantam jarā vyādhis tathā mṛtiḥ l
karmabhis tu śubhair eva śubham eva hi niścitam ll 7 ll

mithyākalpanayā sattvā dāvāgnineva kānanam l
kleśānalena dahyante narakāḍau patanti ca ll 8 ll
yathā yathā bhaven māyā sattvāḥ syur gocarās tathā l
jagan māyāsvarūpaṃ hi pratiyasambhavam tathā ll 9 ll

8

* yathā citrakaro rūpaṃ yakṣasyātibhayankaram l
samālikhya svayaṃ bhūtaḥ saṃsāre'py abudhas tathā ll 10 ll

9

svayaṃ calan yathā paṇke bālaḥ kaścin nimajjati l
nimagnāḥ kalpanāpaṇke sattvās tathodgamākṣamāḥ ll 11 ll

10

bhāvadarśanato'bhāve vedyate duḥkhavedanā 1
taylor jñānaviśayayor bādhyante kalpanāviśaiḥ 11 12 11

11

ālokya tām aśaraṇāṁ karuṇāvaśamānasaḥ 1
sattvānām upakārāya bodhicaryām samācaret 11 13 11

12

tayā sañcītya sambhārān prāpto bodhim anuttarām 1
kalpanābandhanān muktaḥ syād buddho lokabāndhavaḥ 11 14 11

13

yaḥ pratīyasamutpādād bhūtārtham avalokate 1
sa jñāti jagac chūnyam ādimadhyāntavarjitam 11 15 11

14

darśanenaiva saṁsāro nirvāṇam ca na tattvataḥ 1
nirañjanaṁ nirvikāram ādiśāntaṁ prabhāsvaram 11 16 11

15

viśayaḥ svapnabodhasya prabuddhena na dṛśyate 1
mohāndhakārodbuddhena saṁsāro naiva dṛśyate 11 17 11
māyaiva dṛśyate māyānirmitaṁ saṁskṛtaṁ yadā 1
naiva kiñcit tadā bhāvo dharmāṇāṁ saiva dharmatā 11 18 11

16

jātimān na svayaṁ jāto jātir lokair vikalpitā 1
vikalpās caiva sattvās ca dvayam etan na yujyate 11 18 11

17

cittamātram idaṁ sarvaṁ māyāvad avatiṣṭhate 1
tataḥ śubhāśubhaṁ karma tato jātiḥ śubhāśubhā 11 19 11

18

sarve dharmā nirudhyante cittacakranirodhataḥ 1
anātmānas tato dharmā viśuddhās tata eva te 11 20 11

19

bhāveṣu niḥsvabhāveṣu nityātmasukhasamjñayā 1
rāgamohatamaśchannasyodbhūto'yaṁ bhavāmbudhiḥ 11 21 11

20

* kalpanājalapūrṇasya saṁsārasya mahodadheḥ 1
mahāyānam anārūḍhaḥ ko vā pārāṁ gamiṣyati 11 22 11

avidyāpratrayotpannasyāsya lokasya samvidāḥ 1
kutaḥ khalu bhaved eṣāṁ vitarkānāṁ samadbhavaḥ 11 23 11

11 Ācāryārya-Nāgārjuna-kṛtaṁ Mahāyānavimśakaṁ sampūrṇam 11

TRANSLATION.

ADORATION TO THE THREE TREASURES.

1

I make my obeisance to the Buddha who is wise, free from all attachment, and whose powers are beyond conception, and who has kindly taught the truth which cannot be expressed by words. 1.

2

In the transcendental truth there is no origination (*utpāda*), and in fact, there is no destruction (*nirodha*). The Buddha is like the sky (which has neither origination nor cessation), and the beings are like him, and therefore they¹ are of the same nature. 2.

3

There is no birth either on this or the other side (of the world). A compound thing (*saṃskṛta*) originates from its conditions. Therefore it is *śūnya* by its nature. This fact comes into the range of knowledge of an omniscient one. 3.

4

All things by nature are regarded as reflections. They are pure and naturally quiescent, devoid of any duality, equal, and remain always and in all circumstances in the same way (*tathatā*). 4.

5

In fact, worldings attribute *ātman* to what is not *ātman*, and in the same way they imagine happiness, misery, indifference, passions and liberation. 5.

6—7

Birth in the six realms of existence in the world, highest happiness in the heaven, great pain in the hell,—these do not come within the per-view of truth (i.e. cannot be accepted as true); nor do the notions that unmeritorious actions lead to the extreme misery, old age, disease, and death, and meritorious actions surely bring about good results. 6-7.

It is owing to false notions that beings are consumed by fire of passions even as a forest is burnt by forest conflagration and fall into the hells, etc. 8.

As illusion prevails so do beings make their appearance. The world is illusory and it exists only on account of its cause and conditions. 9.

¹ The Buddha and the beings.

8

As a painter is frightened by the terrible figure of a Yakṣa which he himself has drawn, so is a fool frightened in the world (by his own false notions). 10.

9

Even as a fool going himself to a quagmire is drowned therein, so are beings drowned in the quagmire of false notions and are unable to come out thereof. 11.

10

The feeling of misery is experienced by imagining a thing where in fact it has no existence. Beings are tortured by the poison of false notions regarding the object and its knowledge. 12.

11

Seeing these helpless beings with a compassionate heart one should perform the practices of the highest knowledge (*bodhicaryā*) for the benefit of them. 13.

12

Having acquired requisites thereby and getting unsurpassable *bodhi* one should become a Buddha, the friend of the world, being freed from the bondage of false notions. 14.

13

He who realizes the transcendental truth knowing the *pralīyasamutpāda* (or the manifestation of entities depending on their causes and conditions), knows the world to be *śūnya* and devoid of beginning, middle or end. 15.

14

The *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* are mere appearances ; the truth is stainless, changeless, and quiescent from the beginning and illumined. 16.

15

The object of knowledge in dream is not seen when one awakes. Similarly the world disappears to him who is awakened from the darkness of ignorance. 17.

The creation of illusion is nothing but illusion. When everything is compound there is nothing which can be regarded as a real thing. Such is the nature of all things. 18.

16

One having origination (*jāti*) does not originate himself. Origination is a false conception of the people. Such conceptions and (conceived) beings, these two are not reasonable. 18a.

17

All this is nothing but mind (*citta*) and exists just like an illusion. Hence originate good and evil actions and from them good and evil birth. 19.

18

When the wheel of the mind is suppressed, all things are suppressed. Therefore all things are devoid of *ātman* (independent nature), and consequently they are pure. 20.

19

It is due to thinking the things which have no independent nature as eternal, *ātman*, and pleasant that this ocean of existence (*bhava*) appears to one who is enveloped by the darkness of attachment and ignorance. 21.

20

Who can reach the other side of the great ocean of *saṃsāra* which is full of water of false notions without getting into the great vehicle (*i.e.*, *Mahāyāna*)? 22.

How can these false notions arise in a man who thoroughly knows this world which has originated from ignorance? 23.

Here ends the *Mahāyānavimśaka* of Ācārya Nāgarjuna.

CHINESE TEXT.

二十頌論

龍樹菩薩造

西天譯經三藏朝奉大夫試光祿卿傳法大師賜紫臣施護奉

詔譯

1 歸命不可思議性 諸佛無著真實智 諸法非言非無言 佛慈悲故善宣說

第一義無生 隨轉而無性 佛衆生一相 如虛空平等 3 此彼岸無生 自性緣所生 彼諸行皆空

一切智智行 4 無染真如性 無二等寂靜 諸法性自性 如影像無異 5 凡夫分別心 無實我計我

故起諸煩性 及苦樂捨等 6 世間老病死 爲苦不可愛 隨諸業墜墮 此實無有樂 7 天趣勝妙樂

地獄極大苦 皆不實境界 六趣常輪轉 8 衆生妄分別 煩惱火燒燃 墮地獄等趣 如野火燒林

4 衆生本如幻 復取幻境界 履幻所成道 不了從緣生 10 如世間畫師 畫作夜叉相 自畫已自怖

此名無智者 11 衆生自起染 造彼輪迴因 造已怖墜墮 無智不解脫 12 衆生虛妄心 起疑惑垢染

無性計有性 受苦中極苦 13 佛見彼無救 乃起悲愍意 故發善提心 廣修善提行 14 得無上智果

16 即觀察世間 分別所纏縛 故爲作利益 15 從生及生已 悉示正真義 後觀世間空 離初中後際

觀生死涅槃 是二俱無我 無染亦無壞 本清淨常寂 17 夢中諸境界 覺已悉無見 智者寤寢睡

亦不見生死 18 愚癡聞蔽者 墜墮生死海 無生計有生 起世間分別 19 若分別有生 衆生不如理

於生死法中 起常樂我想 20 此一切唯心 安立幻化相 作善不善業 感善不善生 21 若滅於心輪

滅一切法 是諸法無我 諸法悉淨

22 佛廣宣說世間法 當知即是無明緣 若能不起分別心 一切衆生何所生 23 於彼諸法法性中

實求少法不可得 如世幻師作幻事 智者應當如是知 24 生死輪迴大海中 衆生煩惱水充滿

若不運載以大乘 畢竟何能到彼岸

大乘 十頌論

TIBETAN TEXT.

I (T¹).

rga.gar.skad.du l ma.hā.yā.na.vim.śa.ka l
bod.skad.du l theg.pa.chen.po.ni.ñi.su.pa ll
dkon.mchog.gsum.la.phyag.ḥtshal.lo ll

1

gaṇ.gis. brjod.paḥi.chos.kyis. ni l
brjod.du.med. kyaṇ brtse.bas. bstan l
chags.med. blo.can. blo¹.med.paḥi l
mthu.can. saṅs.rgyas.la. phyag. ḥtshal ll

2

skye.ba. don.du. yod. ma. yin l
ḥgag.paḥaṇ de.ñid.du. med. de l
saṅs.rgyas. nam.mkhha. ji.bḥin.la l
sems.can.rnams. kyaṇ. mtshan.ñid.gcig ll

3

pha.rol. tshul².bḥin. skyes.pa.yi l
ḥdus.bys. rten.skyes. de.dag.kyaṇ l
raṇ.gi.ṇo.bo. stoṇ.pa.ñid l
kun.mkhen.ye.śes.spyod.yul.can ll

4

dṇos.po. thams.cad. raṇ.bḥin.gyis l
gzugs.brñan.daṇ. ni. mtshuṅs.par. ḥdod l
dag. daṇ. zi.baḥi.raṇ.bḥin. te l
gñis.med. de.bḥin.ñid. daṇ. mtshuṅs ll

5

so.soḥi.skye.bo. de.ñid. du l
brag.med.na. yaṇ. b̄dag.ñid. du l
bde. daṇ. sdug.bsṇal. btaṇ.sñoms. daṇ l
ñion.moṅs. kun.tu. rnam.par.brtag ll

¹ P *blon*. Read *bla*. Here *bla.med* = *bla.na.med*.

² Read *tshu.rol* omitting *yl*. See Note 5.

6

ḥkhor.bar. ḥgro.ba. rnam.drug. daṇ 1
 bde.ḥgro. bde.ba. mchog. ṇid. daṇ 1
 dmyal.bar. sdug.bsṇal. chen.po. daṇ 1
 yul.la. de.ṇid. mi.bsam.par¹ 11

7

gžan.yaṇ. mi.dge. sdug.bsṇal. daṇ 1
 rga.daṇ. na. daṇ. mi.rtag.ṇid 1
 las.rnams.kyi. ni. rnam.smin. daṇ² 1
 bde.ba. daṇ. ni. sdug.bsṇal. ṇid 11

8

yaṇ.dag. ri.mo.mkhan.gyis. ni 1
 śin.tu.ḥjigs.byed. gśen.rjeḥi.gzugs 1
 bris.te. raṇ. yaṇ. ḥjigs.pa. ltar 1
 ḥkhor.bar. rmoṇs.paḥaṇ. de.bžin. no 11

9

ji.ltar.raṇ.gis. ḥdam. byas.nas 1
 byis.pa. ḥgaḥ³.ba. ḥdren.pa.ltar 1
 de.bžin. śin.tu. dgaḥ.ba.yi 1
 rnain.rtog.ḥdam.du. sems.can. byiṇ 11

10

med.la. yod.par.mthoṇ.ba. yin 1
 sdug.bsṇal. tshor.ba. myoṇ.bar.byed 1
 ṇam.ṇa. phyin.ci.log.blo.yis 1
 rtag.paḥi dug.gis. gnod.par.byed 11

11

skyabs.med. de.dag. mthoṇ.nas. ni 1
 sñiṇ.rjeḥi.dbaṇ.gyur.yid.can.gyis 1
 saṇs.rgyas. phan.mdzad. sems.can.rnams 1
 rdzogs.paḥi. byaṇ.chub. la. spyod⁴. mdzad 11

¹ See Notes.

² For *smin.dan P par.smin.*

³ Both N and P *dgaḥ.*

⁴ P *sbyor.*

12

de.dag. bsod.nams. tshogs. bsags.nas l
 rtog.paḥi.dra.ba.las. grol.te l
 ye.śes. bla.na.med.pa. ḥthob l
 saṅs.rgyas. ḥjig.rten.gñen.du. ḥgyur ll

13

yaṇ.dag.don.ni. mthoṇ.baḥi.phyir l
 ji.bžin.ye.śes.skyes.pa.rnams l
 de.nas. thog.mthaḥ.bar.spas.paḥi l
 ḥgro.ba. stoṇ.pa. ñid. du. mthoṇ ll

14

de.dag. bdag.ñid. ḥkhor.ba.daṇ l
 mya.ṇan.ḥdas.pa¹ mi. mthoṇ. ṇo l
 ma.gos. ḥgyur.ba. med.pa. daṇ l
 gzoṇ.nas. ži.žin. ḥod.gsal.baḥo ll

15

rmi.lam.ṇams.su.myoṇ.baḥi. yul l
 sad.par.gyur ni.² mi. mthoṇ. ṇo l
 rmoṇs.paḥi.mun.pa.sad.pa.yis l
 ḥkhor.ba. mthoṇ.ba. ma. yin. ñid ll

16

raṇ.bžin.med.paḥi. dṇos.rnams.la l
 rtag.bdag.bde.bahi.³ ḥdu.śes.kyis l
 chags.rmoṇs.mun.pas. bsgribs.pa.na l
 srid.paḥi.rga.mtsho. ḥdi. ḥbyuṇ. ṇo ll

17

skye.bo.⁴ raṇ.ñid. ma.skyes.rnams l
 ḥjig.rten.rnams.kyis. skye.bar. brtags l
 rnam.par.rtog. daṇ. sems.⁵can.rnams l
 ḥdi. daṇ. gñis.kar. rigs⁶ ma. yin ll

¹ P *paḥi* for *pa*.² Both N and P *na*.³ N *med*.⁴ Both N and P *ba* for *bo*. See Notes.⁵ P *sems*, evidently a misprint.⁶ N *rig*.

18

ḥdi.dag. thams.cad. sems.tsam. ste¹ l
 sgyu.mar.ḥgyur.ba.bžin. du. skye l
 de.las. dge. daṇ. mi.dge. las l
 de.las. ske.ba. bžan. daṇ. ṇan ll

19

sems.kyi. hkhor.ba. ḥgags.pa.na l
 kun.gyi. chos.ñid. ḥgag.pa. yin l
 de.ñid. chos.la. bdag. med. de l
 de.ñid. chos.kyi. rnam.dag. ste ll

20

* * * *

theg.pa.che.la. ma.brten.par l
 ḥkhor.baḥi.rga.mtsho.chen.po.yi l
 pha.rol. brgal.bar. ḥgyur.ba. med² l

theg.pa.chen.po.ñi.su.pa. slob.dpon. ḥphags.pa. klu.sgrub.kyis.
 mdzad.pa. rdzogs. so ll

kha.cheḥi. paṇ.ḍi.ta. ā.nan.da. daṇ l lo.tsa.ba. dge.sloṇ. grags.hbyor
 śes.rab.kyis. bsgyur.baḥo ll

¹ N *ste*.

² P *mīn*.

TIBETAN TEXT.

II (T²)

rgya.gar.skod.du l ma.hā.yā.na.vim.śi.kā ll

bod.skad.du l theg.pa.chen.po.ñi.su.pa ll

ñjam.dpal.gñon.nur.gyur.pa.la. phyag ñtshal.lo ll

1

chags.med. thugs.su.chud. saṅs.rgas l

rjod.byed. bjod.par.bya.ba.min l

thugs.rjes. rgyal.bar.¹ snaṅ. gyur.pa l

mthu.bsam.mi.khyab. phyag.ñtshal.lo ll

2

dam.pañi.don.du. skye.med.phyir l

de.ñid.du. ni. grol.baṅaṅ. med l

mkhaṅ.bñin. saṅs.rgas. de.bñin. te l

sems.can. daṅ. ni. mtshan.ñid.cig ll

3

pha.rol. tshu².rol. skye. med.pas l

raṅ.bñin. mya.ñan.ñdas.paṅaṅ. med l

de.bñin. ñdus.byas. mñon.par. stoṅ l

kun.mkhyen.ye.śes.spyod.yul. yin ll

4

dños.po. kun.gyi. raṅ.bñin.ni l

gzugs.brñan. daṅ. ni. mtshuṅs.par.rtogs ll

rnam.dag. ži.bahi.ño.bo. ñid l

gñis.med. de. bñin. ñid.du. mñam ll

5

bdag. daṅ. bdag.med. bden. min. te l

so.sohi.skye.bos. brtags.pa. yin l

bde. daṅ. sdug.bsñal. ltos.³pa. ste l

ñon. moṅs. rnms. daṅ grol.de.bñin ll

¹ N ba.

² As suggested by Yamaguchi the original reading is *tshul*.

³ N bltos.

6

ḥgro.ba. rigs. drug. ḥkhor.ba.ru 1
 mtho.ris. mchog. daṇ. bde.ba. daṇ 1
 dmyal.bar. sdug.bsṇal. chen.po. ste 1
 de.dag. yul.rnams. ṇams.su.myoṇ 11

7

mi.dges. mchog.tu. sdug.bsṇal. žiṇ 1
 dgaḥ.na. mi.rtag. rgud.pa. yin 1
 dge.baḥi. las.rnams.ṇīd.kyis. kyaṇ 1
 bzaṇ.po.ṇīd.du. ṇes.pa. yin 11

8

skye.med.rtog¹.pas. bskrun.pa.yis 1
 * * * *
 dmyal.la.sogs.pa. sṇaṇ.ba.ni 1
 ṇes.pa. ngas.kyi. me.bžin. bsreg 11

9

sgyu.ma. ji.lta. ji.lta.bar. 1
 de.bžin. sems.can. yul.la.spyod 1
 ḥgro.ba. sgyu.maḥi.raṇ.bžin. yin 1
 de.bžin.du. ni. brten.nas. byuṇ 11

10

ji.ltar. ri.mo.mkhan. gyis².gzugs 1
 gnod.sbyin. ḥjigs.pa. bris.pa.yis 1
 de.yis. raṇ.ṇīd. skrag.pa.ltar 1
 mi.mkhas ḥkhor.bar. de.bžin. no 11

11

ji.ltar. raṇ.gis. ḥdam. gyos.pas 1
 byis.pa. ḥgaḥ.žig. byiṇ.ba.ltar 1
 de.bžin. rtog.paḥi. ḥdam.byiṇ.bas 1
 sems.can.rnams.ni. ḥbyuṇ. mi. nus 11

¹ Read *rtog*. See Notes.

² N *gyi*.

12

dṇos.med. dṇos.por. lta.ba.yis¹ 1
 sdug.bspal.tshor.ba. ṇams.su.myoṇ 1
 yul. daṇ. ses.pa. de.dag.tu 1
 rnam. par. rtog².paḥi. dug.gis. bcīṇis 11

13

de.dag. sñiṇ.po.med. mthoṇ.bas 1
 śes.rab.sñiṇ.rjeḥi.yid.kyis. ni 1
 sems.can.rnams.la. phan.paḥi.phyir 1
 rdzogs. saṇs.rgyas.la. sbyor³.bar. bya 11

14

des. kyaṇ. tshogs. bsags. kun.rdzob. tu 1
 bla.ua.med.paḥi. byaṇ. chub. thob 1
 rtog.paḥi. ḥchiṇ.ba.rnams.las. grol 1
 saṇs.rgas. de. ni. ḥjig.rten.gñen 11

15

ji.ltar. rten.cīṇ.ḥbrel.ḥbyuṇ.ba 1
 gaṇ.gis.⁴ yaṇ.dag. don.du. gzigs 1
 de.yis. ḥgro.ba. stoṇ.par. mkhyen 1
 thog.ma. dbus. daṇ.tha.ma.⁵ spaṇs 11

16

de.ltar. mthoṇ.bas. ḥkhor.ba. daṇ 1
 mya.ṇan.ḥdas.paḥaṇ de.ñid. min 1
 ñon.moṇs.pa.yi. rnam.pa.med. 1
 thog.ma.dbus.mthaḥ⁶.raṇ.bžin.gsa1⁷ 11

17

rmi.lam. ṇams.sa.myoṇ.ba.bžin. 1
 so.sor.rtogs.pas. snaṇ.ba.min 1
 rmoṇs.paḥi. mun.pa. gñid.sad.la 1
 ḥkhor.ba.rnams. ni. dmigs.pa. med 11

¹ N *yin*.² N *rtogs*.³ N *sbyar*.⁴ N P *gi*.⁵ It is in P, N reads *mthaḥ.ma*.⁶ P *mthaḥi*.⁷ P *bsal*.

18

sgyu.maḥi.¹ sprul.pa. sgyu.mar. mthoṇ 1
 gaṇ.tshe. ḥdus.pa. deḥi. tshe 1
 cuṇ.zad. yod.pa. ma. yin.te 1
 de. ni. chos.rnams. chos.ñid. yin 11

19

ḥdi.dag. thams.cad. sems.tsam. te² 1
 sgyu.ma..lta.bur. gnas.pa. yin 1
 dge. daṇ. mi.dge. las.rnams.kyis 1
 de.yis. bzaṇ. ṇan. skye.ba.rnams 11

20

sems.kyi. ḥkhor.lo. ḥgags.pa.yis 1
 chos.rnams. thams.cad. ḥgag.pa. ñid 1
 de.phyir. chos. ñid. bdag. med. ciṇ 1
 des.na. chos.ñid. rnam.par.dag 11

21

dṇos.po. ḥam. ni. raṇ.bzin.la 1
 rtag.tu. bde.bar. ḥdu.śes. śiṇ 1
 rmoṇs.paḥi. mun.pas. bsgribs.pas.na 1
 byis.pa.ḥkhor.baḥi. rga.mtshor. ḥkhyam 11

22

rtog.paḥi. chu.bos. gaṇ.ba.yi 1
 ḥkhor.baḥi.rga.mtsho.chen.po.la 1
 theg.chen.gru.la. mi.ṣon.par³ 1
 gaṇ.gis. pha.rol. phyin.par.ḥgyur 11

23

ma.rig⁴ rkyen.gis. byuṇ.ba. ḥdi 1
 yaṇ.dag. ḥjig.rten.mkhyen.paḥi. phyir 1
 rnam.par.rtog.pa. ḥdi.dag. ni 1
 ci.ṣig.las. ni. ḥbyuṇ.bar. ḥgyur 11

theg.pa.chen.po.ñi.su.pa. slob.ḥpon. klu.sgrub.kyi.ṣaḥ.sṇa.nas.mdzad.pa.
 rdzogs.so 11

rgya.gar.gi. mkhan.po. tsan.dra.ku.mā.ra. daṇ. dge.sloṇ.

śā.kya.ḥod.kyis. bsgur 11

¹ P mas.

² P pa.

³ N can.te for tsam.te.

⁴ N rigs.

NOTES

COMPARATIVE AND EXEGETIC.

For *triratnāya* T² *mañjuśrikumārabhūtāya*.

1

- a C namo' cintyabhāvarūpebhyaḥ
T¹ yena vāgdharmeṇa
T² vītarāgair avabudhair buddhaiḥ
b C buddhebhya vītragebhyaḥ
T¹ avacanam (or avācyam) api dayayā deśitam
T² vītarāgair avācyam
c C dharmā avacanā nāvacanāḥ
T¹ vītarāgāya matimate 'nuttara-
T² dayayā suprakāśitam
d C buddhena dayayā sudeśitaḥ
T¹ śaktaye buddhāya namaḥ
T² acityaśaktaye namaḥ.

Comparison.

C a, T¹ c (last part) and d, T² d ; C b, T¹ c and d, T² a ;
C c, T¹ b, T² b ; C d, T¹ b, T² c.

Restoration.

a C a, c, d ; T¹ a, b ; T² b. b C d ; T¹ b ; T² c. c C b ; T¹ c ;
T² a. d C a, d ; T¹ c, d ; T² d.

In c of T¹ after *blo.can* P has *blon.med*, while N reads *blo.med*. The last word *paḥi* shows that *blon.med* or *blo.med* is to be construed with the following word *mithu* in d. I think, therefore, that one should read here neither of the above two readings, but *bla.med* (= *bla.na.med.pa*) meaning *anuttara* in Sanskrit. It closely corresponds to the *mithu.bsam.mi.khyab* of T² in d, and is fully supported by C a (*pu k'o ssu i hsing*).

In a *vāgdharmeṇa* (or *vācā*) *avācyam* (or *anabhilāpam*) (T¹ *brjod.paḥi.chos.kyis.ni.brjod.du.med*, T² *rjod.byed.brjod.par.bya.ba.min*), or *na vācyam* (or *abhilāpyam*) and *na avācyam* (*anabhilāpyam*), or *na vacanam* and *na avacanam* (C *fei yen fei wu yen*), refers to Buddha's *anakṣara*

dharma, i.e., the *dharma* which is not expressed, or cannot be expressed by words. See MV., p. 264 ; BCP, (with a slight variation), p. 365 :

anakṣarasya dharmasya śrutiḥ kā deśanā ca kā 1
śrūyate deśyate cāpi samāropād anakṣraḥ 11

yasyām rātrau tatāgato'bhisambuddho yasyām ca parinirvṛto'trāntare tathāgatenai kam apy akṣaram nodāhrtam. See *Lankāvatāra*, ed. B. Nanjio, p. 143 ; Suduki, *Studies in the Lankāvatāra-sūtra*, p. 376. *Catustava* (*Nirupamastava*, 7) quoted in BCP., p. 420, and *Tattvaratnāvalī* in *Advayavajrasangraha*, GOS, p. 22 :

nodāhrtam tvayā kiñcid ekamapy akṣaram vibho 1
kṛtsnaś ca vaineyajano dharmavarṣeṇā tarpitaḥ 11

Cf. also the following (MV, pp. 348-429) :

yo 'pi ca cintayi śūnyakadharmān
so 'pi kumārgapapannaku bālaḥ 1
akṣarakīrttita śūnyakadharmās
te ca anaksara aksara uktāḥ 11

Mahāyānasūtrālankāra, XII. 2 :

dharmo naiva ca deśito bhagavatā pratyātmavedyo yata
ākṛṣṭā janatā ca yuktavihitair dharmair svakīm dharmatām 1

Kenopaniṣad, 3 :

na tatra cakṣur gacchati na vāg gacchati no manāḥ 1
na vidmo no vijānīmo yathaitad anuśiṣyāt 11

2

- a C paramārthena notpādaḥ
T¹ utpādo vastuto nāsti
T² paramārthena anutpādāt
- b C anuvṛttiś ca na svabhāvataḥ
T¹ nirodho 'pi na tattvataḥ
T² mokṣo 'pi nāsti tattvataḥ
- c C buddhaḥ sattva ekalakṣaṇaḥ
T¹ ākāśavad yathā buddhaḥ
T² ākāśavad tathā buddhaḥ
- d C ākāśavat sāmānyato drṣṭaiḥ
T¹ sattvā apy ekalakṣaṇaḥ
T² sattvās ca ekalakṣaṇaḥ

Comparison.

C a, T¹a, T²a; C b, T¹b, T²b; C d, T¹c, T²c; C c, T¹d, T²d.

Restoration.

a C a; T¹a; T²a. b C b; T¹b; T²b. c C d; T¹c; T²c. d C c; T d; T² d.

In b for *nirodha* (ḥgag.pa) or *mokṣa* (grol.ba) in T¹ and T² respectively, C *anuvṛtti* (zui ten) which is evidently a wrong reading for *nirvṛti*. The reading *mokṣa* in T² is certainly not better than *nirodha*.

Nāgārjuna's doctrine of *anutpāda* and *anirrodha* is well-known, and specially in his *Madhyamaka-kārikā*.

The following from his *Yuktiṣaṣṭkā*, 22, may be quoted here :

de.ltar.ci yaṇ skye.ba.med l

ci.yaṇ.ḥgag.par mi.ḥgyur.ro ll

We may translate it thus :

evam na kaścīd utpado l

nirrodho pi na kaścana ll

Like the sky the Buddha and the beings have neither *utpāda* (origination) nor *nirrodha* (cessation). Therefore, in this respect they have the same characteristics. See *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpārmīṭā*, pp. 39-40 : māyopamās te devaputrāḥ sattvāḥ svapnopamās te devaputrāḥ sattvāḥ^o. samyaksambuddho'py ārya subhūte māyopahaḥ svapnopamaḥ ; BCP, IX, 151 (p. 590) : yataś cānutpannāniruddhāḥ sarvadharmā ata āha *nirvṛtetyādi*.

nirvṛtānirvṛtānām ca viśeṣo nāsti vastutaḥ l

The following kārikā of which the wording is to be noted, is quoted here from Nāgārjuna's *Catuḥstava* cited in BCP, p. 590.

buddhānam sattvadhatōś ca yenābhinnatvam arthataḥ l

ātmanaś ca pareṣām ca samatā tena te matā ll

3

a C nāsmiṁś tasmiṁś taṭe jātīḥ

T¹ tata ita iva jātir nāsti

T² jatyahhāvāt tata itaḥ

b C svabhāvena pratityasmutpannāni

T¹ saṁskṛtāni pratyotpannāni tāni

T² na nirvāṇaṁ svabhāvataḥ

- c C tāni saṃskṛtāni sarvāṇi śūnyāni
 T¹ svarupeṇa śūnyāny eva
 T² vyaktaṃ tathā saṃskṛtaṃ śūnyam
 d C sarvajñajñānagocaraḥ
 T¹ „
 T² „

Comparison.

Ca, T¹a, T²a ; C b, T b ; C c, T¹c, T²c ; C d, T¹d, T²d.

Restoration.

a Ca ; T¹a ; T²a. b Cb ; T¹b. c Cc ; T¹c ; T²c. d Cd ; T¹d ; T²d.

T²b differs from all.

In T¹a *tshul* does not give here any suitable sense. We should, therefore, read for it *tshu.rol*, *Skt. itaḥ* agreeing with Chinese. And in that case for the sake of metre the following *pa* is to be omitted. In T²a, too, for the original reading *tshul* read *tshu* as suggested by Yamaguchi.

4

- a C akliṣṭās tathatārūpāḥ
 T¹ sarve bhāvāḥ svabhāvena
 T² „
 b C advayāḥ śāntāḥ
 T¹ pratibimbāsamā matāḥ
 T² „
 c C sarve dharmā lakṣaṇasvabhāvena
 T¹ śuddhāḥ śāntasvabhāvāś ca
 T² viśuddhāḥ śāntasvarūpāś ca
 d C pratibimbopamā abhinnāḥ (= samāḥ)
 T¹ advayās tathatā samāḥ
 T² „

Comparison.

C a, T¹ c-d, T² c-d : C b, T¹ c-d, T² c-d ; C c, T¹ a, T² a ; C d, T¹ b-d, T² b-d.

Restoration.

a C c ; T¹ a ; T² a. b C d ; T¹ b ; T² b. c C a-b ; T¹ c ; T² c. d C a-b-d ; T¹ d ; T² d.

For *śuddha* and *śāntasvabhāva* see the note on *kārikā* 16, and MV., p. 373.8: *etac ca śāntasvabhāvam ataimrikakeśādarsanavat svabhāvarahitam*. The word *advaya* means *grāhyagrāhakarāhita*, 'without percipient and perceptible.' The word *tathata* generally translated by 'suchness' or 'thisness' means 'absolute reality.' (*tatha* 'true'). Here this absolute reality is nothing but *śūnyatā* 'voidness' or 'relativity' as Stcherbatsky has, I think, rightly translated. It is meant here by using the word that things are *śūnya*, *pralītyasamutpanna*. See MV, p. 196: *śūnyatām tathatālakṣaṇām*; *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, p. 263: *Dharmasangītyām apy uktam tathatā tathateti kulaputra śūnyatāyā etad adhivacanam. sā ca śūnyatā notpadyate na nirudhyate. āha. yady evaṁ dharmāḥ śūnyā uktā bhagavatā kasmāt sarvadharmā notpatsyante na nirotsyante nirārambho bodhisattvaḥ. āha. evam eva kulputra tathā yathābhisambudhyase sarvadharmā notpadyante na nirodhyante. āha. yad etad uktāni bhagavatā saṁskṛtā dharmā utpadyante niruddhyante cety asya tathāgatabhāṣitasya ko 'bhiprāyaḥ. āha. utpādanirodhābhiniviṣṭaḥ kulputra lokasanniveśaḥ. tatra tathāgato mahākāruṇiko lokasyottrāsapadaparihārārtham vyavahāraśād uktavān utpadyante nirudhyante ceti. no cātra kaśyacid dharmasyotpādo na nirodha iti*. BPC, p. 354: *para uttamo'rthaḥ paramārthaḥ akṛtrimān vastusvarūpaṁ sarvadharmāṇām niḥsvabhāvatā śūnyatā tathatā bhūtakotir dharmadhātur ityādiparyāyāḥ*. See *Madhyāntavibhanga* of Maitreya-nātha, I. 16. Here the following is quoted from Sthiramati's *ṭīkā* (fol. 14^a. 1. 3), the Italicised words being in the commentary by Vasubandhu on the original work (*Tanjur*, Mdo, Bi, fol. 6^a. 1. 2): *tatra ananyathārthena tathateti avikriyārthenety [arthaḥ. tattvākhyānān nityaṁ tātātavad ity uktam. nityaṁ sarvasmin kāle 'saṁskṛtatvān na vikriyata ityarthaḥ*.¹ See also *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, pp. 273, 374; Stcherbatsky: *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvana*, p. 35.

Things are *sama* 'equal' for all of them have no *utpāda* 'origination.' Let us cite here the following passage in the *Āryasatyadvayāvatārasūtra* quoted in the MV, pp. 374, 375: *paramārthataḥ sarvadharmānutpādasamā-tayā paramārthataḥ sarvadharmāntājātisamatayā samā dharmāḥ*. See *Gauḍapāda's Āgamaśāstra*, IV, 93.

¹ The following is in Vasubandhu's *Triṁśikā* (Lévi., p. 41): *tathatāpi sah. sarvakālaṁ tathābhāvāt*. Com: *tāthataḥ tathā hi prthagjanasaikṣyāśaikṣāvasthāsu tathaiṣa bhavati*.

5

- a C pṛthagjano vikalpacittena
 T¹ pṛthagjanena tattvena
 T² ātmānātmā na satyaḥ
- b C tattvata anātmānam ātmeti manyate
 T¹ anātmāny apy ātmā
 T² pṛthagjanenā kalpitaḥ
- c C tasmād uttiṣṭhanti kleśāḥ
 T¹ sukhaṁ duḥkham upekṣā
 T² sukhaṁ duḥkham apekṣā
- d C punar duḥkhasukhopekṣā
 T¹ kleśāḥ sarvatra vikalpitāḥ
 T² kleśo mokṣas tathā

Comparison.

C a, T¹ a, T² b ; C b, T¹ b, T² a ; C c, T¹ d, T² d ; C d, T¹ c, T² c.

Restoration.

a C b ; T¹ b ; T² a. b C a ; T¹ a ; T² b. c C c-d ; T¹ c ; T² c.
 d C c ; T¹ d ; T² d.

In c for upekṣā (T²c btaṇ.sñoms, C d she) T¹c reads apekṣā (bltos. pa) which is certainly not a good reading.

6

- a C devagatau (=śvarge) viśiṣṭaṁ sukhaṁ
 T¹ saṁsāre gatayaḥ ṣoḍhā
 T² saṁsāre gatayaḥ śat
- b C narake 'timātraṁ duḥkhaṁ
 T¹ sugatāv uttamaṁ sukhaṁ
 T² paramaḥ svargaḥ sukhaṁ ca
- c C sarvaṁ na satyagocaraḥ
 T¹ narake ca mahāduḥkhaṁ
 T² „
- d C ṣaḍ gatayo nityaṁ pravartante
 T¹ viṣayas tattvenācintyaḥ
 T² tāni viṣayeṣu vedyante

Comparison.

C a, T¹ b, T² b ; C b, T¹ c, T² c ; C c, T¹ d ; C d, T¹ a, T² a

Restoration.

a C d ; T¹ a ; T² b. b C a ; T¹ b ; T² b. c C b ; T¹ c ; T² c.
d C c ; T¹ d.

T² d differs from all.

In d P of T¹ reads *yul.de.ñid.mi.bsam.pa* which is evidently an incomplete line. Here N adds *la* between *yul* and *de*, thus making the line complete. It is, however, not satisfactory. In order to make the line in P complete we may read *bsam* with N for *bsams*, adding *yod* at the end, and it agrees to some extent with C c.

7

a C loke jarā vyādhir maraṇaṁ
T¹ api cākuśalaṁ duḥkhaṁ ca
T² aśubhāt paramaṁ duḥkhaṁ
b C bhavati duḥkhaṁ aṇiṣṭaṁ
T¹ jarā vyādhir anityatā
T² vyasanaṁ prītyanīyatā
c C karmānusāreṇa patanaṁ
T¹ karmaṇāṁ vipākaḥ
T² śubhair eva karmabhis tu
d C tat satyam asukhaṁ
T¹ sukhaṁ duḥkham eva ca
T² śubham eva niścitaṁ

Comparison.

C a, T¹ b, T² b ; C b, T¹ a, T² a ; C c, T¹ c, T² c ; C d, T¹ d.
T² d.

Restoration.

a C b ; T¹ a ; T² a. b C a ; T¹ b ; T² b. c C c ; T¹ c ; T² c.
d C d ; T¹ d ; T² d.

For the reading *na* in b of T¹ Mr. Yamaguchi unnecessarily suggests to read *nad*, both the words *na* (= *na.ba*) and *nad* meaning *vyādhi* 'disease.' In b of T² we have *dgah.na*, but may one not read here *dkah* for *dgah*? In that case it would mean *kṛcchraṁ vyādhiḥ* or *kṛcchravyādhiḥ. mi.rtag* (*.ñid*) = *anityatā. rgud.pa* = *vyasana*.

8

a C sattvā mithyākālpānāyā
T¹ o

- T² anutpādāvabodhena utpādanāt (?)
 b C kleśāgninā dahyante
 T¹ o
 T² o
 c C narakādigaṭiṣu patanti
 T¹ o
 T² drśyante narakādiṣu
 d C yathā dāvāgninā vanam dahyate
 T¹ o
 T² doṣeṇa dāvāgnineva dahyante

Comparison.

C b-d, T² d ; C c, T² c.

Restoration.

a C a. b C d. c C b ; T² d. d C c ; T² c.

T¹ is entirely wanting. T² has only three lines *a*, *c*, and *d*, *b* being missing. The reading in *a* of T² is evidently defective. It does not give here any appropriate meaning. According to C *a cheng shêng wang fên pieh* one may, as Mr. Yamaguchi suggests, read here *skye.bo.rtog.pas* for the original, meaning *janaḥ kalpanayā*. Or in the original reading let one take *skye* for *skye.bo* (*janaḥ*) or *skyes.bu* (*purusaḥ*) ; *med* which means *abhāva* may be taken in the sense of *abhūta* ; and *rtog.pas* (for the original *rtogs.pas*) means *kalpanayā* ; thus just like C we have *purusaḥ* (or *janaḥ* or *sattvaḥ*) *abhūtakalpanayā*. In accordance with C *b* the following may be suggested for T²*b* : *ñon.mon.s.paḥi.mes.sreg.pa.ni* = *dahyate kleśavahninā*.

9

- a C sattvo mūlato yathā māyā
 T² yathā yathā bhaven māyā
 b C punar māyāviṣayaṁ grahṇāti
 T² tathā sattvo gocaraḥ
 c C gacchan māyākṛtāyām gatau
 T² jagan māyāsvarūpaṁ
 d C na buddhyate pratītyasamutpannam
 T² tathā pratītyasamutpannam

Comparison.

C a-b, T² a-b ; C d, T² d.

Restoration.

a T² a. b T² b. c T² c. d T² d.

This kārīkā is not in T¹.

The restoration is entirely from T² with which C agrees substantially differing only in details. Tib. *hgro* in *c* may mean both *gati* and *jagat*. I prefer here the latter. For this C has *tāo* meaning *gati* (not *mārga*, though generally it is taken in that sense) as in *lu tao 'ṣaḍ gatayaḥ'*, Tib. *hgro.ba.rigs.drug*. This *gati* has already been referred to in kārīkā 6.

10

- a C yathā loka citrakarḥ
T¹ samīcīnaś citrakaraḥ
T² yathā citrakaro rūpaṁ
- b C yakṣasya ākr̥tim ankayati
T¹ atibhyankaraṁ yamasya rūpaṁ
T² yakṣasya bhayankarma ankayitvā (lit. ankanena)
- c C svayam ankayitvā svayaṁ bibheti
T¹ ankayitvā svayaṁ bibheti
T² tena svayaṁ bibheti
- d C sa ucyate ajñāḥ
T¹ saṁsāre mūḍho 'pi tathā
T² saṁsāre 'budhas tathā

Comparison.

C a, T¹ a, T² a ; C b, T¹ b, T² b ; C c, T¹ c, T² c ; C d, T¹ d, T² d.

The original kārīkā is found quoted in the *Tikā* of *Āścaryacaryācaya* wrongly named *Caryācaryaviniścaya*,¹ edited by Pandit Haraprasad Shastri with other three books in a volume named *Buddha Gāna o Dohā*, Vangīya Sāhitya-Pariṣad, 1323 B. S., p. 6.

In *d* of the original kārīkā as found in the above book is *saṁsāre hy abudhas tathā*. Here for *hi* one may read *api* agreeing with T¹ *d*: *ḥkhor.bar. rmoṅs.paḥaṅ. de bžin.no*. Mark here *ḥaṅ*.

In Yamaguchi's edition of the Tib. text read *skrag* for *sgrag* in *c* of T², and *rmoṅs* for *rmoṅ* in *d* of T¹.

The main difference among C, T², and T¹ is that the last one reads *yama* for *yakṣa* in the first two supported by the original Sanskrit.

¹ For details see my note in *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VI, No. 1.

11

- a C sattvaḥ svayam utpādayati rāgaṁ
 T¹ yathā svayaṁ paṅkaṁ krtvā
 T² yathā svayaṁ paṅka calanena
- b C tena saṁsārahetuṁ
 T¹ bālaḥ kaścid ākrṣṭaḥ
 T² bālaḥ kaścin nimagnaḥ
- c C kṛtvā bibheti patanāt
 T¹ tathātyānanda-
 T² tathā kalpanāpanke nimajjya
- d C ajñānāvimuktaḥ
 T¹ vikalpapaṅke sattvā nimagnāḥ
 T² sattvā udgamaṇākṣamāḥ

Comparison.

C a, T¹ a, T² a ; C b, c, d differ from T¹ and T² ; T¹ b, T² b ; T¹ c differs from C, T² ; T² c, T¹ d ; T² d excepting the word *sattva* (C a, T¹ d) differs from C and T¹. In d C *avimukta* may be compared with *udganākṣama* in T².

Restoration.

- a T¹ a ; T² a. b T¹ b ; T² b. c T¹ d ; T² c. d T² d.

The restoration is mainly from T². In the end of a of C *jan* 'to dye' implies *rañjana*, here *rāga* 'attachment'.

In b of T¹ both P as in Yamaguchi's edition and N read *dgaḥ* which must be changed to *ḥgaḥ*.

12

- a C sattvā mithyācittena
 T¹ abhāve bhāva darśanena
 T² „
- b C utpādayanti mohamalarāgam
 T¹ vedyate duḥkhavedanā
 T² „
- c C niḥsvabhāvaṁ kalpayanti sasvabhāvaṁ
 T¹ ātānviparītabudhyā
 T² jñānaviśayayos tayoḥ
- d C vedyante duḥkhe'tiduḥkhaṁ
 T¹ kalpanāviśeṣa bādhyante
 T² vitarkaviśeṣa bādhyante

Comparison.

C a-b, T¹ c ; C c, T¹ a, T² a ; C d, T¹ b, T² b ;
T³ c differs from all ; T¹ d, T² d.

Restoration.

a T¹ a ; T² a. b C d ; T¹ b ; T² b. c T² c. d T¹ d ; T² d.

In the end of a in T¹ both P and N read *min* which cannot be accepted. T² of N reads there *yin*. According to it one may read in T¹ a, too, *yin* for *min*. Yamaguchi suggests here *vis* agreeing with T²a of P which has *vis*. Undoubtedly this reading is better. At the beginning of a of T¹, P has, as Yamaguchi says, *dogs*, while N reads *rtogs*. Both the readings are wrong, the true reading being *rtog*. Read *rtog* also for *rtogs* in d of T² of N.

13

- a C buddhaḥ paśyati tān atrāṇān
T¹ tān aśaraṇān dṛṣṭvā
T² teṣām asāratādarśanena
b C tata utpādayati karuṇācittam
T¹ karuṇāvaśamānasah
T² prajñākāruṇyena manasā
c C tata utpādayati bodhicittam
T¹ hitakaro buddhaḥ sattvebhyaḥ
T² sattvānām upakārāya
d C vipulam abhyasyati¹ bodhicaryām
T¹ sambodhicaryām karoti² (N)

Or

sambodhau yogam karoti² (P)
T² sambuddhasya yogam kuryāt

Comparison.

C a, T¹ a-c, T² a ; C b, T¹ b, T² b ; C c differs from both T¹ and T² ; T¹ c, T² c ; C d, T¹ d, T² d.

Restoration.

a C a ; T¹ a ; T² a. b C b ; T¹ b ; T² b. c T¹ c ; T² c.
d C d ; T¹ d ; T² d.

In T¹ for *spyod* in d of N we have *sbyor* in P. In T² for *sbyar* in d of N there is *sbyor* in P.

¹ Or *abhyasyet*.

² Or *kuryāt*.

14

- a C prapto'nuttarajñānaphalaṃ
 T¹ tayā puṇyasambhāraṃ sañcītya
 T² tena ca sambhāraḥ sañcītaḥ saṃvṛtau
- b C tadā parikṣate lokam
 T¹ kalpanājālān muktaḥ
 T² anuttarāṃ bodhiṃ prāptaḥ
- c C vikalpān bandhaḥ
 T¹ anuttarāṃ jñānam prāptaḥ
 T² kalpanābandhanān muktaḥ
- d C tasmād bhavati hitakaraḥ
 T¹ buddho lokabāndhavaḥ syāt
 T² buddhaḥ sa lokabāndhavaḥ

Comparison.

C a, T¹ c, T² b; T¹ a, T² a; C b, T¹ d, T² d; C c, T¹ b, T² c; C d, T¹ d, T² d.

T¹ a with regard to *saṃvṛtau* entirely differs from C and T². T¹ a, and T² a have also no agreement with C.

Restoration.

a T¹ a; T² a. b C a; T¹ c; T² b. c C a; T¹ b; T² c. d C b-d; T¹ d; T² d.

15

- a C pratītyasamutpādāt
 T¹ bhūtārthadarśanāya
 T² yathā[vat-]pratītyasamutpādāt
- b C jñāti bhūtārtham
 T¹ jātayathārthajñānaḥ
 T² bhūtārtham avalokate
- c C atha paśyati lokam śūnyam
 T¹ tata ādyantavarjitaṃ
 T² jagac chūṇyam jñāti
- d C ādimadhyāntakoṭivarjitaṃ
 T¹ jagac chūṇyam eva paśyati
 T² ādimadhyāntavarjitaṃ

Comparison.

C a, T¹ b, T² a ; C b, T¹ a, T² b ; C c, T¹ d, T² c ; C d, T¹ c, T² d.

Restoration.

a C a ; T¹ b ; T² a. b C b ; T¹ a ; T² b. c C c ; T¹ d ; T² c ;
d C d ; T¹ c ; T² d.

16

- a C paśyati saṃsāraṃ nirvāṇaṃ
T¹ ta ātmataḥ saṃsāraṃ
T² evaṃ darśanena saṃsāraḥ
b C etad ubhayam anātmataḥ
T¹ nirvāṇaṃ ca na paśyanti
T² nirvāṇaṃ ca na tattvataḥ
c C nirvāṇaṃ avipariṇataṃ
T¹ nirañjanaṃ nirvikāraṃ
T² akliṣṭākāraṃ
d C ādiśuddhaṃ nityaśāntam
T¹ ādiśāntaṃ prabhāsvaraṃ
T² ādimadhyāntaprakṛtibhāsvaraṃ

Comparison.

C a-b, T¹ a-b ; C c, T¹ c ; C d, T¹ d, T² d.

Restoration.

a-b C a-b ; T¹ a-b ; T² a-b. c C c ; T¹ c. d C d ; T¹ d ;
T² c-d.

For the first half of the restored kārīkā cf. *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā* 7 :

srid.pa. daṇ. ni. mya.ṇan.ḥdas l

gñis. po. ḥdi. ni. yod. ma. yin ll

It may be translated thus :

nirvāṇaṃ ca bhavaś caiva

dvayaṃ etan na vidyate l

There is an almost entire agreement between C and T¹. The expression *ātmato* and *na* (*bdag.ñiḍ* and *mi*) in *a* and *b* respectively of T¹ is in fact *anātmataḥ* (*wu wo*) in *b* of C. Here *ātman* means 'essence' *svarūpa*, which is the same as *tattva* (*tattvataḥ*, *de.ñid*) of T² *b*.

In *c* of C *wu jan* means *anupaliṣṭa* (Rosenburg: *Introduction*, Tokyo, 1916, p. 309) and this can be taken as a synonym for *nirañjana*,

ma. gos in T¹ c. Tib. *gos.pa* means *lipta* in Sanskrit (Sarat Chandra Das, Tib.-Eng.Dict., p. 233). Therefore *ma.gos.pa* is *alīpta* and this is in fact *nirañjana*. The word *nirañjana* in the *Tattvaratnāvalī* published in the volume called *Advayavajrasaṅgraha*, GOS, p. 18, l. 24, is translated in its Tibetan version actually by *ma.gos.pa*. For the significance of the word see *Madhyamakavṛtti*, pp. 285-6: yaś ca vibhavo 'nupādānāḥ [sa] skandharahitativāt prajñāptiyupādānakāraṇarahitativān nirhetukaḥ syāt. yaś cānupādāno nirañjano'vyakto nirhetukaḥ kaḥ sa na kaścit saḥ. Cf. *Bramabindūpaṇiṣat*, 4: nirvikalpaṁ nirañjanam.

T¹c *nirvikāra* (*hgyur.ba.med*) and Cc *avipariṇata* (*wu hui*) are the same. Rosenberg, *Op. cit.*, p. 102. In such cases there is no difference between *vikāra* and *vipariṇāma*. In fact *nirvikāra* is *asaṁskṛta*. See *Mahāyānasūtrāṅgikā*, XI 37: avikāritā asaṁskṛtam ākāśādikam.

T¹ d *gzod 'ādi* and C d *pên 'mūla* may be taken here in the same sense.

T²c *akliṣṭākāra* (*ñon.mon.s.pa.yi.rnam.pa.med*) is in reality *śuddha* of C d *ch'ing ching*.

For T¹d *prabhāsvāra* (*hod.gsal.ba*) and T²d *prakṛti-bhāsvāra* (*raṇ.bžin.gsal* [as in N, P *bsal*]) see *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 444; and *Mahāyānasūtrāṅgikā*, XI. 13:

tattvaṁ yat satataṁ dvayena rahitaṁ bhrānteś ca samīśrayaḥ
śakyam naiva ca sarvathābhilapituṁ yac cāprapañcātmakam l
jñeyaṁ heyam atho viśodhyam amalāṁ yac ca prakṛtyā mataṁ
yasyākāśasuvārṇavārisadṛśī kleśād viśuddhir matā l l

ṭṭīyaṁ viśodhyaṁ cāgantukamalād viśuddhaṁ ca prakṛtyā. yasya prakṛtyā viśuddhyasyākāśasuvārṇavārisadṛśī kleśād viśuddhiḥ. na hy ākāśādini prakṛtyā aśuddhāni. na cāgantukamalāpagamāad eśāṁ viśuddhir neṣyata iti.

In T²d *ādimadhyānta* (*thog.ma.dbus.mtlaḥ*) means 'beginning, middle and end.' These are the different stages of a thing; they are merely supposed by ordinary people, but in reality there are no such things.

T¹d *ādiśānta* (*gzod.nas.ži*) 'originally quiescent' and Cd *nityaśānta* (*ch'ang chi*) 'eternally quiescent' are same. This is well-known in the Madhyamaka system; for instance, see Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamakakārikā* VII, 16:

pratītya yad yad bhavati tat tac chāntaṁ svabhāvatatḥ l
tasmād utpyadamānaṁ ca śāntam utpattir eva ca l l

See *Madhyamakāvatāra* (Tib. text), p. 225 ; Gauḍapāda's *Āgamaśāstra* with the present writers commentary (to be published soon), IV. 93, and *Mahāyānasūtrāṅkāra*, XI. 51: yo hi niḥsvabhāvaḥ so'nutpanno yo 'nutpannaḥ so 'niruddhaḥ sa ādiśānto ya ādiśāntaḥ sa prakṛtiparinirvṛta iti ; MV, p. 225 :

ādiśāntā hyanutpannāḥ prakṛtyaiva ca nirvṛtāḥ.

Gauḍapāda's *Āgamaśāstra*, IV. 93.

ādiśāntā hy anutpunnāḥ prakṛtyaiva sunirvṛtāḥ 1

sarve dharmāḥ samābhinnā ajaṁ sāmyaṁ viśāradaṁ 11

17

- a C svapnaviṣayān
T¹ svapnānubhavaviṣayaṁ
T² svapne 'nubhūyamānaṁ
- b C prabuddho na paśyati
T¹ „
T² pratyavekṣako na paśyati
- c C jñānī mohanidrāprabuddhaḥ
T¹ mohāndhakāraprabuddhaḥ
T² mohāndhakārodbuddhasya
- d C na paśyati saṁsāram
T¹ saṁsāraṁ naiva paśyati
T² saṁsārā nopalabhyante

Comparison.

C a, T¹ a ; C b, T¹ b, T² b ; C c, T¹ c, T² c ; C d, T¹ d, T² d.

Restoration.

- a C a ; T¹ a ; T² a. b C b ; T¹ b ; T² b. c C c ; T¹ c ; T² c.
d C d ; T¹ d ; T² d.

There is complete agreement of all the versions. Yamaguchi is quite right in suggesting that in T²b one should read *rtogs* for *rlog*, and *min* for *yin* found in both the editions, P and N.

18

- a C teṣu dharmeṣu dharmatāyāṁ
T² māyānirmitaṁ māyā dṛśyate
- b C tattvānveṣiṇā kiñcid api dharmo nopalabhyate
T² yadā saṁskṛtaṁ tadā
- c C yathā loke māyācāryo māyāvastu karoti

T² kiñcid api bhavo nāsti
 d C jñāninā tathā jñātavyam
 T² dharmāṇām saiva dharmatā

Comparison.

C a, T² d ; C b, T² c ; C c, T² a ; C d and T² b differ from each other.

Restoration.

a T²a ; Cc. b Cb (last part) ; T²b. c Cb ; T²c. d T²d ; Ca.

In T²a māyā- in māyānirmila (*rgyu.mas.sprul.pa*) may be explained as māyākāra agreeing with C māyācārya (*huan shih*). On nirmila see Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamakakārikā*, XVII. 31, 32.

dharmāṇām dharmatā is 'the real state or nature of a thing' or 'element of the elements' as translates Stcherbatsky. *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 364 : dharmatā dharmasvabhāvo dharmaprakṛtiḥ. It is variously described ; see Stcherbatsky : *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇ*, 1927, p. 47.

In T²b-c, yadā^o nāsti briefly means that whatever is *saṃskṛta* 'compound' is *pratītyasamutpanna* and therefore *śūnya*. See *Madhyamakakārikā*, VII, specially 33 :

utpādashthitibhāṅganām asiddher nāsti saṃskṛtam 1

18a

For this kārikā see kārikā 21.

19

- a C idam sarvaṃ cittaṃ mātṛam
 T¹ „
 T² „
 b C sthāpyate māyānirmāṇa'akṣaṇam
 T¹ māyāvad jāyate
 T² māyāvad avatiṣṭhate
 c C kriyate kuśalam akusalam karmā
 T¹ tataḥ kuśalam akusalam ca karma
 T² kuśalair akusalaiś ca karmabhiḥ
 d C bhujiyate kuśalākusalā jātiḥ
 T¹ tato jātir uttamādhama ca
 T² tata uttamā adhamāś ca jātayaḥ

Comparison.

Ca, T¹a, T²a ; Cb, T¹b, T²b ; Cc, T¹c, T²cH Cd, T¹d, T²d.

Restoration.

a Ca ; T¹a ; Ta. b Cb ; T¹b ; T²b. c Cc ; T¹c ; T²c.
d Cd ; T¹d ; T²d.

In Cb I take *an* and *li* meaning 'to lay down' and 'to stand' respectively in the sense of Skt. *stithāpanā* 'causing to stand.' In Cd *kan* 'to be effected,' 'to be moved' may be taken to mean Skt. √ *bhuj* 'to suffer,' 'to experience,' 'to undergo.'

In T²d I should like to read *de.las* for *de.yis* found in P as well as in N.

On the point that the world is nothing but *citta* as held by Yogācāras the reader may be referred, among many others, to the following: Vasubandhu's *Vimśatikārikā* 1 ; *cittamātram bho jinaputra yad uta traidhātukam*, quoted in its *vṛtti* (Lévi, p. 3) ; *Daśabhumikasūtra*, Rahder, p. 49 ; *Subsāṣitasamgraha*, Bendall, p. 19 ; *Laṅkāvatāra*, Nanjio, III. 51-53, p. 164 ; X. 153-154, p. 285 ; p. 169 ; III. 66, 78, pp. 180, 186. Cf. *Gauḍapāḍakārikā*, III, 31 ; IV 47, 61, 72.

20

- a C cittacakre niruddhe
T¹ „
T² cittacakranirodhena
b C tadā sarve dharmā niruddhāḥ
T¹ sarva eva dharmā niruddhāḥ
T² sarve dharmā nirudhyante
c C ete dharmā anātmānaḥ
T¹ tata eva dharmā anātmānaḥ
T² tasmād dharmā anātmānaḥ
d C sarve dharmā viśuddhāḥ
T¹ tata eva dharmā viśuddhāḥ
T² tena dharmā viśuddhāḥ

Comparison.

C a, T¹ a, T²a ; C b, T¹ b, T² b ; C c, T¹ c, T² c ; C d,
T¹ d, T² d.

Restoration.

a C a ; T¹ a ; T² a. b C b ; T¹ b ; T² b. c C c ; T¹ c ; T² c.
d Cd ; T¹ d ; T d.

In T¹c and d, *de.ñid* literally means *tattva* or *tad eva*, but it is to be taken here for *de.ñid.phyir*, *tata eva*, or *tenaiva* (*phyir* being understood in the Tib. text), and it is evident from *de.phyir* and *des.na* in T²c and d respectively.

21

Here while T² has only one *kārikā* No. 21, T¹ and C have two *kārikās* each, Nos. 16-17 and 18-19 respectively. Their difference is as below :

- a C 18 mohāndhakārāvṛtāḥ
C 19 yadi vikalpyate jātimān
T¹ 16 bhāveṣu niḥsvabhāveṣu
T¹ 17 jātiḥ svayaṁ na jātā
T² bhāve svabhāve vā
- b C 18 patanti saṁsārasāgare
C 19 satto na yathāyuktaḥ
T¹ 16 nityātmasukhasaṁjñayā
T¹ 17 jātir lokair vikalpitā
T² nityaṁ sukhasaṁjñā
- c C 18 ajātaṁ manyate jātaṁ
C 19 saṁsāradharme
T¹ 16 rāgamohatamaśchannasya
T¹ 17 vikalpāḥ sattāś ca
T² mohāndhakarāvaraṇena
- d C 18 utpādayanti loka vikalpam
C 19 utpādayate nityātmasukhasaṁjñā
T¹ 16 bhavābdir ayam udbhūtaḥ
T¹ 17 ubhayam etan na yujyate
T² bālaḥ saṁsārasāgare bhramati

Comparison.

C 18 a, T¹ 16 c, T² c ; C 18 b, T¹ 16 d, T² d ; C 18 c, T¹ 17 a (cf. C 19 a) ; C 18 d, T¹ 17 b ; C 19 b, T¹ 17 c-d ; C 19 c, T¹ 16 a, T² a ; C 19 d, T¹ 16 b, T² b.

C 18 a-b, T¹ 16 c-d, T² c-d ; C 19 c-d, T¹ 16 a-b, T² a-b ; C 18 c-d, T¹ 17 a-b.

Restoration.

a-b C19 c-d ; T¹16 a-b ; T² a-b. c-d C18 a-b ; T¹16 c-d ; T² c-d.

Strictly speaking the restoration is entirely from T¹16. T¹17 may be translated as *jātimān na svayaṃ jātaḥ*¹ given as No. 18a in the body.

In C19a, *yu shēg* 'one having birth (*jātir*),' '*jātimān*' is the same as 'jīva.' See Rosenberg, *Op. Cit.*, p. 244. Accordingly in T¹17a, I think, one should read *skye.bo* '*jana*,' or *skyes.bu* '*ḥuruṣa*' for *skye ba* in both N and P. In the same line read *skyes* with N for *skye* before *rnams* in P as printed in Yamaguchi's edition. In b, *sesm* is evidently a misprint for which read *sems* as in N.

22

- a C saṃsārācakraparivartanamahāsāgare
T¹ o
T² kalpanānadīpūrṇasya
b C sattvaḥ kleśasānilasampūrṇe
T¹ mahāyānam anāśritaḥ
T² saṃsāramahāsāgarasya
c C yadi nohyate mahāyānena
T¹ saṃsāramahāsāgarasya
T² mahāyānanāvam anārūḍhaḥ
d C niścayena katham prāpnuyāt tatpāram
T¹ pāram uttīrṇo na bhaviṣyati
T² kaḥ pāram gamiṣyati

Comparison.

C a, T¹ c, T² b ; C b, T² a ; C c, T¹ b, T² c ; C d, T¹ d, T² d.

Restoration.

a Cb ; T²a. b Ca ; T¹c ; T²b. c Cc ; T¹b ; T²c. d Cd ; T¹d ; T²d.

T¹a is missing in both P and N. In T² one may read *chu.yis* for *chu.bos* agreeing with C b. It has already been said in the Introduction §5 that this kārikā is in fact identical with the *Jñāśiddhi*, XI. 8, dealing with the Vajrayāna system.

¹ See below. Cf. *sattvāḥ* in c. In accordance with the actual reading as found in the xylograph this line should be translated as
jātir naiva svayaṃ jātaḥ.

23

- a C buddhena vistaraśo lokadharmo deśitaḥ
T² avidyāpratyutpannam idam
b C jñeyam idam avidyāpratyayotpannam
T² samyag lokavidaḥ paścāt
c C yadi vikalpacittam anutpādayitum śakyate
T² eṣāṃ vikalpānām
d C sarve sattvāḥ katham jātāḥ
T² kuta udbhavo bhavet

Comparison.

- a T²a. b T²b. c T²c. d T²d.

Restoration.

- a T²a. b. T²b. c. T²c. d. T²d.

There is no T¹.

In Tb *phyir* (*paścāt*) 'after' means 'after the truth of the world is perfectly known.' This is omitted in the restoration.

The Colophon.

C Mahāyānakārikāvimśakaśāstram mahā-Nāgārjuna-kṛtam Saṅ-
kalikena Bhārtiyena traipitakena Dānapālena parivartitam.

T¹ Mahāyānavimśakam ācāryārya-Nāgārjuna-kṛtam sampūrṇam.
Kāśmīrakeṇa paṇḍitena Ānandena parivartakena bhikṣuṇā Kīrttibhūti-
prajñena ca parivartitam.

T² Mahāyānavimśakam ācārya-Nāgārjunapāda-kṛtam sampūrṇam.
Bhārtiyena paṇḍitena Candrakumāreṇa bhikṣuṇā Sākyaprabheṇa ca
parivartitam.

(Mss. received March, 1930.)

SCHOOLS AND SECTS IN JAINA LITERATURE

By AMULYA CHANDRA SEN.

PART II.

Classification into Four Great Schools.

The account of philosophical schools mentioned in the Jaina canonical literature has been dealt with exhaustively above but the most important part of the work yet remains unfinished, *viz.*, their classification according to a method well-known in this literature.

The heretical creeds of the time were all comprehended by Mahāvīra under four heads¹⁰⁰, *viz.*

1. Kriyāvāda.
2. Akriyāvāda.
3. Ajñānavāda.
4. Vinayavāda.

These four great schools comprise three hundred and sixty-three schools¹⁰¹: Kriyāvāda consists of one hundred and eighty schools, Akriyāvāda consists of eighty-four schools, Ajñānavāda consists of sixty-seven schools, and Vinayavāda consists of thirty-two schools¹⁰².

The scheme of classification in details is as follows:

1. Kriyāvāda.

Kriyā denotes the existence of *jīva*, etc., and those who admit the existence of *jīva*, etc., are called *Kriyāvādins*.

The Jains have the "nine principles" of *jīva* soul, *ajīva* non-soul, *āsrava* the inflow of karmic matter into the soul, *bandha* the consequent bondage of the soul, *saṁvara* stoppage of the inflow, *nirjarā* shedding off

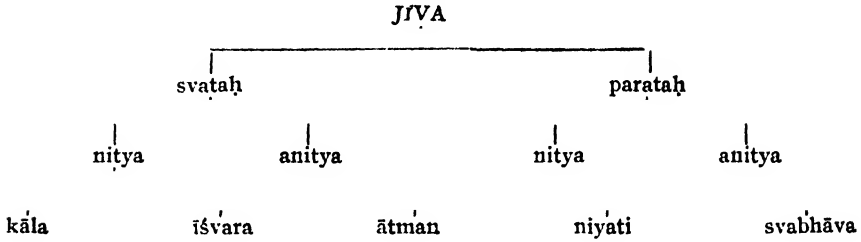
¹⁰⁰ Sāt. S. I.xii.1; Sth. S. 4.4.345; Bhag. S. 30.1.824; Utt. S. 18.23; Nandi 47; and Sāt. S. II.ii.79.

¹⁰¹ Sāt. S. II.ii.79.

¹⁰² Nandi 47: Guṇaratna quotes the following couplet—

Asiisayanī kiriyāṇaṁ akiriyavāṇa hoi culasī l
Annāṇia sattatṭhī veṇaiyāṇaṁ ca battisam l l

the karmic matter, *puṇya* merit, *apūṇya* demerit, and *mokṣa* emancipation. Let us take the first, *jīva* and draw a table as below :



Those who admit the existence of the soul (*jīva*) by itself (*svataḥ*), for all eternity (*nitya*), through Time (*kāla*) are the first school. They say that the soul exists in its own nature, it is eternal, and acts through Time. They are called *Kālavādins*. Guṇaratna quotes the following as stating their doctrine :

na kālavyatirekeṇa garbhabālaśubhādikam |
yat kiñcij jāyate loka tadasau kāraṇaṁ kila ||
kiṁ ca kālād ṛte naiva mudgapaktirapikṣyate |
sthālyādisannidhāne'pi tataḥ kālādasau matā ||
kālābhāve ca garbhādi sarvaṁ syād avyavasthayā |
pareṣṭa hetusadbhāvamātrād eva tadudbhavāt ||
kālaḥ pacati bhūtāni kālaḥ saṁharate prajāḥ |
kālaḥ supteṣu jāgarti kālo hi duratikramaḥ ||

The blossoming of trees and plants, the appearance of fruits, the change of seasons, the movement of stars and planets, the periods of gestation, infancy, adolescence, youth, old age, etc., could not have taken place if there were no Time. In the absence of Time everything would be in disorder, but such disorder we neither find nor desire. Cooking, for instance, depends not on the bringing together of fire, pan and other materials, but on Time. It is not at the sweet will of man that causes happen, but according to the order of Time and we cannot dispense with it.

Those who say that the soul exists in itself eternally through *īśvara* (God) are the second school called *Īśvaravādins*. They regard the universe as made by God who is endowed with the attributes of perfection and is the ordainer of heaven or hell for men.

Those who say that the soul exists by itself eternally through *ātman* (Self) are the third school called *Ātmavādins*. According to them the Self creates everything.

Those who say that the soul exists in itself eternally through *niyati* ('the fixed order of thing') are the fourth school called *Niyativādins*. According to them there is a principle called *niyati* by which all that exist assume their form in a prescribed manner, and not otherwise. Whatever comes out of something at one time always comes out of that thing in a regular manner, as otherwise the law of cause and effect and the law of uniformity of nature would not be in operation, for there would be nothing to determine the order of events (*anyathā kāryyakāraṇavyavasthā pratinīyatarūpavyavasthā ca na bhavet niyāmakābhāvāt*).

Those who say that the soul exists by itself eternally through *svabhāva* (Nature) are the fifth school called *Svabhāvavādins*. They hold that everything is caused by Nature, *e.g.*, the clay becomes a jar and not a piece of cloth, a piece of cloth comes from yarn, while a jar does not do so. The uniform production of jars from clay shows the order of Nature. Guṇaratna quotes the following as illustrating the doctrine of *Svabhāvavādins* :

kaḥ kaṇṭakānām prakaroti taiḥṣṇyaṁ |
 vicitrabhāvaṁ mṛgapakṣiṇām ca ||
 svabhāvataḥ sarvamiḍaṁ pravṛttaṁ |
 na kāmācāro 'sti kutaḥ prayatnaḥ ||
 badaryāḥ kaṇṭakas tīkṣṇa r̥jur ekaśca kuñcitaḥ |
 phalaṁ ca vartulaṁ tasya vada kena vinirmītam ||

'What causes thorns to have sharp points and birds and beasts to have their own wonderful ways? All this is ordained by Nature and there is no caprice anywhere. Of the jujube tree the thorns are sharp-pointed, some straight, some bent, the fruit is round—by whom are all these made?'

Even the simple phenomenon of the cooking of the *mudga* also depends on Nature. The *kankaduka mudga*, for instance, cannot be cooked even after the combination of a pan, fuel and Time, for by nature it is a kind of cereal that is not softened by boiling. Therefore that in the presence of which effects follow and in the absence of which effects do not follow is to be regarded as the cause.

We have thus obtained five schools under *asti jīvaḥ svataḥ* "nityaḥ." Under *asti jīvaḥ svataḥ* "antīyaḥ" we shall have another five schools accordingly as the non-eternity is predicated of *kāla*, etc. Then under the head *asti jīvaḥ parataḥ* "anīyaḥ" we shall have another five schools according as "not of itself" is predicated of *kāla*, etc. The five classes of *kāla*, etc.,

are to be supplied under both *nitya* and *anitya* varieties of *svataḥ* and *parataḥ*. The *parataḥ* schools mean that the existence of *jīva* is admitted not of itself but as it is distinguished from other objects, for it is well-known how things are known by contrast with other things just as shortness is known as that which is not long, and in the same way the soul is known by distinguishing it from such objects as pillars, etc. The *anitya* varieties of *parataḥ* would give us yet another set of five schools. So we have twenty schools on *jīva*, the first of the "nine principles" and by extending the same classification to each of the eight other "principles" we have altogether nine times twenty or one hundred and eighty schools comprised in *Kriyāvāda*.

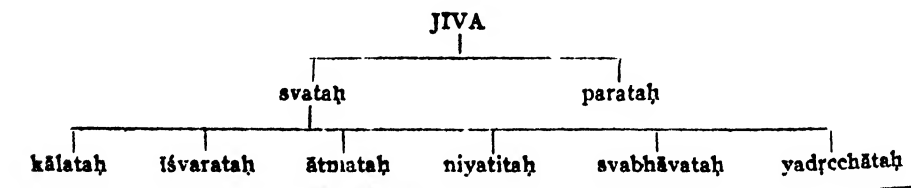
To *kriyāvādins* have been ascribed the views that unless a sinful thought is translated into action or a sinful act performed with a sinful motive the full karmic consequences will not follow and such acts will affect the soul but slightly¹⁰³, and that misery is produced by one's own works and not by the work of somebody else, *viz.*, fate, creator, etc.¹⁰⁴

The meaning is that the state of mind and conduct must combine to constitute sin for any one of them without the other would not give rise to the consequences of a sinful *karman*. *Śīlānka* points out that they hold that action alone leads to liberation even though it be unaccompanied by right knowledge and right faith.

2. AKRIYAVADA.

The *Akriyāvādins* deny the existence of the soul, etc., for according to them everything is of a momentary existence and a state comes to an end the moment it comes into existence, and therefore, it cannot have any *kriyā*. Without continuity of existence no *kriyā* is possible, the existence itself is the cause and effect of it.

The *Akriyāvādins* are of eighty-four varieties obtained in the manner shown below. Let us take seven of the "nine principles" leaving out *puṇya* and *apūṇya*. Of these seven let us take the first, *jīva*, and draw a table thus :



¹⁰³ Sūt. S. I.i.2.25-28.

¹⁰⁴ Sūt. S. I.xii.11.

The divisions of *nitya* and *anitya*, as in the *Kriyāvāda* table, are not necessary here as the question of eternity and non-eternity does not arise when the existence itself of soul, etc., is denied. *Yadṛcchā* is put last because all *Akriyāvādins* are *Yadṛcchāvādins*. The same six divisions from *kāla* to *yadṛcchā* are also to be considered under *parataḥ* as under *svataḥ*.

Those who say that no soul exists in itself through Time are the first school. According to them the existence of objects is established from their signs or effects and there are no such signs or effects from which the existence of the soul can be established. The same argument is applied in denying the existence of the soul through *īśvara*, *ātman*, *niyati* and *svabhāva* as in regard to *kāla*. *Yadṛcchā* means obtainment of results without any determining cause. The *Yadṛcchāvādins* see no uniformity of causal relation in the world. *śāluka* 'the root of a particular kind of water-lily' comes of a *śāluka* as well as of cowdung ; fire comes of fire as well as of *araṇi* 'a piece of wood' ; smoke comes of smoke as well as of a combination of fire and fuel ; *kandalī* 'a particular kind of plant with white flowers appearing very plentifully in the rainy season' comes of *kanda* 'bulbous root' as well as of seeds ; the *Vaṭa* tree comes of seeds as well as of a section of a branch, and wheat comes of wheat-seeds as well as of bamboo-seeds. So there is plurality and not uniformity in causal relations and everything comes into existence accidentally (*yadṛcchātaḥ*) as in a freak. Guṇaratna quotes the following as illustrating the views of *Akriyāvādins* :

atarkitopasthitameva sarvaṁ
citram janānāṁ sukhaduḥkha-jātam |
kākasya tālena yathābhigāto
na buddhipurvo 'sti vṛthābhimānaḥ ||

All this has come into existence by accident—the various joys and sorrows of men ; all this is like the striking a crow by a palm-fruit, which is not preceded by design. It is useless to think (that the origination of things is preceded by design).

Thus under *nāsti jīvaḥ* "*svataḥ*" we have obtained six schools and under *nāsti jīvaḥ* "*parataḥ*" we shall have a set of another six schools. Therefore there are obtained twelve schools under the first of seven "principles" and by extending the same classification to each of the other six "principles" we have altogether seven times twelve or eighty-four schools comprised in *Akriyāvāda*.

Another classification of *Akriyāvādins* divides them into eight classes¹⁰⁵, viz.

Ekavādins who believe in one supreme soul as the first cause.

Anekavādins who believe in one supreme principle manifesting itself in several principles.

Mitavādins who gave a fixed size to the soul.

Nirmitavādins who regard the universe as created by God.

*Sātavādins*¹⁰⁶ who believe in obtaining mokṣa by living a comfortable life.

Samucchadavādins who believe in the constant destructibility of things.

Nityavādins who believe in the eternity of things.

And *Na-santi-paralokavādins* who do not believe in a future life or soul, etc.

It will appear from the above classification that all possible non-Jaina creeds have been comprised under those eight classes of *Akriyāvāda*, the scope of which is certainly wider than in the previous classification into eighty-four classes.

The *Akriyāvādins* are mentioned in the texts as not admitting that the action of the soul is transmitted to future moments¹⁰⁷, and as holding that nothing exists and all forecasts of the future are false¹⁰⁸.

3. AJNANAVADA.

The *Ajñānavādins* deny the necessity or importance of knowledge. According to them knowledge is not the highest thing for where there is knowledge there is assertion of contradictory statements by different disputants resulting in dissensions which soil the mind and bring on a longer period of wordly bondage. But if *ajñāna* or negation of knowledge is upheld it generates no pride and there is no ill-feeling towards others and therefore the chances of wordly bondage are removed. The result of volition is *karman* and the result of *karman* is bondage which is of dire consequences and has to be suffered from, it having been produced by resolute and determined volitional activity. But that *karman* which results from the activity of mere body and speech unprompted by mental

¹⁰⁵ Sth. S. 8.3.607.

¹⁰⁶ See notes 90-93 and 110.

¹⁰⁷ Sū. S. I.xii.4.

¹⁰⁸ Sū. S. I.xii.10.

action is not volitional and therefore is not productive of severe suffering nor does it entail dire consequences. Such unvolitional effects of *karman* are swept off easily by good activities like the easy blowing off by the wind of dust particles adhering to a very dry and white wall.

The absence of volition of mind is generated by the force of *ajñāna* for where there is knowledge there is volition. Therefore one desiring *mokṣa* should adopt *ajñāna* and not knowledge to lead him along the path of perfection.

Supposing for argument's sake that knowledge is necessary, how is one to know for certain what is knowledge? It cannot be known. All philosophers differ in their idea of knowledge. We cannot say which of them spoke the truth. The followers of Mahāvīra may say that he obtained omniscient knowledge and therefore the knowledge that proceeds from him is right knowledge. But how is one to know in the absence of any evidence to prove it that Mahāvīra alone obtained omniscient knowledge and no one else? The story of the gods coming down from heaven to worship Mahāvīra and thus testifying to his omniscient knowledge is not to be trusted for there is no evidence to prove that it really so happened. Traditional evidence is also untrustworthy because it cannot be definitely known whether such tradition was set on foot by an imposter or a worthy man. What has not been proved cannot be believed. The phenomenon of the coming down of gods from heaven is shown by magicians also and in itself is not enough to prove the omniscience of anyone.

Granting even, say the *Ajñānavādins*, that Mahāvīra was omniscient how do we know that the Nirgrantha scriptures are really his teachings and not circulated by knaves? How again are we to know if Mahāvīra used the words in the scriptures in the same sense as they are taken now? How do we know what his real intention was?

Therefore it is established that owing to its being the cause of longer bondage in the world and owing to want of definite certainty, knowledge is not the highest thing but *ajñāna* is the highest thing.

There are sixty-seven schools under Ajñānavāda obtained in the following manner. Let us take the first of the nine "principles" and draw a table as below :

JIVA						
sattva	asattva	sadasattva	avācyatva	sadavācyatva	asadavācyatva	sadasdavācyatva

Here *sattva* means existence in its own form. *Asattva* means non-existence in other forms. *Sadasattva* means simultaneous existence in its own form and non-existence in other forms. When such existence and non-existence are to be expressed at one and the same time in one word it becomes indescribable, there being no such word and therefore it is said to be *avācya* 'indescribability.' When from one point of view it is existent and from another it is indescribable and the two are to be simultaneously expressed it is called *sadavācya*. When from one point of view it is non-existent and from another it is indescribable and the two aspects are to be simultaneously expressed it is called *asadavācya*. When from one point of view it is existent, from another it is non-existent and from yet another indescribable, and all these aspects are to be simultaneously expressed it is called *sadasadavācya*. Thus we have these seven schools under the first "principle" and extending the same classification to each of the other eight "principles" we have nine times seven, i.e., sixty-three schools. These refer to the nature of the nine "principles" severally, but as for their origin in general four other schools are possible, viz., *sattva*, *asattva*, *sadasattva*, and *avācya*—the other three forms of the seven possible variations are not used in this case as they are used only in respect of the several parts of a thing only after its origin has taken place which is not the case here. The last four added to the previous sixty-three give us sixty-seven schools under *Ajñānavāda*.

The first school on *jīva*, for instance, says "Who knows if there is *jīva*? No one does, because there is no evidence to prove its existence. What again is the use of knowing it? If it is known it will give rise to volition which will stand in the way of attaining to the next world (*jñātasyābhiniveśahetulayā paralokaḥpratiṭṭhivāt*). In the same way are to be described the other varieties of *asattva*, etc., as also their origin in general.

It is obvious that although the *Ajñānavādins* say they have no need of knowledge and that it is unnecessary, they happen yet to be the employers of the acutest arguments.

4. VINAYAVĀDA.

The *Vinayavādins* or *Vaiṇayikas* do not accept signs, external rules of ceremony, and scriptures but uphold the supremacy of reverence as the cardinal virtue leading to perfection. There are thirty-two schools of *Vinayavāda* obtained in this way. Reverence may be shown to eight

classes of beings, viz., god or master, ascetic, man, aged persons, inferiors, mother and father, and to each of these eight classes of persons reverence may be shown in four ways, i.e., by body, mind, speech and gifts. There are thus four times eight or thirty-two schools of *Vinayavāda*.

The three hundred and sixty-three philosophical schools of Jaina literature are thus obtained by totalling one hundred and eighty schools of *Kriyāvāda*, eighty-four schools of *Akriyāvāda*, sixty-seven schools of *Ajñānavāda* and thirty-two schools of *Vinayavāda*¹⁰⁰. The commentators Śilānka, Abhayadeva and Malayagiri as well as Hemacandra accept this classification as a standard.

Buddhist Classification of Contemporary Schools.

It is of interest to compare in this connection Buddha's classification given in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* in the *Dīgha Nikāya* of contemporary philosophical thought into sixty-two schools, viz.

The four schools of Eternalists or *Sassatavādas*. They held that the soul and the world are both eternal. The first three schools held this view as a result of their having perceived through a recollection of the memories of past lives that the soul and the body have always been in existence, and the fourth school held this view not as a result of memory but on logical grounds.

The four schools of Semi-Eternalists or *Ekacca-Sassatikā*. The first school believed that *Brahmā* was eternal but not individual souls, having come to this conclusion through partial remembrance of past states of existence in higher worlds. The second school believed that debauched souls are not eternal but that undebauched souls are eternal. The third school believed exactly the same thing as the second school except that in the case of the former the debauchery of the gods is mental unlike the debauchery of the gods of the latter school which is physical. The fourth school held that the soul was eternal but not the body.

The four schools of Extensionists or *Antānantikas*. The first school held that the world was finite, the second that it was infinite, the third that it was infinite sidewise but finite upward and downward, and the fourth that it was neither finite nor infinite.

The four schools of Eel-wrigglers or *Amarāvikkheṇikas*. They did not give categorical replies to any question but avoided them by ambiguous

¹⁰⁰ *Tarkarāhasya-dīpikā*, a commentary by Guṇaratna on the *Śaḍdarśana-samuccaya* of Haribhadra, B. I., p. 19.

and equivocating replies, and differed only in respect of the motives for giving such replies.

The two schools of Fortuitous-Originists or *Adhiccāsamuppannikas*. They held that the soul and the world came into being without a cause, having come to this conclusion as a result of remembrance of past lives in the case of the first, and as a result of logical reasoning in the case of the second.

The thirty-two schools of Conscious-maintainers or *Uddhamāghatanikas*. They believed that the soul after death passed into various states of existence, *viz.*, conscious or unconscious, subject to decay or not subject to decay, neither conscious nor unconscious, and all in respect of the form, finitude, different modes of consciousness, and happiness of the soul.

The seven schools of Annihilationists or *Ucchedavādīs*. They held that the soul is annihilated after death and they identified the soul with the body, essence of the body, mind, infinite space, infinite consciousness, or as being bondless or being beyond ideas.

The five schools of Nirvanists or *Diṭṭhadhammanibbānavādas*. They believed that a soul was capable of obtaining complete emancipation in this visible world by full enjoyment of the pleasures of the senses¹¹⁰ or by each of the four stages of *dhyāna*.

PART III.

1. RELIGIOUS SECTS.

Besides philosophical schools the literature of the Jainas has interesting information regarding various kinds of religious sects.

A sect believed abstention from salt or garlic, onion, young camel's milk, beef, and liquors as the path of perfection¹¹¹.

A sect believed in the use of cold water for bath and ablutions as the path of perfection¹¹².

Some ascetics believed that by tending a fire they would reach perfection¹¹³.

Haṭṭhi-tāvasas. They used to kill an elephant with arrows and lived many months on its flesh. The motive was to spare the lives of other animals for as long as the flesh of the elephant would last. They claimed

¹¹⁰ Cf. *Sātavādins supra*. notes 90—98, 106.

¹¹¹ *Sāt. S. I.vii.12.*

¹¹² *Sāt. S. I.vii.12.*

¹¹³ *Sāt. S. I.vii.12.*

that they committed but one sin, the killing of the elephant, in a year or so which was counterbalanced by the merit earned by not killing other lives during this time¹¹⁴.

Bāla-tāvasas. They lived only by eating leaves that fell off naturally from trees¹¹⁵.

Kandappiyas. They earned a living by performing antics and making people laugh by making various movements with the eyebrows, mouth, teeth, lips, hands, feet, and ears. They made others laugh but did not laugh themselves¹¹⁶.

Caragas. They went about begging and carried a *dhāṭi*¹¹⁷. They went out to beg only after meal¹¹⁸, says Hemacandra in his commentary on the *Anuyogadvāra*.

The names of the following sects are mentioned in long lists of ascetical orders in several places¹¹⁹.

Kibbisiyas. They went about speaking ill of religious teachers and holy people.

Tericchiyas. They dwelt in places unfrequented by cows, horses and other animals.

Abhiogias. They earned a living by gaining the confidence of people by administering auspicious baths, exorcising evil spirits and interpreting dreams. The *Brahmajāla Sūtra* of the Buddhists also mention these as the ways by practising which many mendicants earned their living.

Hottiyas. They performed *agnihotras*.

Pottiyas. They put on a special kind of clothes.

Kottiyas. They slept on the bare ground.

Jaṇṇais. They performed *yajñas*.

Thālais. They carried all their belongings with them.

Hunivauṭṭas. They carried a water vessel with them¹²⁰.

Dantukkhalīyas. They lived on fruits and used their teeth as mortar.

Ummajjagas. They bathed by taking only a dip.

Sammajjagas. They bathed without dipping in water.

Nimajjagas. They remained in water only for a short time.

¹¹⁴ Bhag. S. 11.9.418; Aup. 38; Sūt. S. II.vi.52.

¹¹⁵ Bhag. S. 1.2.25.

¹¹⁶ Bhag. 1.2.25; Aup. 38.

¹¹⁷ This is the explanation of Abhayadeva; the word however seems to be *ghaṭi* a begging-bowl.

¹¹⁸ Bhag. 1.2.25; Anuyog. 20 and 26.

¹¹⁹ Bhag. 1.2.25 and 11.9.418; Aup. 38 and 41; Anu. 20 and 26.

¹²⁰ Cf. *Cullavagga* 5.10.1.

Sampakkhālas. They rubbed and cleansed their limbs with mud.

Uḍḍhakaṇḍūyagas. They never scratched the lower parts of the body.

Ahokaṇḍūyagas. They never scratched the upper parts of the body.

Dāhiṇakūlagas. They dwelt only on the south bank of the Ganges

Uttarakūlagas. They dwelt only on the north bank of the Ganges.

Samkhadhāmayas. They blew a conch-shell to keep people away.

Kūladhāmayas. They blew a conch-shell on the river bank to keep people away while they took their meal.

Migaluddhakas. They killed animals.

Jalābhiseyakiḍhiṇagāyas. They took their meals only after a bath.

Ambuvāsins. They lived in water.

Vāuvāsins. They lived in airy places.

Jalavāsins. They remained submerged in water.

Bilavāsins. They lived in caves.

Velāvāsins. They lived on the sea-coast.

Rukkhamūliyas. They lived under trees.

Ambubhakkhins. They lived by drinking water only.

Vāyabhakkhins. They lived by inhaling air only.

Sevālabhakkhins. They lived by eating moss.

Mūlāhāras. They lived by eating roots only.

Kandāhāras. They lived by eating bulbous roots only.

Pattāhāras. They lived by eating leaves only.

Puṣṣphāhāras. They lived by eating flowers only.

Phalāhāras. They lived by eating fruits only.

Biyāhāras. They lived by eating seeds only.

Tayāhāras. They lived by eating bark only.

Parisaḍiyakandāhāras. They lived by eating rotten bulbous roots only.

Parisaḍiyamūlāhāras. They lived by eating rotten roots only.

Parisaḍiyapuṣṣphāhāras. They lived by eating rotten flowers only.

Parisaḍiyaphalāhāras. They lived by eating rotten fruits only.

Pariṣaḍiyapattāhāras. They lived by eating rotten leaves only.

Vakkavāsins. They put on a dress of bark.

Disāpokkhins. They sanctified all sides by sprinkling water and then collected fruits and flowers.

Uddandagas. They went about with a raised staff.

Goamas. They earned a living by making a young bull, painted and decorated, perform tricks of foot-lifting, etc.

Gobbaïas. They followed a cow wherever it went, ate grass.

Kukkuiyas. They earned a living by amusing people by making many kinds of grimaces and gestures.

Some sects abstained from milk, curd, butter, oil, treacles, honey, spirits and meat.

Dagaviyas. They took water as the second item in the meal.

Dagataias. They took water as the third item in the meal.

Dagacauṭṭhas. They took water as the fourth item in the meal.

Dagaṇcamas. They took water as the fifth item in the meal.

Dagachauṭṭhas. They took water as the sixth item in the meal.

Dagasattamas. They took water as the seventh item in the meal.

Mohariyas. They went about saying all sorts of incoherent and absurd things also indulging in great garrulity in order to amuse people.

Some sects went about dancing and singing to entertain people.

Bahudayas. They stopped one night in a village, five nights in a town and lived on whatever alms they got.

Kuḍivvayas. They lived in houses and regarded conquering of anger, greed, pride and illusion as their goal.

Cīrigas. They put on rags collected from the road-side.

Cammakhaṇḍiyas. They put on a dress of hide.

Paṇḍuraṅgas. They besmeared their body with ashes.

Bhikkhoṇḍas. They would eat nothing except what has been obtained as alms and would not take milk unless it had been milked by another.

Hamsas. They lived in mountain caves, roads, hermitages, temples and gardens and entered a village only for begging alms.

Paramahamsas. They lived on river banks, the confluence of streams and wore discarded clothes and rags.

Besides these there are mentions of mendicants who worshipped Nārāyaṇa ; of eight Brahmanical mendicants named Kaṇha, Karakaṇḍa, Ambaḍa, Parāsara, Kaṇha, Divāyaṇa Devagutta and Nārāya ; of eight Kṣatriya mendicants named Silai, Sasihāra, Naggai, Bhaggai, Videha, Rāyarāya, Rāyarāma and Bala ; of Saṃkhas (*Saṃkhyas*) Jois (*Yogins*), *Kavilas*, *Bhiuccas* (disciples of Kapila and Bhṛgu) ; of those who practised penances in the sun or surrounded by fire ; of ascetics who practised austerities with an arm uplifted¹²¹ ; of mendicants in Vajjabhūmi who ate rough food and carried a staff with them¹²² ; of the six Disāyāras named

¹²¹ Bhag. 15.543.

¹²² Acar. S.1.8.3.5.

Sāṇa, Kalaṇḍa Kaṇiyāra, Acchidda, Aggivesayaṇa, Ajjuna and Gomāyuputta¹²³.

The texts mention only the names of these sects of ascetics but give no other details. The little information which is collected here is from the remarks of commentators. It is apparent that the information supplied by the latter is not full, but nothing more is available.

II. THE SECT OF PĀRŚVA.

The sect of Pārśva came to be amalgamated with the Nirgrantha. A discussion once took place between Goyama, the chief disciple of Mahāvīra and Udaka, a follower of Pārśva, on whether a movable being is to be called a movable being or beings which are for the time being movable. Udaka went on to argue that one who took the vow of abstention from killing one class of animals abstained in fact from killing all classes of animals, for the same being who was now born in one class may be born in other classes as well, and beings which are outside the class now may come later on into the class. To this Goyama replied at length pointing out its incorrectness on the ground that as the vow of not killing an ascetic is not broken by one who kills a man who used to be an ascetic but is no longer so, in the same way all classes cannot be brought within one class¹²⁴.

Kalāsavesiyaputta, a disciple of Pārśva, questioned the knowledge of Nigrantha elders and finally wanted to be converted from his own doctrine of four vows to that of five vows (*Cāujjāmāo dhammāo pañcamahavvaiyam saḥḍikkamaṇaṁ dhammaṁ uvasaṁ pajjittā*¹²⁵). On another occasion elders belonging to the sect of Pārśva came to Mahāvīra, asked him questions and finally were converted by him at their own instance from the doctrine of the four vows to that of five vows.¹²⁶ The five vows were of *ahimsa* non-injury, *aṇṭa* truthfulness, *asteya* non-theiving, *aparigraha* possessionlessness, and abstention from *abrahma* unchastity.

There is a very instructive discussion between Goyama, a disciple of Mahāvīra and Kesi, a follower of Pārśva. Two important points which emerge from this discussion are first, that Pārśva omitted the vow of celibacy because he included it in the vow of possessionlessness. The absence of its specific mention however led to corruption which was set right by Mahāvīra's inclusion of celibacy as a distinct vow. Secondly,

¹²³ Bhag. 15.530

¹²⁴ Sūt. S. II. vii. 14.

¹²⁵ Bhag. 1.9.76.

¹²⁶ Bhag. 5.9.226.

Pārśva allowed an upper and an under garment to his disciples while Mahāvīrā recommended complete nudity, the explanation being that there is really no conflict in this for Pārśva's direction was with the purpose of giving his disciples a characteristic mark to distinguish them from others while Mahāvīrā's nudity symbolised that knowledge, faith and right conduct are the true causes of final liberation and not outward marks.¹²⁷

The parents of Mahāvīrā were lay disciples of Pārśva, and Mahāvīrā was therefore brought up as such and continued in it till after he renounced the world. A man of outstanding personality and gifts as he was he could not be content merely with the knowledge of the law. He wandered about alone and single to realise the truth for himself. We have already noticed his association with Gosāla. His teachings bear testimony to his having associated with other schools. This is an important matter in the proper study of Mahāvīrā's religion but full justice cannot be done to this subject here as it is outside the scope of the present enquiry. It will suffice for our present purposes to note that Mahāvīrā reverted ultimately to his former sect and effected improvements in it.

III. SCHISMATIC SCHOOLS AMONG THE NIRGRANTHAS.

Although nothing compared with the material contained in the *Kathāvatthu* of the Buddhists regarding various opinions on doctrinal matters among themselves the literature of the Jainas yields some information on schisms within the order of the Nirgranthas.

Jamāli, who was Mahāvīrā's sister's son and also married his daughter, was the first man to start the schism. He was a prince and renounced the world in order to be an ascetic follower of Mahāvīrā. Once he begged permission of Mahāvīrā to go out on a tour with five hundred ascetics, and although permission was asked three times Mahāvīrā vouched no reply. Jamāli took the law in his own hand, went away wandering and fell ill on account of having taken bad and improper food. During his illness he asked his companions to spread a bed of dry grass for him and when it was being done he enquired if the bed was ready. His companions said the bed was ready but going up to it he found that it had been only half-ready. Instantly it occurred to him that "a thing is done when it is being done" as taught by Mahāvīrā was false. He announced his new idea to his companions some of whom agreed with him. He thereupon declared himself a Kevalin. Jamāli's followers are called Bahurayas because they

¹²⁷ Uttar. S. 23.83.

held that the completion of an act required more than one unit of time. This is the first schism and it arose in Sāvatti.¹²⁸

The second schism was started by Tissagutta at Usabhapura or Rāyagaha. His followers are called *Jivapaesiyas* because they identified the jīva with the space occupied by it.

The third schism was led by Āsāḍha and had its origin in Syetavi. Āsāḍha doubted if gods and saints were really so. His followers are called *Arvattiyas*.

The fourth schism arose in Mithilā and was started by Assamitta. His followers are called *Samuccheiyas* because they held that inasmuch as every thing is subject to destruction after having come into existence, the effects of good or bad deeds are not to be enjoyed or suffered from.

The fifth schism was started by Gaṇa at Ullakātira. His followers held that it is not true that only one feeling can be felt by the mind at one time and are therefore called *Dokiriyas*.

The sixth schism arose in Antarañjī and was started by Saḍuluya or Rohagutta. His followers are called *Terāsiyas* because they held that there is a third state of existence besides jīva and ajīva.

The seventh schism was started by Goṭṭhamāhilla at Dasapura. His followers are called *Abaddhiyas* because according to them the jīva is not bound by *karman*.¹²⁹

IV. NIRGRANTHA CRITICISM OF OTHER SCHOOLS.

The Jaina literature contains some criticism specifically directed against the beliefs and practices of some of the contemporary schools. Later commentators have read into many of the passages in the canon criticism of others by implication. These might or might not have been meant in the texts to be criticism against the parties, the commentators take them to be directed against, and are therefore unnecessary to deal with. But the other class wherein we find in a very clear manner the criticism made as also the party it is directed against, is important as it shows from yet another point of view the stand the early Nirgranthas took in contrast with their contemporaries.

The Ājīviyas have been criticised on the ground that they do not understand that things depend partly on fate and partly on human exertion.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Bhag. 9. 33. 383-387.

¹²⁹ Sth. S. 7.3. 587.

¹³⁰ Sūt. S. I.i.2.4.

If everything was unalterably fixed, as the Ājīviyas believed, and if there was no *purisakāra* how was it that the gods only were gods and not everybody? A god attained to that status by dint of his exertion, otherwise all would have been gods or none would have been such. From our everyday experience we find that the course of things can be altered by human exertion,¹³¹ our reason dictates exertion which none can deny.

The Vedānta doctrine of the *ātman* being the substratum of all existence is criticised on the ground that if that were true how can the consequences of evil *karman* performed by one result in the suffering of the same individual?¹³² The one *ātman* underlying all would make the consequences sufferable by all of the wrong deeds done by one or by another individual who had nothing to do with the wrong deed. Again, if there were one *ātman* common to all there would be no difference in the lots of individuals or in their castes or station in life, and all would be sharing equally the perfection of the *ātman*.¹³³ The inactivity of the *puruṣa* of the Sāṃkhya would also be open to the same objection of not accounting for the variety we find in the world in the lots of men.¹³⁴

The *Tajjīvalaccharāvādins* are criticised as offering no solution to such problems as whether or not an action is good, whether or not there is a life after death or whether perfection is attainable.¹³⁵

The Buddhists are criticised as placing unreasoning faith on the authority of Buddha. They have permission, they say, of doing this or that. Any one familiar with the rules of Vinaya of the Buddhists knows how frequently the necessity arose for Buddha to accord his permission to this act or that on the part of his disciples, and this has been criticised on the ground that Buddha's permission does not justify a wrong act.¹³⁶

Kriyāvādins are criticised on the ground that they put all the emphasis on outward acts which is not correct for a sinful thought even though not carried out into execution is none the less sinful.¹³⁷

Akriyāvādins are criticised for not believing that there is *karman* and its transmission to future moments.¹³⁸

Brāhmaṇs, *Ajñānavādins* and *Ṭīnayavādins* are criticised in general

¹³¹ Upās. 7.200.

¹³² Sūt. S. I.i.1.10.

¹³³ Sūt. S. II.vi.48.

¹³⁴ Sūt. S. I.i.1.14.

¹³⁵ Sūt. S. II.i.17.

¹³⁶ Ācār. S. I.i.3.7.

¹³⁷ Sūt. S. I.i.2.29.

¹³⁸ Sūt. S. I.xii.4.

terms and the Jaina emphasis on non-injury, necessity of right thinking, and right knowledge come out prominently from these criticisms.¹³⁹

The *Sūnyavādins* who deny the existence of all visible world and all future are told in answer that as astrologers, dream-interpreters and other kinds of diviners are sometimes able to predict future events it cannot be said that there is no future.¹⁴⁰

Those who believed in perfection to be attained by bath, abstention from some articles of food, or by tending a fire are criticised on the ground that if perfection was attainable by contact with water many fishes, tortoises etc., would easily obtain perfection.¹⁴¹ If water washed off bad *karman* it would also wash off good *karman*, and if it washed off sin many people who killed living beings in water would be sinless.¹⁴² If perfection was attainable by tending a fire many mechanics would easily obtain it.¹⁴³ By drinking liquor or eating meat and garlic people of course attain a state different from their normal state but that state is far from the state of perfection.¹⁴⁴ Clothed in humour though these criticism are yet they reveal a strong common sense on the part of the Nirgrantha critic.

The soil of India has always been very favourable to the growth of religions and philosophies and the information obtained from the literature of the Jainas fully bears testimony to it. It will be seen that the teachings of Mahāvira whose disciples are yet a living body in the land of their birth, were an attempt on the part of the founder to provide a solution to the intense problems of religion and philosophy which stirred the heart of India in that distant age.

¹³⁹ Acār. S. I.iv.2.4. Sūt. S. I.xii.3; I.i.2.17.

¹⁴⁰ Sūt. S. I.xii.9.

¹⁴¹ Sūt. S. I.vii.14-15.

¹⁴² Sūt. S. I.vii.16-17.

¹⁴³ Sūt. S. I.vii.18.

¹⁴⁴ Sūt. S. I.vii.13.

(Mss. received November, 1929).

NAIRĀTMYAPARIPṚCCHĀ

TIBETAN AND SĀNSKRIT TEXTS

By SUJITAKUMARA MUKHOPADHYAYA,

FOREWORD.

The original Sanskrit text of the *Nairātmya-paripṛcchā* was supposed to have been lost and just when in January last Mr. Sujitakumara Mukhopadhyaya was going to the press with his restoration in Sanskrit of the treatise from the Tibetan version, the Octo-Decem. number of the *Journal Asiatique* came to his hands, containing a paper (*Encore Aśvaghoṣa*) by Prof. Lévi in which the original text of the *Nairātmya-paripṛcchā* was published (pp. 207-211). A good deal of the value of the restoration of the text by Mr. Mukhopadhyaya has been thus lost, yet it is being published as an illustration of the standards which can be reached in Tibetan studies.

The difference between the original and the restoration is due in many places to the difference between the Sanskrit and the Tibetan versions ; and sometimes to the misunderstanding of the Tibetan translator ; for instance, see verse No. 21. Of course there are cases, where the restorer himself is responsible for wrong renderings.

The restored text, as was originally made, is placed here, without any modification, side by side with the original text, so that they may easily be compared.

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February 17th, 1930.

INTRODUCTION.

The following work, the Sanskrit version of which I have here attempted to restore is to be found in the Kanjur, Mdo, XIV, pp. 8-11. Its name is *Nairātmya-pariṣcchā*, that is, questions on the non-existence of the soul. It belongs to the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism, and contains an interesting exposition of the ideas concerning the soul and reality.

This work was translated into Tibetan by two scholars, Kamalagupta and Ratnabhadra (*rin.chen.bzan.po.*). The former was an Indian *upādhyāya* and the latter a Tibetan Sanskrit translator (*lo.tsa.ba*).

It opens abruptly with the word 'then' (*de.nas*) from which we infer that it is possibly a fragment of a larger treatise. It begins with a dialogue in prose between the heretics (*Tīrthikas*) and the Mahāyānists and ends with verses in which the views of the latter are given. From this one can obtain an idea of the Mahāyānic notions about the soul and the universe in general.

About the existence of the soul, the Mahāyānists say: We cannot say that there is a soul, nor can we say there is no soul. If there is a soul, why is it not seen when we examine and analyse the body part by part? Now, if there is no soul, how then are love, affection, kindness, greed, anger, etc., produced?

To a Mahāyānist, there is neither self nor non-self, nor soul, nor spirit, nor mind; neither doer, nor knower; neither wealth, nor son, nor friends; to him there is neither birth nor destruction, nor any consequence of good or bad actions.

This treatise was translated into French by M. Léon Feer in the *Annales du Musée Guimet*, 1883 Vol. 50, pp. 180-186. This translation is, however, not reliable at all. The first portion of the dialogue is translated fairly correctly; but in the rest of the work the translator has committed many mistakes. For example, he has translated *kun.rdzob* as *le vide* (the void). He thinks it is almost like the term *ston.pa* in Tibetan. But in fact, *kun.rdzob* and *ston.pa* are two different terms conveying quite different meanings. The former means *vyāvahārika satya* or empirical truth, while the latter means simply 'void' in the Mahāyānic sense of the term, or 'relativity' according to Stcherbatskey. Throughout the whole translation he has made the same mistake and consequently has interpreted the text wrongly.

For instance, he has translated

kun.rdzob.chos.la. žugs.pa.yi 1
sems.can.ñon.moṅs. dbaṅ.du.'gro 1

as

“l'être entré dans la loi du monde
devient supérieur à la souillure.”

‘Beings having entered into the law of the world rise above impurity.’

This expression conveys neither the literal meaning nor the inner sense of the text. As he took *loi du monde* to mean *le vide* he had to translate the second line of the passage quoted above as ‘rise above impurity.’ But can the Tibetan line in any way mean this? The only sense possible here is *sattvaḥ kleśavaśaṃ gataḥ*: Beings are subject to affliction (impurity).

In verse 8, he has translated :

de.bas. don.dam. śes.pa.yis 1
kun.rdzob.bden.p'i.gnas.spoṅ.ṇo 11

as

“Aussi celui qui ne connaît pas le sens vrai
rejette le vide, siège de la vérité.”

‘Also he who does not know the true sense rejects the void, the seat of truth.’

I may translate it as

tyajet tat paramārthajñāḥ
sahvṛtisatyaniśrayam 1

‘Therefore the knower of *paramārtha* should reject the reliance upon the empirical truth.’

One may easily mark the great difference between these two translations. He has translated *de.bas. don.dam. śes.pa.yis* by ‘one who does not know the true sense.’ But where did he get this negation? Probably he added it to support his translation of *kun.rdzob* as *le vide*.

The third verse also he has translated wrongly. We quote the text and his translation :

kun.rdzob.'jig.rten.chos.rnams.la 1
mi.mkhas.pa.dag. rtog.par. byed 1
kun.rdzob.rtog.pa. de.yis. ni 1
sdug.bsṅal. ñoms.su. moṅ.bar.'gyur 11

“Ceux à qui les lois du monde du vide
sont complètement inconnues peuvent chercher ;
ils ont beau chercher,
la déchéance les atteint et ils savourent la douleur.”

‘Those to whom the laws of the world of the void are completely unknown, may search ; but they search in vain. Decay comes to them and they experience sufferings.’

This is fanciful and full of errors. I may offer here the following translation :

saṃvṛtyā lokadharmān hi
kalpayantyavipaścitaḥ |
saṃvṛtyā kalpanāś ca
śocanti kleśahāniṣu ||

‘Through *saṃvṛti* ignorant people assume the *lokadharma* ; on account of this assumption through *saṃvṛti* they grieve in sufferings and loss.’

One meets with such errors throughout the whole work. However, I must express my thanks to the translator for the help that I have obtained from his work.

POST SCRIPT.

Just when the paper was ready for the press, my attention was drawn to Prof. Lévi's article, *Encore Aśvaghoṣa* in J.A. Oct.-Dec., 1928, in which the original Sanskrit text of the treatise found by him in Nepal was published for the first time. The work has two Chinese versions. The authors of these versions are Je tch'eng and Fa t'ien. The former attributes the original work to Aśvaghoṣa.

It is named differently in these versions. Je tch'eng, whose translation corresponds to that in Tibetan, calls it *Ni k'ien tse wen wou ngo yi king*, i.e. “The sutra of the *Nirgranthaputra* who questions the meanings of Impersonality.”

The text of Fa t'ien begins as a regular sutra thus : “One day when the Buddha was in a big assembly, one of the heretics being doubtful and ignorant in the practices of the Mahāyāna came to him. Bowing his head and joining his hands to pay homage he enquired of the meanings of Impersonality.”

But the text of Je tch'eng begins abruptly. “At that time the sons of the Nirgrantha with heretic views having doubts and uncertainty desired to get an explanation from the follower of the Mahāyāna. They bowed their heads, joined their hands and wanted to know the meanings of Impersonality.”

TIBETAN TEXT.

[N.B. In the Tibetan words *ṇ* is for the sound of *ng* in *sing*.

X implies the Xylograph of the Narthang edition in the Visva-bharati library.]

rgya.gar.skad.du l ā.rya.nai.rā.tmya.pa.ri.pṛ.cchā. nā.ma.
ma.hā.yā.na.sū.tra ll .

bod.skad.du l 'phags.pa.bdag.med.pa.dris.pa.
ṣes.byā.ba. theg.pa.chen.po'i.mdo ll

saṅs.rgyas. daṅ byaṅ.chub.sems.dp'a. thams.cad.la. phyag.'tshal.lo ll

1. de.nas. dmigs.p'i.lta.ba.can. rnam.par.rtog.pa.daṅ.bcas.śin.
rnam. par.dpyod.pa.daṅ.bcas.p'i. mu.stegs.pa. de.dag.rnams. theg.pa.chen.
po'i. naṅ. du. soṅ.ste. l ṣe.sa.daṅ.bcas.śiṅ thal.mo. sbyar.nas. bdag.med.-
pa'i. dri.ba.dag. yonṣ.su.dris.pa. l rigs.kyi.bu. thams.cad.mkhyen.pas. ni.
lus.la. bdag. med.do. ṣes.gsuṅs.la ll gal.te. lus.la. yaṅ.dag.par.bdag. med.
na. ji.ltar. na. de.las. brtse.ba. daṅ. dgod.pa. daṅ. ṇu.ba. daṅ. rol.ba.
daṅ. khro.ba. daṅ. ṇa.rgyal. daṅ. phrag.dog. daṅ. phra.ma.la.sogs.pa.
kun.tu.'byuṅ.bar.'gyur. ll ci. lus.la. yaṅ.dag.par.ni.¹ bdag. yod. dam.
med.pa.yin. l bdag.cag.gi. the.tshom. de.dag. khyod.kyis. bsal.b'i.
rigs.so. ll

2. theg.pa.chen.po.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa. l grogs.po.dag. lus.la.
ni. bdag.yaṅ.dag.par. yod.do. ṣes. 'am. med.do. ṣes. gñis.kar. yaṅ. 'dir.
brjod.par. mi.byā.ste l yaṅ.dag.par.bdag.² yod.do. ṣes. brjod.pa. na.
med.do. ṣes. brjod.pa. ni. log.par. smra.b'o ll gal.te. yod. na. ji.ltar. na.
de. skra. daṅ. sen.mo daṅ. pags.pa. daṅ. mgo.bo. daṅ. sā. daṅ. rus.pa.
daṅ. rkaṅ. daṅ. tshil. daṅ. rgyus.pa. daṅ. mchin.pa. daṅ. rgyu.ma. daṅ.
mid.pa. daṅ. lag.pa. daṅ. rkaṅ.pa. daṅ. yan.lag. daṅ. ñin.lag la.sogs.pa.
lus. thams. cad.kyi. phyi. daṅ. naṅ.du. bcas.pa.la. rnam.par.brtags.na.
bdag.yaṅ.dag.par. mi. snaṅ.ṇo ll

3. mu.stegs.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa. l lh'i.mig.daṅ.ltan.pa 'g'a.
ṣig.gis. mthoṅ.gis. bdag.cag.rnams. ni. ś'i.mig.can.yin.pas. bdag.yaṅ.dag.-
par. ji.ltar. mthoṅ ll

¹ X na.

² X omits it.

4. theg.pa.chen.po.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa l lha'i.mig.daṇ.lḍan.pa.-rnams.kyis. kyaṇ mi. mthoṇ.ste l gaṇ.la. kha.dog. med. pa. daṇ. gzugs. med.pa. daṇ. dbyibs. med.pa. de. ji.ltar. mthoṇ. bar. 'gyur ll

5. mu.stegs.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa. ci. med.pa. yin.nam l

6. theg.pa.chen.po.pa.rnams.kyis smras.pa l med.do. ṣes. brjod.pa. na. yod.do ṣes. brjod.-pa. ni. log.par. smras. pa'o. ll gal.te.med. na. ji.ltar. 'di. mṇon.sum.du. yod.par. brtse.ba. daṇ. dgod.pa. daṇ. ṇu.ba. daṇ. rol.ba. daṇ khro.ba. daṇ. ṇa.rgyal. daṇ. phrag.dog. daṇ. phra.ma. la.sogs.pa. kun.tu. 'byuṇ.bar. 'gyur. ll de.bas.na. med.do. ṣes.par. yaṇ. mi. ruṇ.ste. l yod.dam. med. ces. yaṇ. 'di. ltar. brjod.par. mi. bya. ste. l ṇes.pa. 'di. yod.pas. ni. yod. p'o. ṣes. 'am. med. p'o. ṣes. brjod.par. mi. by'o ll

7. mu.stegs.pa.rnams.kyis. smras. pa l 'o.na. 'dir. gaṇ.ṣig. dmigs.-par. 'gyur ll

8. theg.pa. chen.po.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa l dmigs.par.gyur.ba. ni. ci.'aṇ. med.do ll

9. mu.stegs.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa l ci. nam.mkh'a. ltar. stoṇ.pa. ṇid. yin.nam ll

10. theg.pa.chen.po.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa l grogs.po.dag. de.bṣin. de. nam.mkh'a. ltar. stoṇ.pa. ṇid. yin.no ll

11. mu.stegs.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa l gal.te. de.ltar. yin. na. brtse.ba. daṇ. dgod.pa. daṇ. ṇu.ba. daṇ. rol.ba. daṇ. khro.ba. daṇ. ṇa.rgyal. daṇ. phrag.dog. daṇ. phra.ma. la.sogs.pa. ji.ltar. blta.bar. bgyi ll

12. theg.pa. chen.po.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa l sgyu.ma. daṇ. rmi.lam. daṇ. mig.'phrul. daṇ. 'dra.ba.yin.no ll

13. mu.stegs.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa l sgyu.ma. ni. ji.lta.bu. lags. rmi.lam. daṇ. mig.'phrul. ni. ji.lta.bu.lags ll

14. theg.pa.chen.po.pa.rnams.kyis. smras.pa l sgyu.ma. ni. intshon.-pa.tsam.mo. rmi.lam. ni. so.sor.snap.ba.tsam.ste. gzuṇ.bar. bya.ba. ma.yin. ṣin. raṇ.bṣin.gyis.stoṇ.pa. yod. pa.ma.yin.pa'i.ṇo.bo ṇid.do ll mig.'phrul. ni. btsos.ma.tsam.du. dgos.po. l grogs.po.dag. de. de. bṣin.du l dṇos.po. ji.sṇed.pa. thams.cad. ni. sgyu.ma. daṇ. rmi.lam. daṇ. mig.'phrul. daṇ. 'dra.bar. ṣes.par.by'o ll

15. gṣan.yaṇ. kun.rdzob. daṇ. don.dam.pa.dag. bstan.par.by.a.ste l de.la. kun.rdzob. ces.by.a.ba. ni. gaṇ.la.³ 'di. ni. bdag.go. 'di. ni. gṣan.no. ṣes. bya.ba. daṇ. srog. daṇ. skyes.bu. daṇ. gaṇ.zag. daṇ. byed.pa.po.

daṇ. tshor.ba.po. daṇ. nor. daṇ. bu. daṇ. chuṇ.ma. daṇ. mdz'a. bśes. daṇ. ñe.du. la.sogs.par. rtog.pa. de. ni. kun.rdzob. ces.by'o l gan.la. bdag med.pa. daṇ. gžan. med.pa. daṇ. srog. med.pa. daṇ. skyes.bu. med.pa. daṇ. gaṇ.zag. med.pa. daṇ. byed.pa.po. med.pa. daṇ. tshor.ba.po. med. pa. daṇ. nor. med.pa. daṇ. bu.med. pa. daṇ. chuṇ.ma. med.pa. daṇ. md'a.bśes. med.pa. daṇ. ñe.du. la. sogs.pa. med.pa. de. ni. don. dam. pa. žes.by'o ll gaṇ.la. raṇ.bžin.gyis. dṇos.po. thams.cad.du. yonś.su.brtags. žiṇ. dge.ba. daṇ. mi.dge.b'i. 'bras. bu. daṇ. skye.ba. daṇ. 'gag.pa. ni kun. rdzob.bo. dge.ba. daṇ. mi. dge.b'i. 'bras.bu.med.pa. daṇ. skye.ba.med.pa. daṇ. 'gag.pa. med.pa. de.bžin.ñid.kyi.ṇo.bo. ñid. de.la. ni. kun.nas.ñon. moṇś.pa. rnam.par.byaṇ.ba. med.de. de. ni. dbu.m'i. chos.rnams. kyi. sgrub.pa. lhur.len.p'o ll de.la 'di.sked. ces. bya.ste l

16. kun.rdzob. daṇ. ni. don.dam. ste l
dbye.ba. gñis.su. yaṇ.dag.bśad l
kun.rdzob. 'jig.rten.pa.yí. chos l
don.dam. 'jig.rten. 'das.pa. 'yo. ll
17. kun.rdzob.chos.la. žugs.pa. 'yi l
sems.can. ñon.moṇś. dbaṇ.du. 'gro l
don.dam. yonś.su.ma.śes.pas l
'khor.bar. yun.riṇ. 'khor.bar. 'gyur ll
18. kun.rdzob. 'jig.rten.chos.rnams.la l
mi.mkhas.pa.dag. rtog.par.byed l
kun.rdzob. rtog.pa. de.yis ni l
sdug. bsṇal. ñams.su. myoṇ.bar. 'gyur ll
19. ji. ltar. so.so'i. skye. ba. yi l
byis. pas. grol. lam. mi. śes.pas l
mi.zad.pa.yi. sdug.bsṇal. dag l
maṇ.po. rjes.su. moṇ.bar. 'gyur ll
20. gaṇ.du. srid.pa. 'gag. 'gyur. b'i l
don.dam. dag. ni. mi. śes.pas l
skye.ba. daṇ. ni. 'gag. 'gyur. žiṇ l
skye.bo.⁴ 'gro. daṇ. 'oṇ.bar. 'gyur ll

⁴ X. *Skye, med.*

21. 'jig.rten. chos.la. gnas.pa. yi l
blun.po. 'khor.lo bžin.du. 'khor l
sdug.bsñal. gnas. bcas. 'khor.ba. 'dir l
yañ. dañ. yañ.du. 'khor.bar. 'gyur ll
22. ji.ltar. ñi.ma. zla.ba. dag l
slar.yañ. 'oñ.žin. 'gro.bar.byed l
de.bžin. srid.par. 'pho.ba. ni⁵ l
slar.yañ. 'oñ.žin. 'go.bar. 'gyur ll
23. 'khor.ba. thams.cad. mi.rtag.siñ l
mi.brtan. skad.cig.'jig.pa. ñid l
de.das. don.dam.śes.pa.yis l
kun.rdzob.bden.p'i.gnas. spon.ño ll
24. mtho.ris.gnas.nas. lha.rnams. dañ l
dri.za. lha.mi.rnams. kyañ. ni l
kun.la 'pho.bo.yod.gyur.pa l
kun. kyañ. kun.rdzob. 'bras.bu. yin ll
25. grub. dañ. rigs 'dzin. gnod.sbyin. dañ l
dri.za. dañ. ni. lto.'phye.rnams l
slar.yañ. dmyal.bar. 'gro.'gyur.ba l
kun.kyañ. kun. rdzob. 'bras.bu. yin ll
26. gañ.žig. brtson.dag. lha.rnams. dañ l
yon.tan., byuñ.gnas.la. gnas.gañ l
mtho.ris.la⁶ 'pho. ltuñ.gyur.pa l
thams.cad. kun.rdzob. 'bras.bu.yin ll
27. brgya.byin. 'khor.los.sgyur. ñid. de l
gañ.gis. dam.p'i.gnas. thob.nas l
slar.yañ. byol.soñ. skyes.nas. 'jug l
thams. cad. kun.rdzob. 'bras. bu. yin ll
28. de.bas. mtho.ris. lha.rnams.kyi l
bden.pa. bzañ.po. kun.spon.la l
byañ.chub.sems. ni. 'od.gsal.ba l
nal.'byor.pas. ni. rtag.tu. bsgom ll

29. dnos.po.med.ciṇ. dmigs.su.med l
thams.cad.stoṇ.pa. gnas.med.pa l
spros.pa.rnams.las. yaṇdag.'das l
byaṇ.chub.sems.p'i.' mtshan. ñid. yin ll
30. sra.ba.ma.yin. 'jam.pa.min l
dro.ba.ma.yin. graṇ.ba.min l
de. ni. reg.min. bzuṇ.bya.min l
byaṇ.chub.sems.kyi. mtshan. ñid yin ll
31. riṇ.po. ma. yin. thuṇ.ba.min l
zlum.po. ma. yin. gru.gsum. min l
phra.ba. ma.yin. sbom.p'aṇ min l
byaṇ.chub.sems. kyi. mtshan. ñid. yin ll
32. sgom.pa.rnams.las. rnam.'das. śiṇ l
mu.stegs.rnams.kyi. spyod.yul.min l
śes.rab.pha.rol.phyin.sbyor.ba l
byaṇ.chub.sems.kyi. mtshan. ñid. yin ll
33. dpe.med. bsgom.du.med.pa. daṇ l
mthoṇ.min. gnas.kyi.mchog.gyur.pa l
raṇ.bžin.gyis. ni. rnam.dag.pa l
byaṇ.chub.sems.kyi. mtshan. ñid. yin ll
34. thams.cad. dbu.ba. lta.bu. ste l
chu.bur. lta.bur. sñiṇ.po.med l
rtag.pa.ma.yin. bdag.med. te l
sgyu.ma. mig.rgyu.dag. daṇ. mtshuṇs ll
35. goṇ.bu. bžin.du. bsdu.s.gyur.pa l
spros.pa.rnams.kyis. yoṇs.su.gaṇ l
'dod.chags. že.sdaṇ. la.sogs. ltaṇ l
de. ni. sku.mtshuṇs. 'b'a.žig. yin ll
36. ji.ltaṇ. naṇ.na. thiḡ.le. ni l
skad.cig. de.la. mi.mthoṇ. ste l
śes.rab.pha.rol.phyin. mthoṇ.na l
de.bžin. blo. ni. 'dus.ma.byas ll

37. rtag.tu. dgod. siṅ. rtse.ba.daṅ 1
 smra. žiṅ. glu. daṅ. rol.mo. daṅ 1
 gži. la.sogs.p'i. bde.ba.rnams 1
 de.dag. thams.cad. rmi.lam. mtshuṅs 11
38. lus.can.kun.gyis. 'dus.byas.pa 1
 'di. kun. rmi.lam. daṅ. mtshuṅs. la 1
 rmi.lam. sems.kyi*. kun.rtog. ste 1
 sems. kyaṅ. nam.mkh'a. lta.bu. yin 11
39. śes.rab.pha.rol.phyin.p'i.tshul 1
 gaṅ.žig. 'di. ni. rtag. sgom. pa 1
 dṅos.po. kun.las. rnam.grol.nas 1
 go.'phaṅ. mchog. ni. thob.par.'gyur* 11
40. bla.na.med.p'i. byaṅ.chub. gaṅ 1
 saṅs.rgyas. kun.gyis rnam.bsgoms.pa 1
 bsgoms.daṅ.bcas.pas. 'dzin. na. ni 1
 theg.chen.'bras.bu. 'thob.par.'gyur 11

'phags.pa.bdag.med.pa.dris.pa. žes.bya.ba. theg.pa.chen.po'i mdo.
 rdzogs.so 11

rgya.gar.gyi. mkhan.po. ka.ma.la.gup.ta. daṅ. žus.chen.gyi. lo.tsa.
 ba. dge.sloṅ. rin.chen. bzaṅ.pos. bsgyur.cin. žus. te.
 gtan.la.phab.bo 11

* X. *kyis*.

* X adds here in the beginning of the verse a superfluous line—gaṅ.žig.tshul.'di. rtag.bsgom.pa. This is quite similiar to the second line. Probably it was in the margin, and the scribe added it to the text.

RESTORED TEXT

॥ आर्यनैरात्मपरिपुष्का नाम महायानसूत्रम् ॥

* सर्वेभ्यो बुद्धबोधिसत्त्वेभ्यो नमः । *

१ । अथ त आलम्बनदृष्टिकाः सवितर्काः सविचारास्तीर्थिका महायान-
मध्यमागत्य सगौरवमञ्जलिं बद्ध्वा नैरात्मपरिपुष्काः पृच्छन्ति स्म । कुलपुत्र
सर्वज्ञेनोक्तं यत् काये नास्तीति । यदि काये न भूतात्मा कथं तर्हि तत्र
हासशोकक्रोधदर्परतिकर्षणैर्षापैशुन्यादयः समुत्पद्यन्ते । किमस्ति काये
भूतात्मा नास्ति वेति युक्तं भवताम्नाकं तेषां संशयानां निराकरणं कर्तुम् ॥

२ । महायानिका आहुः । अस्त्यायुष्मन्तः काये भूतात्मेति नास्ति वेत्यु-
भयमपोह न वक्तव्यम् । अस्ति भूतात्मेत्युक्तौ नास्तीत्युक्तावर्तुष्यते । यद्यस्ति
कथं केशनखचर्मशिरोमांसास्थिमज्जमेदःस्नायुयुक्तदन्तकण्ठनालपाणिपादाङ्ग-
प्रत्यङ्गादिकस्य सर्वस्य कायस्य बहिरन्तस्य सर्वत्र परोक्षायामपि नात्मा दृश्यते ॥

३ । तीर्थिका आहुः । दृश्यत एव केनाचिद्व्यचक्षुषा, वयं तु चर्मचक्षुषः
कथं भूतात्मानं पश्यामः ॥

४ । महायानिकाः । दिव्यचक्षुषोऽपि न पश्यन्ति । यस्य न वर्णो न रूपं
न चाकारः कथं स दृश्येत ॥

५ । तीर्थिकाः । ननु किं नास्ति ॥

६ । महायानिकाः । नास्तीति वचनेऽस्तीति वचनं विरुद्धमुक्तम् ।
नास्ति चेत् कथमेत प्रत्यक्षतो विद्यमाना हासशोकक्रोधदर्परतिकर्षणैर्षापैशुन्या-
दयः समुत्पद्यन्ते । तेन नास्त्येत्यपि न युक्तम् । एवमस्ति वा नास्ति वेति च न
वक्तव्यम् । *एतद्दोषसङ्गादस्तीति वा नास्त्येति वा न वक्तव्यम् ॥*

७ । तीर्थिकाः । अथेह किमालम्बनं भवेत् ॥

८ । महायानिकाः । नेह किमप्यालम्बनं ॥

९ । तीर्थिकाः । ननु किमाकाशवच्छून्यमेव ॥

१०। महायानिकाः। तत्तयैवायुषन्तः। चाकाशवच्छून्यमेव ॥

११। तीर्थिकाः। यद्येवं कथं हासशोकक्रोधदर्परतिकारुण्यैर्षापैशुन्यादयो दृश्यन्ते ॥

१२। महायानिकाः। मायास्वप्नेन्द्रजालवत् ॥

१३। तीर्थिकाः। कीदृशी पुनर्माया कीदृशः स्वप्न इन्द्रजालं च ॥

१४। महायानिकाः। माया हि लक्षणमात्रम्। स्वप्नः प्रतिभासमात्र-
मप्याद्यः प्रकृतिशून्योऽस्तिनास्तिरूपश्च। इन्द्रजालं प्रपञ्चमात्रप्रयोजनम्।
एवमायुषन्तः पदार्थास्तावत् सर्वे मायास्वप्नेन्द्रजालवज् ज्ञातव्याः ॥

१५। अपि च संहतिः परमार्थश्च प्रतिपाद्यते। तच्च संहतिः। यथाय-
महमयमपर इति जीवपुरुषपुङ्गवकारकवेदकधनपुत्रमित्रस्त्रीकुटुम्बादिकल्पना सा
संहतिर्नाम। यच्च पुनर्नाहं न परो न जीवो न पुरुषो न पुङ्गवो न कारको न
वेदको न धनं * न पुत्रो न मित्रं न स्त्री न च कुटुम्बादि स परमार्थो नाम ॥
यस्य स्वभावेन सर्वेषु भावेषु परोऽप्यमाणेषु शुभाशुभफलमुत्पादो, निरोधश्च संहतिः,
शुभाशुभफलाभावोऽनुत्पादोऽनिरोधश्च तद्यतारूपो, न तस्य संक्षेपव्यवदाने, स एव
माध्यमिकधर्मसिद्धित्परः ॥* तच्चैवमुक्तम्—

१६। संहतिः परमार्थश्च
विभागद्वयमुच्यते।

संहतिर्लौकिको धर्मः

परमार्थस्त्वलौकिकः ॥ १ ॥

१७। संहतिधर्ममापन्नः

सत्त्वः क्लेशवशं गतः।

परमार्थापरिज्ञाना-

च्चिरं भ्रमति संसृतौ ॥ २ ॥

१८। संहत्या लोकधर्मान् हि

कल्पयन्त्यविपश्चितः।

संहत्या कल्पनातश्च

शोचन्ति क्लेशहानिषु ॥ ३ ॥

- १८ । अज्ञानाश्लेषमार्गस्य
यथा बालैः पृथग्जनैः ।
अव्याख्यानभूयन्ते
*दुःखानि बहुलानि हि ॥ ४ ॥
- २० । अज्ञानात्परमार्थस्य
यतो भवनिरोधनम् ।
जातिं निरोधं चापन्नो
जन आयाति याति च ॥ ५ ॥
- २१ । *लोकधर्मस्थितो* मूढ-
सकृदप्यविवर्तते ।
सदुःख इह संसार
आवर्तते पुनः पुनः ॥ ६ ॥
- २२ । यथा सूर्यश्च चन्द्रश्च
पुनरायाति याति च ।
तथैव भवसञ्चारः
पुनरायाति याति च ॥ ७ ॥
- २३ । *संसारः* सर्वथाऽनित्यः
क्षणभङ्गुरकोऽस्थिरः ।
त्यजेत्तत्परमार्थघ्नः
संवृत्तिसत्यनिष्ठताम् ॥ ८ ॥
- २४ । आस्वर्गपदतो देवा
गन्धर्वा *दानवा* अपि ।
सर्वं च संक्रममाप्ताः
सर्वेऽपि संवृतेः फलम् ॥ ९ ॥
- २५ । सिद्धा विद्याधरा यक्षाः
गन्धर्वाश्च महोरगाः ।
गच्छन्ति नरकं भूयः
सर्वेऽपि संवृतेः फलम् ॥ १० ॥

- २६ । ये वीर्यवन्तो देवाश्च
ये गुणाकरवर्त्तिनः ।
स्वर्गसञ्चरतो भ्रष्टाः
सर्वेऽपि संहृतिः फलम् ॥ ११ ॥
- २७ । शतक्रतुश्चक्रवर्त्ती
प्राप्य यः परमं पदम् ।
पुनः पशुत्वमापन्नः
सर्वे ते संहृतिः फलम् ॥ १२ ॥
- २८ । तस्मात् स्वर्गे देवतानां
विज्ञाय सत्यमुत्तमम् ।
प्रभाखरं बोधिचित्तं
नित्यं ध्यायन्ति *योगिनः* ॥ १३ ॥
- २९ । निर्वस्तुकं निरालम्बं
सर्वशून्यं निराश्रयम् ।
समतीतं प्रपञ्चेभ्यो
बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १४ ॥
- ३० । अशोतलमनुष्णं च
अकठोरमकोमलम् ।
अग्राह्यं च तथाऽस्पर्शं
बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १५ ॥
- ३१ । न दृक् न नापि दीर्घं च
न *वृत्तं* न त्रिकोणकम् ।
न स्थूलं नापि सूक्ष्मं च
बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १६ ॥
- ३२ । व्यतिक्रान्तं भावनाभ्य-
स्तौथिकानामगोचरम् ।
प्रज्ञापारमिता *युक्तं*
बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १७ ॥

- ३३ । अनुपममचिन्त्यञ्च
 अदृश्यं *परमं पदम् ।*
 प्रकृत्या परिशुद्धं च *
 बोधचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १८ ॥
- ३४ । सर्वं *फेन*-प्रतीकाश-
 मसारं बुद्बुदोपमम् ।
 निरात्मकमनित्यञ्च
 मायामरौचिकासमम् ॥ १९ ॥
- ३५ । पिण्डवत्संहतं जातं
 प्रपञ्चैः परिपूरितम् ।
 रागद्वेषादिभिर्युक्तं
 *केवलं प्रतिबिम्बकम् * ॥ २० ॥
- ३६ । *यथा ह्यभ्यन्तरे शुक्रं*^१
 न क्षणमपि दृश्यते ।
 प्रज्ञापारमितादृष्टौ
 *तथा बुद्धिरमंस्कृता * ॥ २१ ॥
- ३७ । नित्यं क्रीडा च हासञ्च
 गतिरालपनं रतिः ।
 सुखानि च गृहादीनि
 सर्वं तत् स्वप्नसन्निभम् ॥ २२ ॥
- ३८ । देहिभिः संस्कृतं सर्वै-
 स्तत् सर्वं स्वप्नसन्निभम् ।
 स्वप्नो हि चित्तसंकल्प-
 चित्तं च गगनोपमम् ॥ २३ ॥

^१ The reading in the Tibetan text is entirely different and we could not get a better sense out of it. It is apparent that the Tibetan translator took *abhyantara* for *abhrāntara*.

३८ ।

प्रज्ञापारमितामार्गं

येनेह भाष्यते सदा ।

विमुक्तः *सर्वभावेभ्यः*

स आप्नोति परं पदम् ॥ २४ ॥

४० ।

अनुत्तरा हि या बोधिः

सर्वबुद्धैर्विभाविता ।

गृहीता भावनावधि-

महायानफलागमः ॥ २५ ॥

॥ आर्यनैरात्मपरिपृच्छा नाम महायानसूत्रं समाप्तम् ॥

ORIGINAL TEXT

॥ महायाननिर्देशे नैरात्मपरिपृच्छा ॥

नमो बुद्धाय ।

१ । अथ ते तीर्थिका उपलभ्यदृष्टयः सविकल्पाः सवितर्का महायानिक-
मुपसृत्य सादरकृतान्कलिपुटा नैरात्मप्रश्नं परिपृच्छन्ति स्म । नैरात्मकं शरीरम्
इति कुलपुत्र सर्वज्ञेन निर्दिश्यते । यदि शरीरं नैरात्मकं परमात्मा न विद्यते
तत् कस्मात् सकाशादेति हसितरुदितक्रीडितक्रोधमानेर्ष्यापैशुन्यादयः समुत्-
पद्यन्ते । तदस्माकं सन्देहं मोचयितुमर्हति भगवान् । किमस्ति शरीरे
परमात्मा किं वा नास्ति ॥

२ । महायानिकाः प्राहुः । मार्षाः शरीरे परमात्मा अस्तीतुग्रथ्यते । न हि
नास्तीति इयमत्र नोच्यते । अस्ति परमात्मेतुग्रथ्यमाने मार्षा मिथ्याप्रलापः ।
यद्यस्ति तत् कथं मार्षाः केशनखदन्तचर्मरोमसिरामांसास्थिमिदमज्जास्त्रायु-
ज्जोहान्मनालशिरःकरचरणान्नसकलशरीरे सबाह्याभ्यन्तरे विचार्यमाणे न दृश्यते
परमात्मा ॥

३ । तीर्थिकाः प्राहुः । न दृश्यते कुलपुत्र परमात्मा मांसचक्षुषा वयं न
पश्यामः । कदाचिद् दिव्यचक्षुषः पश्यन्ति ॥

४ । महायानिकाः प्राहुः । न मार्षा दिव्यचक्षुषोऽपि पश्यन्ति । यस्य न
वर्णो न रूपं न संस्कारः तत् कथं दृश्यते ॥

५ । तीर्थिकाः प्राहुः । किं नास्ति ॥

६ । महायानिकाः प्राहुः । नास्तीतुग्रथ्यमाने मार्षा मिथ्याप्रलापः । यदि
नास्ति तत् कथमस्य एते हसितरुदितक्रीडितक्रोधमानेर्ष्यापैशुन्यादयः संभवन्ति ।
तेन नास्तीति वक्तुं न पार्थ्यते । उभावेतौ द्वौ नोच्येते ॥

७ । तीर्थिकाः प्राहुः । यदि कुलपुत्र नोच्यते अस्तीति वा नास्तीति वा
तत् किमत्रालम्बनं भवतु ॥

८ । महायानिकाः प्राहुः । न मार्षाः किञ्चिदवलम्बनं भवति ॥

९ । तीर्थिकाः प्राहुः । किं शून्यमाकाशमिव ॥

१० । महायानिकाः प्राहुः । एवमेतत् मार्षा एवमेतत् शून्यमाकाशमिव ॥

११। तीर्थिकाः प्राहुः । यद्येवं कुलपुत्र तदेते हसितवदितक्रोडित-
क्रोधमार्निर्घ्रापेशुन्यादयः कथं द्रष्टव्याः ॥

१२। महायानिकाः प्राहुः । मायास्त्रप्रेन्द्रजालसदृशा द्रष्टव्याः ॥

१३। तीर्थिकाः प्राहुः । कोट्टशौ माया कोट्टशः स्त्रप्रः कोट्टश इन्द्रजाल
इति ॥

१४। महायानिकाः प्राहुः । उपलक्षणमात्रं माया अग्राह्या प्रतिभास-
मात्रं स्त्रप्रः प्रकृतिशून्यतास्वरूप इन्द्रजालः कृत्रिमप्रयोगः । एवं मार्षाः सर्वे
मायास्त्रप्रेन्द्रजालसदृशा द्रष्टव्याः । पुनरपरं द्वौ भेदौ विनिर्दिष्टौ ॥

१५। यदुत संहतिः परमार्थश्च ॥ तच्च संहतिर्नाम अयमात्मा
अयं पर एवं जीवः पुरुषः पुत्रलः कारकः वेदकः । धनपुत्रकनकादिकल्पना
या सा संहतिर्नाम । यच्च नात्मा न परः एवं न जीवो न पुरुषः न पुत्रलः न
कारकः न वेदकः न धनं सा मध्यमा प्रतिपत्तिर्धर्मानाम् ॥ तत्रेदमुच्यते—

१६। संहतिः परमार्थश्च

द्वौ भेदौ संप्रकाशितौ ।

संहतिलौकिको धर्मः

परमार्थश्च लोकोत्तरः ॥ १ ॥

१७। संहतिधर्ममापन्नाः

सत्ताः क्लेशवशानुगाः ।

चिरं भ्रमन्ति संसारे

परमार्थमजानकाः ॥ २ ॥

१८। संहतिलौकिको धर्मः

[अतम्] तं कल्पयन्त्यपण्डिताः ।

अ(भूत)परिकल्पनाद्

दुःखान्यनुभवन्ति ते ॥ ३ ॥

१९। मुक्तिमार्गं न पश्यन्ति

अन्धा बालाः पृथग्जनाः ।

उत्पद्यन्ते निरुध्यन्ते

अजज्ञं गतिपञ्चसु ॥ ४ ॥

- २१ । भ्रमन्ति चक्रवन् मूढा
लोकधर्मसमावृताः ।
- २० । परमार्थं न जानन्ति
भवो यत्र निरुध्यते ॥ ५ ॥^१
वेष्टिता भवजालेन
संसरन्ति पुनः पुनः ।
- २२ । यथा चन्द्रश्च सूर्यश्च
प्रत्यागच्छति गच्छति ।
भवं पुराणि तथा लोके
पुनरायान्ति यान्ति च ॥ ६ ॥^२
- २३ । अनित्याः सर्वसंस्कारा
अध्रुवाः क्षणभङ्गुराः ।
अतश्च परमार्थज्ञो
वर्जयेत् संहृतेः पदम् ॥ ७ ॥
- २४ । स्वर्गस्थाने तु ये देवा
गन्धर्वाप्सरसादयः ।
पुरतिरस्ति च सर्वेषां
तत् सर्वं संहृतेः फलम् ॥ ८ ॥
- २५ । सिद्धा विद्याधरा यक्षाः
किंनराश्च महोरगाः ।
पुनस्ते नरकं यान्ति
तत् सर्वं संहृतेः फलम् ॥ ९ ॥
- २७ । शक्रत्वं चक्रवर्त्तित्वं
संप्राप्य शीतमं पदम् ।
तिर्यग्गोनी पुनर्जन्म
तत् सर्वं संहृतेः फलम् ॥ १० ॥

^१ The first two lines of this śloka, 5, form the first two lines of the śloka 6 in the Tib. text; while the last two lines are found as the first two lines of the śloka 5, in the Tib. text.

^२ The last four lines of this śloko form the śloka 7 in the Tib. text.

- २८ । अतः सर्वमिदं त्यक्त्वा
दिव्यं स्वर्गमहासुखम् ।
भावयेत् सततं प्राज्ञो
बोधिचित्तं प्रभास्वरम् ॥ ११ ॥
- २९ । निःस्वभावं निरालम्बं
सर्वशून्यं निरालयम् ।
प्रपञ्चसमतिक्रान्तं
बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १२ ॥
- ३० । न काठिन्यं न मृदुत्वं
न चोष्णं नैव शीतलम् ।
न संस्पर्शं न च ग्राह्यं
बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १३ ॥
- ३१ । न दीर्घं नापि वा दृक्
न पिण्डं न त्रिकोणकम् ।
न कष्टं नापि च स्थूलं
बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १४ ॥
न श्वेतं नापि रक्तं च न कृष्णं न च पीतकम्
अवर्णं च निराकारं बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १५ ॥^{*}
निर्विकारं निराभासं निरुहं निर्विबन्धकम्
अरूपं व्योमसंकाशं बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १६ ॥
- ३२ । भावनासमतिक्रान्तं
तीर्थिकानामगोचरम् ।
प्रज्ञापारमितारूपं
बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १७ ॥
- ३३ । अनौपम्यमनाभास
अदृशं शान्तमेव च ।
प्रज्ञातिशुद्धमद्रव्यं
बोधिचित्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ १८ ॥

* Ślokas 15 and 16 are wanting in the Tibetan text.

- ३४ । सर्वं च तेन सादृश्यं
निःसारं बुद्बुदोपमम् ।
अग्राश्रितं च नैरात्म्यं
मायामरौचिसन्निभम् ॥ १८ ॥
- ३५ । शृत्पिण्डवद् घटीभूतं
बहुप्रपञ्चपूरितम् ।
रागद्वेषादिसंयुक्तं
स्वप्नमाया तु केवलम् ॥ २० ॥
- ३६ । अभ्रान्तरे यथा विदुः
क्षणादपि न दृश्यते ।
प्रज्ञापारमितादृष्ट्या
भावयेत् परमं पदम् ॥ २१ ॥
- ३७ । क्रीडितं हसितं नित्यं
जल्पितं रुदितं तथा ।
नृत्यं गीतं तथा वाद्यं
सर्वं स्वप्नोपमं हि तत् ॥ २२ ॥
- ३८ । मायास्वप्नोपमं सर्वं
संस्कारं सर्वदेहिनाम् ।
स्वप्नं [च] चित्तसंकल्पं
चित्तं च गगनोपमम् ॥ २३ ॥
- ३९ । भावयेद् य इमं नित्यं
प्रज्ञापारमितानयम् ।
स सर्वपापनिर्मुक्तः
प्राप्नोति परमं पदम् ॥ २४ ॥
- ४० । इयं सानुत्तरा बोधिः
सर्वबुद्धेः प्रकाशिता ।
भावनां भावयित्वेह
निर्वाणं लभते शिवम् ॥ २५ ॥

यावन्तः स'वृतेर्दोषास्तावन्तो निहर्तेर्गुणाः ।

निर्वृतिः स्वादनुत्पत्तिः सर्वदोषैर्नक्षिप्यते ॥ २६ ॥ ⁴

अथ ते तीर्थिकाः तुष्टा विकल्परहिताः तदा भावनां समाधाय महायानज्ञान-
लाभिनोऽभूवन्निति ॥

॥ महायाननिर्देशे नैरात्म्यापरिपुष्का समाप्ता ॥

⁴ Not in the Tibetan text.

Note.—*Mss. received February, 1930. Editor, V.-B.Q.*

VISVA-BHARATI BULLETIN

I. ON THE STRUCTURE OF MUNDA WORDS.

By G. SCHANZLIN, *Bolpur, Bengal.*

II

There are many Munda words which must have had a common history with the words of the related groups, the Mon-Khmer, the Malaya and others. Whether it will be possible to formulate a system of laws showing on what general lines the diversifying influences created many languages out of one original common linguistic substratum remains to be seen. The processes of change, of modification, or deterioration of the original stems or bases have apparently been very irregular.

While it must be admitted that any closely related group of languages has certain inherent tendencies, certain innate characteristics which will make their appearance again and again, long after the original group of speakers have broken up into linguistic groups living far apart from one other, it should also be said that in most of such instances the modifying influences of new habitats, new modes of existence and of neighbouring languages are very many, and are bound to be of the deepest and most far reaching importance in the life history of language.

These changed conditions and surroundings reflect themselves in the linguistic development of any spoken language. Naturally, a people living near the sea coast will develop vocabularies different in many ways from those living between the mountain ranges, forest-dwelling hunters different from the nomads or the cultivators of the plains.

For instance, if it could be proven that the Mundas have in common, with Mon-Khmers, Malays and other related races of Further India and the Indian Archipelago, words for *cocoanut*, *rice*, *banana*, the names of certain fishes, terms for fishing, and boating implements, rudders etc., valuable inferences might be drawn as to the once common habitat of all these races on the coast of tropical seas. So far, however, the results of the investigation of the Austric languages tending in that direction are not exactly convincing.

The results of the labours of a few French scholars, Sylvain Levi,

Jean Przyluski, and Jules Bloch have been made available in India just now by the translation of some of their work. The translator is P. C. Bagchi, M.A. and the book has been published by the University of Calcutta, 1929, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*. On some words of typically tropical or semi-tropical things, as the words for *cotton*, *plantain* and *betel*, fairly satisfactory conclusions have been arrived at, while the words for *cocoanut* and *rice*, which are of equal interest and importance have not been sufficiently dealt with.

If the Santali words for rice, horo and huru, could be satisfactorily connected with the seemingly equivalent Mon and Khmer words, the equation thus established would go a long way towards proving that whatever the actual relation or contacts between the two groups of races may have been, the fact that they have common terms for tropical products would indicate where that meeting or contacts took place or what their original relationships were.

Will it be possible approximately to indicate what part of the various vocabularies of the group are really *Austrie*, i.e., common to all? Until we know far more of the structure of *Austrie* words than we know now, the existence of such a nucleus of *Austrie* words will be difficult to prove. But to come down to less specific words than these, to the terms for such homely things as *oil*, *flower*, *tree*, *tortoise*, *grass* and *jute*, we have the following :

1. Santali :	sunum	oil
Kurku :	sunum	„
Central Sakai	senam	oil
2. Mon :	tanom,	a plant, tree,
Mundari :	tonang,	a forest
Uraon :	torang,	„ „

All these cases have in common the full words with a nasal at the end.

3. Central Sakai :	kuro	tortoise
Malay :	koer-koera	„
Khasi :	dylar	„
Santali :	horo	„

Compare with this:—

Mon :	kroptu	covca
Sakai :	jerkop	„
Santali :	harup	„

4. Mon :	pakao and kao,	flowe
Stiang :	kao,	„
Khmer :	phka,	„
Sakai :	pon,	„
Santali :	baha	„

In these two cases we have a fading out of *k* into *h*, and of *p* into *b*, which present no great difficulties in equating the words.

The remaining pair of words in this list were added tentatively for the words *grass* and *jute*.

Mon :	kamot	grass
Khasi :	kymbat	„ (Schmidt, Grundzuege der Khasi Sprache, p. 697).
Santali :	backom	„

Backom is the Santali word for the babui grass, used for making ropes. There is an up-country form *bad* or *bat* for the same grass.

Backom might well be related to *kymbat*. The change from *t* to *c* and the infix of *k* between the stem and the ending *om* will not present great difficulties.

And finally:—

Khasi: *kymbat*, flax, does at least remind one of the Bengali word *pat* for jute, and the Santali word, *bat son* for the Indian hemp.

We ought also look at the curious Santali word *merhet*, which seems to have no congruence among the Indo-Chinese group of Austric languages except perhaps the Mon words *mre*, a knife or cleaver, and a Wa word, *rom*, iron. There is however the word *mari*, for iron, in one of the Naga dialects, and Larsen as early as 1847 noted the Singoho word *mpri* for iron.

The Khasi has *rar* for iron, and of the Dravidian languages there is *irumbu* for iron, in Tamil, and, much closer, *irunu*, iron, in Telugu.

It remains to be seen how much such Dravidian traces will help in elucidating the Munda or Austric problems.

II. THE EQUIPMENT OF AN IRANIST.*

I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA, B.A., PH.D.

The Heart. So far we have been considering merely the intellectual aspect of an Iranist. The aim was 'to know something about everything' in order to know everything about one subject. I hope I have made quite clear my view that an Iranist must have a wide intellectual outlook, and must try to keep abreast of modern research in every direction.

But for Zoroastrians this is not enough. Non-Zoroastrians may be satisfied with this much ; most of the great Western Iranists, our revered *Gurus*, have been content with a purely intellectual interpretation of our culture. But a Zoroastrian must go further. He must not only interpret, but also live the life of the religion he has inherited from his forefathers. It is only by his life that he can give full significance to his theories. Otherwise the interpretations are in danger of remaining partial and full of mental reservations. It is easy to argue that certain precepts were very good for primitive society but are of no use to-day. But such an attitude leaves us cold. I would much rather have the fervour of the so aimlessly. Verily to-day we and barren researches of the finest scholars without the faith that enlivens all.

Intellect introduces a feeling of superiority, which separates and divides, while a fervent heart unites. We Parsis have been too individualistic of late and have forgotten to work together for a common ideal. It is this absence of an ideal in life that has caused our people to flounder so aimlessly. Verily to-day we

“eagerly frequent

Doctor and saint and hear great argument,

About it and about that, but evermore

Come-out by the same door as in we went”.

However glorious, however inspiring the ideal of a different religion may be, it cannot have the same appeal as our own. But unfortunately, we Parsis lack to-day the inspiration of our own past, of the message of our own prophet. If we could but realize that our own race had one day such inspiring ideals as raised them to the first rank amongst the

*Extracts from a lecture to Parsi Students. Continued from previous issue.
Editor, V.-B. Q.

people of olden days, how different would be our outlook on life and on the problems that face us?

For this both intellect and feeling are necessary. The chief difference between the "intellectual" and the "emotional" approach to a religion lies in their respective points of view. The intellectual approach is definitely historical. In studying the life and works of a great religious prophet the emphasis is placed on the date, on the cultural background and the historical significance of his teachings. His greatness is admitted but such greatness is believed to be relative (and not absolute), having particular reference to a particular epoch. The other view, which I hold myself, is that a Great Teacher of humanity is great and has significance not merely for his own time but for all time.

I think it is a great mistake to look upon the Prophets as men only a little in advance of the average humanity of their time. The wisdom of their teachings have a permanent value, and can only be appreciated by humility, by search, by devotion. Zoroaster Himself asking wisdom from Ahura Mazda begins with the words "I beseech with hands uplifted in humility". This should be our attitude towards the Prophet.

The first requisite, then, for understanding the true inwardness of the message of Zoroaster is "humility", the realization of the greatness of His Wisdom and of His Divine Inspiration. Then comes the "Search", by deep and continuous meditation, with the help of all our intellectual equipment. The third thing necessary is "devotion", a patient following of the appointed path. It is only in this way that we can begin to appreciate the inwardness of the Message. As years pass on, as we grow stronger in our "humility", our "search" and our "devotion", we will gather more and more of the Divine Wisdom enshrined in the great Message of Zoroaster. As veil after veil shall lift we shall realize that this Message has a meaning not only for Iran of several thousand years ago but for all humanity and for all time. We shall realize that this same "message" which we have jealously preserved through the ages is indeed one which we need to-day, one which will solve all our present difficulties and doubts. (*Concluded*).

NOTES.

Future issues of the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* will be published in parts, four to the year which will be reckoned from October to September in conformity with financial year of the Visva-bharati.

Rabindranath Tagore arrived in U.S.A. early in October, and was taken seriously ill almost immediately afterwards. The doctors advised absolute rest for sometime and all American engagements were accordingly cancelled. But though he himself could not attend them, very successful exhibitions of his drawings were held in New York and Boston. In our next number we will publish extracts from the comments of noted art critics on the Poet's drawings.

About a year ago we received a letter from an unknown Englishman expressing appreciation of the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, and enclosing a most interesting article on *The Modern West*, which we had great pleasure in publishing in our issue of October, 1929. The writer, Mr. Reginald A. Reynolds, came to India shortly afterwards, and visited Santiniketan in last January. It will be remembered that he was commissioned by Mahatma Gandhi to carry his historic letter to the Viceroy, and was later placed in charge of *Young India* as its Editor. Before taking up his work in Sabarmati, Mr. Reynolds sent us a number of poems one of which we are publishing in this issue. He has also promised to write on the cultural relations between Europe and India, and we hope he will redeem his promise in the near future.

We are publishing in this issue the first of a series of three critical essays on the fundamental concepts of Sociology by Mr. Dhurjati Prasad Mukherjee, M.A., of the Lucknow University. In the two succeeding essays Mr. Mukherjee analyses the concepts of Equality and Social Forces in relation to Progress and Personality.

Dr. Julius Germanus, Ph.D., Nizam Professor of Islamic Studies, Visva-Bharati, discusses recent movements in Persia in the third article of a series, the first two of which, on Arabia and Turkey respectively,

were published in earlier issues. The last article, on Egypt, will be published in the next number. Dr. Germanus is at present engaged in a detailed study of modern Islamic movements in India.

Dr. Harish Chandra Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., of the Calcutta University, contributes a study of the co-operative movement in India. He is the author of the well-known *History of Early European Banking in India*, and several intensive studies of economic problems. He was a brilliant student of mathematics at one time, and we expect great things from him in analytic studies in statistical economics.

It will be noticed that we have adopted the definite policy of publishing systematically research memoirs of the Vidya-Bhavana (Research Institute) of the Visva-Bharati.

Pandit Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya, Adhyaksha, Vidya-Bhavana (Head of the Research Institute at Santiniketan), has initiated a comprehensive programme of comparative Tibeto-Sanskrit Studies. It is no exaggeration to state that as a result of his labours during the last five years he has succeeded in building up a new school for such study.

A critical restoration of the lost text of the Mahāyānavimśaka from Tibetan and Chinese Sources by Pandit Bhattacharya himself is published in full in this issue. The author of the work is believed to be Nāgārjuna, but whether the first Nāgārjuna (circa 200 A.D.) or the second Nāgārjuna (first half of the seventh century A.D.) remains undecided.

In this number is concluded a comprehensive and critical study of Jaina Schools and Sects by Mr. Amulya Chandra Sen, M.A. Mr. Sen was a research student of the Vidya-Bhavana, Santiniketan, for a number of years, and is at present working in Calcutta.

The restoration of the Sanskrit text (which was believed to have been lost) of the Nairātmyapariṣcchā from a Tibetan version by Mr. Sujitkumar Mukhopadhyaya, M.A., published in this issue, is of great interest in as much as it affords convincing proof of the objective validity with which such work of restoration can be accomplished. A comparison

with the original text (which was discovered and published after the work of restoration was completed by Mr. Mukhopadhyaya) shows that there is a substantial agreement between the two versions.

Arrangements have been made for publishing a series of research memoirs and studies under the name of Visva-Bharati studies. The following numbers will be available immediately :—

No. 2. *Mahāyānavimśaka*. By Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya.

No. 3. *Schools and Sects in Jain Literature*. By Amulya Chandra Sen.

No. 4. *Nairātmyaparipṛccha*. By Sujit Kumar Mukhopadhyaya.

The following two numbers are nearly ready and will be published very shortly :—

No. 1. *Brahmasūtras*. Edited by Kapileswar Misra.

No. 5. *Catuhśataka*. Edited by Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya.

Other volumes in preparation are :—

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THE VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY

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RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

EDITOR
P. C. MAHALANOBIS.

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THE VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY.

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DEFEAT.

By REGINALD A. REYNOLDS.

In change hath Death eternal dynasty :
This law of yesterday—these faded flowers—
Zimbabure, and the Babylonian towers
Are emblems of a mightier one than we,
Whose oldest songs are sadder than the sea.

Yet still, with infinite patience, toil and care
We rake the embers of the Past to find
Some vital spark to light the new-born mind ;
And as funeral ash the Phoenix bare
Our Faith is found in ruins of Despair.

For though the older Faiths have taken wings
We have no cause to fear. Our journey runs
Beyond the setting of a thousand suns ;
And the Eternal Swan forever brings
A continuity of beauteous things.

Nor shall they think of us, those men unborn,
“A race of weary labourers, whose toil
“Was bent to their destruction, that the spoil
“Of heart and brain and sinew might adorn
“The dying splendours of an age outworn.”

But rather, knowing how we toiled and planned,
Shall they discern amid the seeming loss
The mystery and meaning of the Cross :
And seeing here the working of His Hand
Thank God for suffering. . . . and understand.

INTERNATIONAL GOODWILL*

By *RABINDRANATH TAGORE.*

I wish to thank you for your words of welcome and for your approval of my work. I have been requested to speak a few words about international goodwill, but as this subject is so obviously controversial I hesitate to deal with it. I wish you could have had someone else more competent to deal with it.

One thing which I have realized in the East is that it is rather difficult in the Western Continent to cultivate the international mind. There are certain obstacles in the way which are militating against it. There is the spirit of individualism which has been so much raised by your culture in the West. Then it is apparent also that you have got here politics, and such politics as create differences between nations which are the cause of so much of the spirit of fighting and contention, making peace difficult to attain. We have also the same spirit of egotism in the people in the East, but I believe there is more community of interests there than excessive individualism.

It was during my voyage to America, I suppose, in 1916, that nationalism was first presented to me in its true light. When I came to Japan I had a chance of observing something that deeply hurt my mind. I saw the trophies won from the Chinese people being exhibited there. It was just after China had been humiliated by the Japanese people. It struck me as vulgar and vain-glorious that these people should forget everything and show this spirit of bragging. It was almost childish that a self-respecting nation should indulge in such a thing. It came to me very strongly owing to the fact that naturally the Japanese are very courteous and take an immense amount of trouble to make life beautiful and poetical. Because

*A summary of the speech given at the Reception arranged in his honour by the All People's Association at the Hyde Park Hotel, London, on January 8, 1931.

of this intense nationalism in abstract form, humanity is obscured, and that is why the Japanese did not see the shame of indulging in such a display. I feel that this nationalism smothers the higher spirit of man which you often find in the individual.

I am not competent to deal with international relationships between different countries, but, as I have said, your politicians really represent the spirit of aggressiveness which leads towards separateness. I know you are trying to do something to rectify the mischief through the League of Nations, but the nations are not represented by their idealists but only by their politicians. I do not think it is right that the nations should be represented by their politicians in a work which has for its object peace all through Europe. To my mind it is like a band of robbers being asked to organize the police department. (Laughter and applause).

What I have in my own mind is to try to create an atmosphere of mutual sympathy in my own institution. Amongst my own students I have done my best to create that atmosphere. This institution is outside political entanglements, and it is the one institution in which the students are natural to those visitors who come from the West or from other Eastern countries.

I have attempted to create this atmosphere in co-operation with some of the great men from Europe. When travelling through European countries, I sent out my appeal to some of the great scholars. My plan was not merely to teach my scholars, but to work so as to create an atmosphere of cultural co-operation. Many from the West responded to my invitation. I had great scholars from France, from Germany, from Czechoslovakia, from Italy, from Norway and from other countries, and we have had help from Englishmen and Americans.

I have also had great help in my parallel work, which is my village reconstruction work. We have had students from all parts of the world, as well as from other provinces besides Bengal in my own country. This is the kind of practical work which I am trying to do, and even in the midst of this great

cyclone of political restlessness in my country I do hope that institutions of this nature will be able to spread their influence to these shores.

It is to counteract this evil of separateness and to have a free channel of communication in a full spirit of sympathy and co-operation that I have dreamed of a day when you in England would come to us, not merely as members of the ruling class, or members of a bureaucracy, but in a detached manner, spreading human love among the people.

WANTED AMBASSADORS.

By MADAME B. P. WADIA

It is a well-known fact that in the modern East, from Angora to Tokyo, a dislike and suspicion for the whole West exists. The feeling is almost a hatred. Deserved or undeserved—it is there.

Political domination, economical pressure and differences of culture are generally said to be the cause. Some hold, and we believe there is a great deal of truth in the opinion, that missionaries of various church denominations, have contributed substantially to that hatred, by their uncalled for interference with religious beliefs of peoples; and especially by their ignorance, or crude and distorted understanding of the religious lore of these ancient races.

On the other hand, it is also acknowledged that the fusion of cultures, mainly through the penetration of the Westerner, has been of some advantage to all concerned. Our western scientific, hygienic and material knowledge, our social institutions, our history and literature have wrought a mighty change in the habits and customs of the East. We must shoulder the responsibility for causing great injury to their moral well-being, for we have introduced in their midst many evils and many diseases. But they will all agree, unless biassed by strong passion, that the West has been instrumental in opening their eyes to spiritual corruption, to intellectual dishonesty, to moral lapses, to lethargy in action, which had overtaken them, which had already killed some of the finest spirits, and were killing the souls of others.

There has been a universal renaissance. Both hemispheres and their innumerable races have come under its influence; and if we of the West have been instrumental in rousing the East, forgetful of its mighty and honourable past, the Orient has been a splendid agent to tear the veil of our religious superstition and bigotry, our race pride and insularity, our ignorance

and hypocrisy. We often wonder if from the events of the last 50 years, the East has not taken better advantage of the spiritual renaissance which has touched us all, and that we have still to absorb the force that upwells from spiritual spheres of the world within.

But what of that hatred of which we spoke? Will it not precipitate a war between the many coloured races of Asia on the one hand and the many proud peoples of Europe and America? We hope not. But hopes are hollow, and if they are to be realized in a tangible fashion, we have to work for them.

As it seems easy to look at the faults of others than our own, let us glance at our Asiatic neighbours. It is difficult to find out in whom distrust for the West is absent. Dislike for us is everywhere, and not silent either. Perhaps if we ask in what classes of the Eastern peoples is there least resentment, we might be able to get some basis for consideration. Those who are thorough-going materialists in the East are most vociferous against the West. Asiatic students of European and American Universities distrust and dislike us the most. They do not hate our ways and our institutions in themselves; most of them adopt European costume and ideas; their outlook is mainly western. But they certainly are all wrath and contempt for us. The way in which they are received in Western countries, the treatment meted out to them, etc., etc., all go to build up their attitude towards us. We do not altogether blame them; we must be prepared to take the consequences of our sneering, snobbish, and superior attitude. On their return home these students beat us at our own games, lash us with the whips bought in Paris or London or Washington, shoot us with the guns of Sorbonne, of Oxford, of Yale. They quote our Holy Bible to prove how unchristian we are; they apply the lessons of our histories, the rebellions of our masses against our tyrants, and compose and sing their own Marseillaise; they imitate our orators, recite our poets, and kindle the fire in their countrymen and make them shout—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. They are assisted by the products of Western model schools and colleges in every Asiatic country. This factor has been recognized, but not to the extent it ought to.

At the opposite pole is to be found another class which hates Westerners profoundly. If the student drunk with the wine of the West is vociferous, the priest full of his creedal hashish wars against us in silence. He does not fail to see that our western education has ruined his professional prospects, has shorn him of his powers, and has brought disregard and even contempt on his gods. We doubt very much if even the western officers of state really are aware of the subtle influence of the priest on the hearts of the masses? Our missionaries could know better, if they were really Christian in their brotherly contact with their own converts; but they are busy otherwise!

Thus two giant forces are working on millions of men and women of ancient and honourable Asia, and both are working up a frenzy of anti-western description. For many years this has been going on and now the results are visible.

Who are the friends of peace and universal good-will? Who are there who are likely to free themselves from the devil of hatred? What will cast out that devil? The western salesmen and shop-keepers are suspect as economic exploiters and they cannot work the miracle of peace. Our missionaries are the "enemies" of the religious natives—priest-shepherds and their flock alike; they have neither Christ-like straightforwardness, nor tactful diplomacy to work with. The officials, military and civil, are precluded by their position, their heavy work during their temporary stay in "heathendom," to become real friends of the people. They are not regarded as co-citizens, and there are important and vast tracts like Japan, China, Tibet, Persia where this official class even does not exist.

Who then? The spiritually minded in the West have a splendid chance to fraternize with the spiritually minded masses of Asia. Not Church-tied Christians, but those who have freed themselves from that narrow influence and who are not in Asia either for making money or to rule superciliously—such individuals are in demand. They can do world's work as harbingers of peace and good-will. But where are such men to be found?

We say, let them prepare themselves. Surely, the enthusiasm and endurance which under religious influence produced missionaries, catholic and protestant, who navigated oceans and

penetrated forests, are not incapable of begetting souls who will pierce the hearts of their brothers in Eastern countries. Nature supplies demand. It seems to us if we in the West and our colleagues in Asia plan to exchange ambassadors of Wisdom and Love, who will teach while they learn, and are willing to give and receive advice and instruction, a great forward step will be taken. The Poet Tagore has already done this in a measure and all homage to him, but a more universal planning seems necessary. Who is there in this beautiful Paris, in this land of France, who is prepared to join hands with us? We shall be glad to hear from them.*

*Translated from an article in *Theosophie*.

११

TRAINING FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT IN AN INDIAN SCHOOL.

By F. G. PEARCE.

The boys attending the Sardars' School, Gwalior, which was founded by His Highness the late Maharaja Madhav Rao Scindia, are drawn exclusively from the class of Sardars and Jagirdars of the Gwalior State; that is to say, they are the sons of nobles and landed gentry. The great majority of them are of ancient Rajput or Maratha lineage, with fine traditions of military service. They differ markedly from the average Indian schoolboy of the present day in possessing in a high degree the equalities of initiative, organising capacity, and energy, but many of them are, on the other hand, decidedly below the average in their capacity for and application to bookish studies. This has made it all the more necessary to provide in this School suitable outlets for their energies, in the form of practical work, organised games, and all such activities as may help them to develop and to learn to use wisely and usefully those powers which they outstandingly possess.

The Prefect System.—The School is fortunate in generally keeping its pupils for many years. Quite a large number of them enter when they are of tender age, and do not leave until they have attained majority. This late age of leaving is due mainly to their backwardness in studies. But it is not altogether a disadvantage. It means that there are always in the School a number of senior boys, or rather, young men, who have grown up in the School, who really love it, and who are greatly respected by the younger ones. From among these seniors it is not difficult to find some who make excellent Prefects, and who can be entrusted with very considerable responsibility.

The Prefects are all nominated by the Principal, this being almost the only undemocratic item in the whole of the internal management of the School affairs. But, as they are responsible to the Principal for the* maintenance of the tone of the School, its harmony and discipline, he retains this right of choice solely in his own hands; however when a new Prefect is to be appointed, he very often consults the other Prefects informally on the matter, so as to ascertain whom they consider worthy to be added to their number.

There are four Prefects, one for each dormitory; and four Assistant Prefects, likewise one for each. The boys are grouped in the dormitories roughly according to size and age. Three of the four dormitories have from 15 to 20 boys in each; in the fourth dormitory there are only five or six senior boys who are given special privileges; they belong exclusively to the two highest classes in the School, the Matriculation Class, and the Jagirdars' Class,—the two classes from which boys leave the School. The Head Prefect of the School is the Prefect of this "Collegians' " dormitory, as it is called.

The Prefect of each dormitory (and, in his absence, the Assistant Prefect) is expected to see that the boys in his charge adhere to the routine of the Daily Programme of the School, which is a very full one, and he is also expected to know if anyone is absent, and, if so, for what cause. To enable him to keep a check on this, no leave is granted except on the recommendation of the Dormitory Prefect, and, on returning, a boy who has been on leave, has to report to his Prefect. The actual granting of leave is not in the hands of the Prefects, but in those of the Boarding-House Superintendent.

The School Council.—The School Council is an exceedingly important body. It consists of the four Prefects, the secretary of the Mess Committee, the secretary of the Games Committee, two other boys elected by the whole School, one boy nominated by the Principal, the Boarding-House Superintendent, and the Principal; the Principal is *ex-officio* Chairman; the Council elects its own secretary and treasurer.

The Council has been given very wide powers, since, for

several years past, it has been doing excellent work within a more limited scope. It is clearly understood, however, that the powers are delegated to it by the Principal, who retains the right to resume them if he thinks they are being misused. In practice, however, the Principal avoids interference, and hitherto has acquiesced in decisions of the Council even when he has considered them to be ill-advised, his policy being to let the boys learn by their own experience, except when any extreme danger to the reputation of the School might be involved,—in which case he believes that the Council would be likely to defer to his judgment.

Practically all matters concerning the welfare of the School and its internal management,—with the exception of those relating to the staff, and matters which are within the power of the Governing Council of the School alone to decide,—are referred to the School Council. It is not simply an advisory body, but has certain definite executive powers, including the power to spend a considerable sum of money, for the Principal believes that power is not felt to be real unless it includes power to perform, power to spend, even though the funds may be very limited.

In this School, apart from the payment of the salaries of the staff, which are fixed by the Education Department, and the granting of certain sums of money for equipment, apparatus, and repairs, which is in the hands of the Managing Body, the income of the School is spent on the boys in three ways, first, on food, second, on clothing, and third, on the miscellaneous activities for the benefit of the boys, comprised under the heads of what is known as 'The School Fund,' which will be explained in the following paragraph. It will be shown how the School Council practically controls all these three ways of spending money on the boys, the total amount of money involved annually being more than Ten Thousand Rupees.

The School Fund.—The Managing Body of the School fixes the amount to be allotted annually, per boy, for food and for clothing. In addition to this each boy pays to the School, as a part of the fees, a sum of five rupees per month,

for 'The School Fund.' This is intended to cover the cost of personal requirements such as laundry, hair-cutting, etc., and also school-books, games, picnics, trips, and all other amusements in which the boys participate.

The Principal has placed the use of this money entirely in the hands of the School Council. It may seem a risky step to have taken, but he believes that, in education no less than in political administration, you can never train people to govern themselves, unless you actually let them govern. To do this, you must be prepared to run some risk, just as you must do if you are going to teach a man to swim or shoot. You must face the possibility of mistakes being made, for the sake of the chance of success. It is worth the risk, especially in this School, for in later life its pupils will have to administer great estates, and, if they do not learn to handle money wisely while they are at school, they will surely make worse mistakes later.

In actuality, there is no great risk. The School Council has to frame a Budget, reckon how much it wants to spend on each head, and allot the funds at its disposal accordingly. The actual money is kept in a Bank, and can only be drawn by authorisation of the Principal. Nevertheless, the knowledge that the spending of so large a sum of money paid by the estates of the boys for their own common welfare while at school, is in the hands of their Council, has the effect of giving the Council members a sense of their own importance, and of their responsibility to their fellows and to the School. Membership of the School Council is an honour not lightly esteemed. The fact that this honour is obtainable in several ways is also of value. It can be gained by the steady, reliable boy who becomes a Prefect, as well as by the popular boy who gets elected. The inefficient, if elected, are soon found out, and not elected again.

The functions of other elected bodies will now be described.

The Mess Committee.—Once in two months the whole School, in its Assembly, proceeds to elect a Mess Committee of four members, to which are added, ex-officio, the Assistant

Boarding-House Superintendent, and the School Doctor. This Committee has absolute control, under the Principal and the School Council (to which it is held responsible), of the money allotted for the Food supply.

There are two dining-halls, one vegetarian, and one non-vegetarian. (Note the absence of distinctions based on caste, which detractors of India are so fond of emphasizing on every possible occasion.) It is a standing practice that each dining-hall must have at least one representative on the Mess Committee. The Committee elects one student-member of its number as its secretary; he automatically becomes a member of the School Council, and it is his duty to represent the Mess Committee in the Council, as well as to convey to his Committee any decisions which the Council may make from time to time regarding the matters referred to the Council by the Mess Committee.

A Mess Committee holds office for two months, and its four student-members divide this period of duty, taking either a week each, alternately, or a fortnight at a stretch, or a month between two members acting jointly. The duties of the member-in-charge are arduous. First, he has to ascertain roughly how much he can afford to spend in his period of office, for he will not be permitted to exceed that amount. Bearing this in mind, he arranges the *ménus* for the meals. If any School picnics, feasts, At Homes, or other social functions fall within his term of office, he must allow for these in his budgetting. He has absolute control over the food supply, except that, if he is found to be indulging in unwise experiments, he will be pulled up by the School Doctor or the Council. If his *ménus* are not satisfactory he will soon hear about it from the boys; there is also another check, the Day-duty Officer, of whom more will be said later. The Mess Committee also controls the kitchen-servants, and can make recommendations to the School Council concerning any changes it considers desirable.

The Games Committee.—Games and sports form a very important part of the training imparted in this School. They are organised entirely by a Committee which is responsible to

the School Council in the same way as the Mess Committee. The School Council selects the first 'Fifteen,' which consists of the tried and (generally) all-round athletes of the School. The members of the Fifteen elect the captains of the four chief team-games, Cricket, Hockey, Football, and Tennis. These four, together with the two Games-masters of the School, and the Military Instructor, form the Games Committee, which elects one of its student-members as Secretary, who represents its on the School Council.

At the beginning of the year, the School Council allots a certain portion of the School Fund for the use of the Games Committee. The School also has a grant for games in its annual Budget, and these two amounts are at the disposal of the Games Committee for the year. The Committee has to frame its annual Budget, and it is responsible to the School Council not only for the spending of the money allotted to it, but also for the entire arrangement and working of the programme of games and sports throughout the year. The Committee allots different parts of the work to its various members, supervision of marking out the ground for sports, to one member, acting as starters and timers and judges, to others, and so on. Thus each member who is elected to any Committee feels that his office is no mere sinecure or excuse for a title, but that he is entrusted with real power and responsibility, and if he does not perform the duties of his office, he will be made to feel it by the boys.

Boys' Day.—Once a month a full day is given to the boys on which no ordinary classes are held. It is called "Boys' Day." It is not a holiday in the ordinary sense of the word, but a busier day than usual, for throughout this day are held all sorts of activities which the boys enjoy, and which are organised mainly by them, with the help of some members of the Staff. The Boys' Day Committee consists of three members of the Staff, elected by the Teachers' Council, and three boys, elected by the School Council. This Committee arranges the programme for the Boys' Day of each month. The Day generally begins at an early hour of the morning with a short prayer in the open air, under the trees, followed

by some exciting Scout Games. After a rest and some refreshments there follows a programme of some two or three hours devoted to recitations, dialogues, and a debate. The boys have been preparing during the previous weeks for these items, and a panel of Judges awards points which are counted towards the Clan Championship (which will be referred to, later on.) After lunch, there are competitions in indoor games, and then a match in some team-game, followed by an At Home to which old boys and parents are invited. All the arrangements and entertaining are organised and carried out by the boys under the Social Officer who is one of the members of the School Council. In the evening there is usually a cinema show.

Other Officers of the Council.—A fixed sum is spent each year on the clothing of each boy. The School has its uniforms,—the standard pattern of clothes prescribed for daily use, in summer and winter, for games, riding, school etc. The boys take a pride in their clothes, and rightly so. The Council therefore elects one of its members as Clothing Officer; he, and the member of the Staff who is in charge of clothing, and the Boarding-House Superintendent, form the Clothing Committee. This Committee makes the Clothing Budget, selects materials to be used, and sends up its proposals to the Council, through the Clothing Officer.

The Council also elects certain other officers who have important duties to perform. These are the Sanitation Officer, the Common-Room Officer (who has charge of the indoor games, and the periodicals supplied to the reading-room), the Social Officer, who has the important duty of looking after guests. The School has a special Guest-room, always ready, and specially meant as an encouragement to ex-students to visit their old school.

Besides these, the Council keeps a list of older boys, about twenty-five in number, who it considers responsible enough to be entrusted with an office entitled 'Day-duty.' The 'Day-duty Officer' wears a cadet uniform and is on duty from early morning until bedtime, on one day only in each month. His business is to observe everything. He is to

note in detail whether everything is running as it ought to do,—who comes late for morning parade,—who is not properly dressed for School Assembly, or for games,—whether the meals are in time, and of good quality,—whether the dormitories, bathrooms, school buildings and surroundings are swept clean, and so on. He notes his observations in the Day-duty Officers' Diary, which he receives from the Officer of the previous day, and shows it to the Principal on the next morning. This diary is of the utmost use. It enables the Principal to nip in the bud many a piece of slackness, for a boy who is on duty only one day in the month, and who feels it a privilege to have been chosen for this work, is far more keen-eyed for defects than a regular officer who has to perform the same round and routine every day. Deprivation of the privilege of being on the list of Day-duty Officers is one of the severest penalties which the Council metes out to offenders against discipline and good form.

The Clan System.—Though not directly bearing on the question of self-government, reference may here be made to another feature in the organisation of the Sardars' School, since it forms a very strong stimulus to many other activities. The School is divided into four groups, named 'Clans,' each bearing the name of an Indian hero, and having its own distinguishing colour. As far as possible the Clans are so divided that they contain an equal number of boys of outstanding ability in games. The Council regulates the division and frames all the rules of the Inter-Clan competitions.

These competitions comprise practically every activity of the School, not only the games. Points are awarded to individuals for regular attendance, conduct, school work, deeds of bravery, athletic prowess, scout tests, objects made by the boys themselves, objects collected for the School Museum, and these points go to swell the total of points scored by the Clans to which the individuals belong. Points are also deducted for absence, violation of School Rules, and a few other offences. There are inter-Clan matches in all team games, and also in such activities as riding, shooting, gardening, gymnastics, indoor games etc.

An important feature is that no individual prizes are awarded in this School, with two exceptions,—a Silver Cup to the senior boy who scores the largest number of points of his Clan during the year,—and a similar prize to the junior boy who accomplishes the same. A Championship Cup is awarded annually to the Clan which scores the largest number of points for all the activities of the year (including marks in the School Examinations), and the members of the winning Clan are entitled to wear a small badge throughout the following year, which they forfeit if their Clan loses the Championship.

We have found that this system has most of the advantages of competition without its evil effects. The smallest boy feels that he can do something for his Clan, even if it be only by attending school regularly and scoring full-attendance marks. In actual practice the younger boys do contribute as much to the Clan total as the older ones, for they are specially active in such things as handwork, collecting and so on.

The entire Clan system is organised and directed by a special committee consisting of the four Clan Chieftains, who are boys elected by the members of their respective Clans. This Committee, however, is also finally responsible to the School Council.

The Clan system has now been in operation for about a year and a half; other items of self-government have been in existence longer. With such a preparation as a foundation, it is in the natural course of things that an effort should now be in progress to extend the self-governing principle to studies also, in the form of the Dalton Plan. This is now being tried in the four highest classes of the School, and it remains to be seen whether for this type of boy self-government in studies proves as successful as self-government in other activities seems to be.

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EQUALITY AND PROGRESS

By DHURJATI PRASAD MUKHERJEE.

The idea of equality has differed in different countries and in different times. It has varied with the varying vicissitudes of group-suffering. For the concept of equality has usually been determined by the reaction against the particular form of disabilities imposed upon the sufferers. Sometimes it has been the exclusive political privileges, sometimes the tyranny of the priestly classes, or at other times the economic exploitation of one class by another which would become galling and oppressive. Discontent spreads among the exploited class, and usually the conscience of a few rare individuals of the exploiting class is also aroused; the social equilibrium is perturbed, and the forces of revolution rally round a newly forged concept of equality.

Equality among the members of the ruling race marks the earliest stage in the evolution of the State. Thus, in the Greek democracies, in the Roman Republic and Empire, among the Germanic tribes and Federations of Central Europe (no less than in India, China and Japan), the descendants of the conquerors were the only citizens in possession of full civic rights. The ancient State was a pyramid, the apex of which was the conquering race and the base of which was formed by the vanquished tribes. This is why Socrates, Plato and Aristotle 'very nearly taught a doctrine of spiritual inequality'. The Stoics were really the first people in Europe to believe in and preach the spiritual equality of mankind. Their faith in the intrinsic rationality of human beings was strong. Yet stoicism remained an aristocratic creed; it never appealed to the masses though 'good' was conceived hedonistically, and rationality was granted to all men. For, with the Stoics, the faith in equality and unity of mankind was an intellectual and impersonal abstraction. As Dr. Willoughby observes, "it was not a unity based upon a mutual charity, sympathy and love, following from a conscious recognition that all men and

women are moral beings, all the objects of a single divine and loving will". Man as an ethical being, as an individual who is an end by himself, was not recognized by the early philosophers of Greece as a rule. The social good was appreciated but the value of the life of the individual was ignored. (Is it not strange that stories of human beings as members of a family, as fathers, mothers, sons and daughters, or lovers are rare in the chronicles of Greece? Is it because of the fact that the whole emphasis was on the civic virtues and duties as opposed to individual merits?).

Even in the best period of Greek civilization, an individual was never interpreted in the light of his conscience. So when the Apostles preached equality before God in fellowship with Jesus Christ, the unenfranchised poor found a ray of hope in the message. The patrician was responsible for the greatness of Rome, and the poor foreigner was debarred from enjoying the privileges of the patrician. In principle, the Roman republic was an extension of the city-state of Rome, itself modelled on the aristocratic city states of Greece. Those debarred from enjoying the rights and privileges of citizenship flocked to the catacombs. But their hopes of millennial equality where all were equal in faith, hope and charity, were not to be realized, for such realization depended on the intervention of the clergy drawing their power from one man who held the key to the ultra-mundane kingdom. The Pope ruled in apostolic succession, and by virtue of his possession of the key, became the arch-mediator between God and His children, and the supreme authority for laying down and interpreting the conditions of fellowship in Christ for the faithful.

In the meantime, the Republic had changed into an Empire. Rome had now become the centre of the world's trade and commerce. Foreigners were settling in great numbers in Rome. Their presence increased the wealth of the city. The task of colonial government and the problem of the alien introduced the principles of equity in Roman jurisprudence. The growth of equity succeeded in throwing open to all the inhabitants of the Empire the rights and duties of being governed by the *Jus Civile* of Rome. The Emperor Caracalla

satisfied a long-felt want, and the year 211 A. D. must be recognised as a landmark in the annals of democracy, when the principle of equality before the law was first formally recognised. What has happened in Europe since then in the matter of legal equality is either an extension or a variation of this principle. This idea of equality in the eyes of the law, however important an achievement it might be, was and is neither universal in its scope nor practicable in administration. Even when legal equality is recognized as the source of individual rights, the exercise of such rights always depends on the possession of certain capacities. These capacities, however, are not constant for all individuals or all groups of individuals. There are the minors and the dependents, women amentes and dementes, the morones and the insane, in fact, the whole class of the feeble-minded who have to be protected. And there are the 'backward races unfit for self-government' for whose benefit administration has to be carried on by self-appointed trustees. Over and above that, there is class-legislation.

Historically, the idea of legal equality could not be carried to its logical conclusion in the Imperial Rome of later days, mainly for the reason that the secular state had become transformed into the Holy Roman Empire. The church displaced the city in later times, and created a division between the laity and the clergy. Naturally, the object of popular opposition was not so much the legal inequalities that prevailed as the clerical supremacy in theological and intellectual matters and the clerical tyranny in the moral affairs of men. St. Paul's sentence, 'there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, bond nor free', and the Christian writer Tertullian's dictum, 'the world is a republic, the common land of the human race', became meaningless arrays of dead phrases. Numerous sects arose all over Europe, in England, France, the Netherlands and Germany, and began to reinterpret the doctrines of the church in the original spirit of Christ and Paul. They were the precursors of the Reformation. A parallel movement was started in education to free young minds from the bondage of theology and the domination

of the clergy. The growth of a new humanism initiated a new phase in European civilization. The idea of moral and economic equality practised by the leaders of early Christianity gained fresh significance. Martin Luther denied the authority of the Pope and his clergy, while the German peasants denied the claims of the princes, (but Luther was not conscious of the parallelism between the two movements). Men were the same before God, and had equal rights in his gifts. Therefore men were entitled to attain the same status before the Father and no priests were needed to put them on the same level.

The idea of economic equality did not, however, develop for a long time. It had to wait for the transformation from an agricultural to an industrial condition of society. The agricultural type of civilization was not congenial to the growth of economic equality. But a start was made in the Protestant movement. This movement did something more than protest, it had a constructive aim with its active principle of moral equality. But the movement as such was lost in the midst of religious wars conducted apparently for otherworldly reasons but essentially in the interests of the Roman Church. The folly of religious wars created such a reaction that Luther's magnificent effort to teach man to depend on himself came to naught for the time being. Society became organized into states, and the autocracy of princes supplanted the tyranny of the clergy. In the Catholic states, the clergy adopted a new stratagem and invested the king with a measure of divine authority proportional to his military and bargaining powers. In the protestant states, the king became the defender of the faith. If he was powerful, he seized the powers and privileges (even the property) of the clergy. When the king became the head of the church and the state alike, he could enter into conspiracy with the noble and the clergy in an orgy of exploitation of the masses. Thus were sown the seeds of the French Revolution.

Political equality was the dominant idea of the 19th century, not in the sense that it was successfully achieved, but in the sense that collective human endeavour in Europe, for the first time, expressed itself consciously and deliberately

in favour of equal political and civic rights for the people. The initiative had been taken during the French Revolution. On the negative side it succeeded in destroying certain old-world conventions. The feudal nobles and the clergy were forced to give up their privileges. On its positive side, the three catchwords of 'liberty, equality and fraternity' were the chief contribution of the Revolution to the making of subsequent history. In civic affairs, careers were opened to talented individuals. In affairs of state, the new religion of Nationalism became firmly established and gave sanction to the right of every nation to pursue its own course of political and civic development.

The point to be noted here is that the idea of equality in post-Revolutionary Europe was essentially political in nature. The extension of the franchise was considered to be the most important condition precedent for all other reforms in the 19th century. England extended the franchise, consolidated the rule of law, engaged in free trade with every country of the world, allowed the largest measure of freedom to her citizens, and became the model state for the rest of the world. In England at least, "the judgments rendered were to be determined wholly by the facts and law involved, and hence irrespective of the social, economic, political or even moral standing of the parties litigant". Politically, England profited most by the French Revolution.

The Industrial Revolution, which started in England and spread gradually to the other countries, wrought enormous changes in the means of production, and consequently in the stratification of society. In the early days, society was synonymous with the conquering race and their progeny; then it was supposed to be mainly composed of landlords and bishops. After the Industrial Revolution society became identified with the capitalists. The exploited labourers became restless and discontented. A theory was elaborated to explain and justify this spirit of unrest, and show its consequences. Karl Marx gave a materialistic interpretation of history with the thoroughness of a German, and though he recognized the role of moral, religious and other ideas, he sought to banish non-

economic sentiments and actions from the list of the main driving forces of history. The rock-bottom of the question, in his opinion, was the conflict of interests between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots', the rich and the poor. Socially necessary labour alone determined the value of the commodity, and the surplus value exploited from the unorganized labourers went to swell the profits of the capitalist. So, as on the one hand, the labourer was getting poorer, on the other hand, the capitalist was securing a superfluity of material goods. A revolution was therefore inevitable, and future history would be shaped by the creative forces of this revolution.

The socialistic criticism of the present iniquities in the possession of material goods contains many elements of truth. In the first place, the insistence on the social aspect of labour in the determination of value; secondly, the necessity for the organization of labour; thirdly, the usefulness of self-government in industry; and, lastly, a spirit of hopefulness regarding the time when the labourer would come into his own in society, all combined cannot fail to exercise a potent influence on the future history of civilization.

Socialism in demanding economic equality feels certain that all other forms of equality, social and political, would follow inevitably. That is, from the point of view of freedom, the socialist maintains that once economic needs are adjusted, other aspirations and creative activities of individuals would find a free and natural outlet. Under capitalism, he says, creative efforts are possible for a small class of people, the rich; for the rest such activities are practically impossible or only possible under the greatest difficulties. Therefore, the creative efforts either become leisurely activities or partake of the nature of the difficulties overcome. Art becomes aristocratic, unreal and unbalanced, and reflects only one aspect of human nature. All inventions are patented for private gain. Snobishness and bitterness tinge all social activities. In so far as the creative impulses are fettered and atrophied by long repression, there is a disturbance in the balance of the human being, and that is an ethical loss. So the most important demand of the socialist, from the point of view of freedom, is

for opportunities which will allow the creative impulse of individuals to work unhampered.

If we substitute the word "proletariat" for the word "citizen," then the following remarks on the spirit of the French Revolution may very well apply to the Communist movement. "That spirit had in it the fierce quality of enthusiasm. When men come to think of the world as a universe in which their lives count, in which their individual minds are associated with a great harmony of functions and purposes, their response to this new vision has a kind of mystical force. There is in the atmosphere of the French Revolution as in that of the early Christian Societies, the rapture of confidence and expectation. The word 'citizen' meant to this movement what the word 'Christian' had meant to the other; it brought into men's minds a driving power such as could be brought by no mere sense of wrong; men were eager to die for it; they became, (unhappily) scarcely less ready to kill for it. The secret of happiness and virtue, it was a word to send armies to encounter every kind of peril from one end of Europe to the other. It is just this quality in revolution that makes it at once so intoxicating and so terrifying. Minds take sudden light from it, and a power that teaches by flashes is a dangerous master. Enthusiasm turns to fanaticism and under its spell men are better and worse than their fellows. In the French Revolution, politics are at once sublime and brutal, generous and savage, surpassing the most ardent hopes of the age, outrunning its wildest fears. Men are born equal and with equal rights. Free and equal they remain. The first article of the Declaration of the Rights of Man sped on wings of passion from the study to the Assembly, from the Assembly to the streets of Paris, from the streets of Paris to the battle-fields of Europe."

That Communism in Russia is a new faith which inspires confidence for it in men who are as ready to die as to kill has been noted by all observers. The mental attitude of the communist is in many ways that of a mystic or a fanatic. But has the spirit of equality, liberated by the shock of wide-spread destruction, found free expression in the new scheme of things? Even the greatest admirer of the Russian Revolution has to

confess that there exist serious gaps between professed aims and actual achievements. The excuse of enemies abroad, the indifference of peasants, and the transitional need of strict control over the wavering and the heretic are cold comfort to those who had no doubt suffered from inequalities under the old regime, but who still suffer from the ruthless efforts from the top to secure adherence to certain abstract principles. The Russian labourer has acquired a wonderful sense of dignity. He is participating in startling experiments. He no longer walks with stooping shoulders. But he does not as yet look like 'a poplar shooting its head up into the skies,' when he has to merge himself in a collective whole, the interpretation of the purpose of which is in the hand of a particular party in power. Civic equality which postulates the right capacity and practice of taking continuous initiative is confined to the executive of the party. Even individuals who have energy to survive this process of surrender to the collective whole emerge as colourless, uniform quantities whose value, logically, is one. There can be no equality in uniformity. The value of equality consists in variety which is possible only when individuals have the right to differ from one another and be respected for the sake of such very differences.

There appears to be a real conflict between the fundamental ideals of philosophical communism and the method adopted for their realization in Soviet Russia. A theory of action, which insists on emphasizing the superiority of the collective group over the individual unit is bound to frustrate individual initiative to a great extent.

The above survey should not lead us to the conclusion that inequality has been the monopoly of European societies. Whenever there have been conquests, there has been a stratification of society. In the beginning it is essentially two-fold: the victors and the vanquished. Later on, society is split up into a number of strata. The existence of rank, based on wealth, prowess, superior knowledge of the mysteries of nature, and the magical control of elemental forces by propitiation and incantation, is to be noticed in all primitive and tribal societies. In the civilized communities of the East, there has always

been a marked difference in the sharing of social, political and economic privileges. In recent time, however, such internal differences have been overshadowed by other inequalities created by new political and economic situations arising out of the domination of the East by the West. It is no longer the Brahmin or the Mandarin group of oligarchy that commands all the special privileges; in many ways they have been replaced by the white members of powerful Western nations. 'The white man's burden,' the 'sacred trust' of the West to civilize the East are the slogans with which the continuance of political and economic domination of subject races is sought to be justified. The reaction against this attitude has taken the form of the intense preoccupation of the Eastern people with the problem of removing political inequality. Looking beyond the immediate political struggles, we find that in the Eastern, as well as in the Western society of to-day, individuals are, for all practical purposes, enclosed in class or caste. The Indian speaking of destiny often means status which is determined by birth. In an advanced state of society the growing admixture of races and the increasing division of labour lead to the recognition of functioning as an important element in the social structure. It must not be assumed, however, that the functional organization of society means equality for all. Admitting the validity of Nesfield's theory of the functional origin of caste in Northern India (it is valid for more than 75 per cent. of the castes in the United Provinces), all that we know of the measure of equality achieved within the caste is that the caste-guild or Panchayat, where it works efficiently, seeks to remove unfair economic competition from among its members. The means adopted are, first, regulation of prices, wages, hours, and other conditions of employment and marketing; secondly, provision of a certain amount of technical instruction and training through apprenticeship, primarily for the young members of the family of the craftsmen but to the benefits of which young men of the same caste are socially entitled; and thirdly, by the organization of social and religious festivals in which all, without distinction, can and very often do participate. Instances of efficient caste-guilds are not rare even now. For obvious

reasons they are disappearing. But they prove that there was a time when society was organized on a functional or occupational basis.

The caste, however, is a socio-economic group, in which the social functioning of a member is more important than the economic. This has been a characteristic feature of almost all Indian communities, even of those which do not recognize caste in the orthodox sense of the term. The overwhelming importance attached to 'samaj-dharma' has been largely responsible for the stability and consolidation of such communities inspite of their political vicissitudes. Social solidarity, in the past, largely compensated for political atomism. The existence of numerous castes within the village has always been of less significance than that of the caste feeling that comprehends villages, districts and even provinces. The political importance of the Hindu Mahasabha, incorporating all castes and transcending provincial barriers, is a recent example of the same tendency.

Once we recognize that the genius of Hindu culture is essentially social, it is easy to notice how the sense of social solidarity has retarded economic disruption.

A society based primarily on a particular system of production is apt to be dismembered into conflicting classes. The same could be said of a society based on a particular system of sharing political spoils and privileges. The comparative stability of Hindu and Chinese societies (based as they are on principles of social obligation with political or economic rights and duties following therefrom) proves that disruption can be stayed by an insistence on the social aspects of group-living. The social aspect is emphasized by other factors than caste. Thus the joint-family, especially under the Mitakshara and the Dayabhaga, secures to the aged, the disabled, the weak, the widow and other dependents a certain measure of economic support and prevents them from being driven to slums—the breeding ground of class-consciousness. The same could be said of Muslim and Chinese societies. The family-life of all Oriental communities lays a religious and moral obligation on the able to support the unable and the disabled. It is a socio-

religious counter-move to economic inequality. The common fund of the village, the democratic procedure of village- and caste-panchayats, the division of waste-land by lot and its distribution by rotation, the strong tradition of co-operation in social and economic life, have all combined to mitigate to a great extent the hardships arising out of the inequality implicit in the caste-system. That castes are still undergoing the slow process of fusion, mainly, as a result of changes in occupation, that "new endogamous groups are constantly being created, the process of fusion is ever in operation, and what is more important still the *novus homo*, like his brethren all the world over is constantly endeavouring to force his way into a higher grade," are facts about the present day caste in India which have to be recognized along with those about its rigid restrictions. The important point to be noted in the present discussion is the fact that within the caste, there was, at least, in the past, a perceptible measure of economic equality, secured by the caste-guild, and also no small measure of social equality secured through the sense of social obligation informing all the members of the community, rich and poor. Yet the fact remains that the social obligation was itself a function of birth.

Let us grant that in the good old days the caste-guilds worked smoothly. We should not forget, however, that both status and occupation were determined by birth. This principle at its best, was based on a crude knowledge of the heritability of certain traits of craftsmanship, and the desirability of fostering them by the provision of a congenial atmosphere and suitable instruction. The caste principle divided society into a few broad classes, within each of which a certain amount of equalization of opportunities may be said to have prevailed. In other words, in the healthiest period of Oriental Society (Indian and Chinese), within a particular group or caste, function was, in practice, almost as important as birth in the determination of status. But even in the golden age, so far as the whole structure of the caste system was concerned, especially in the relation of one caste to another, function remained secondary to the older principle of birth. In the period of decadence function itself became as stereotyped as birth.

This is the position of Hindu society to-day. The caste is no longer an equalizing agency within its fold. The caste-guild no longer exercises a quasi-monopoly. But the caste feeling is not yet dead. As the lower castes in India are very poor, and caste-feeling, instead of dying, is increasing among them, the gulf between work and wages (which would usually be small when choice of occupation is free and dependent on acquired skill), is becoming wider. The disagreeable occupations to which some are born are not fetching high wages, as they should normally. Occupations stratified into caste cannot admit of any principle of free competition for equal wages or opportunities.

The heritability of certain gifts and of the need for their development by proper stimuli, which was the primary merit of the caste-system in early times, has been misinterpreted for their own advantage by interested parties like priests and warriors. At the present time, this crude knowledge which is supposed to be stored in caste-traditions offers no hope of the enjoyment of proportional opportunities for the development of individual abilities. The caste-system in modern Hindu society cannot, by any stretch of sociological imagination, be considered to be serving eugenic needs. Nor can the present structure bear the stress of democratic and individualistic tendencies of the Western civilization in which the idea of equality has a peculiar significance of its own. It is not surprising, therefore, to find in recent Indian thought a growing emphasis on the urgent need of doing away with differences determined by birth. The increasing discontent among the depressed classes against social superiority of the higher castes, as well as the urge in the mind of the educated and politically-minded intelligentsia to remove the social and political differences between the "natives" and the white members of the foreign ruling class, (who are the glorified Brahmins of modern India with powers of good and evil increased a thousand-fold) are different phases of the same movement.

It must be remembered, however, that the idea of political, social and economic equality, as entertained by the Oriental of the 20th century, is distinctly of European origin and that it

is primarily in reaction to foreign domination that this idea is gathering strength in the East.

But what is the abiding value in the idea of equality? Is it a necessary factor for progress? Progress in the ultimate analysis involves change, directivity and purpose. The conditioning phenomena are (1) geographic, *i.e.*, "climate, soil, water-supply, other mineral sources, flora, fauna, topography"; (2) technic, *i.e.*, "the material products of human work, which having once been produced are conditions of further activities"—these, being human achievements, are more subject to human control than the geographical conditions; (3) psycho-physical—which are either congenital, like age, sex, race, psychic predisposition, temperament, natural endowment, hereditary disease and defect; or acquired, like other diseases, defects, developed strength and skill, habits, etc.; (4) the social, *i.e.*, the ideas and sentiments, customs and beliefs, mores and folkways in which an individual is born. This is the classification of the conditioning phenomena given by the late Prof. Hayes.

The geographic factor is comparatively fixed. The technic and the social conditions are subject to rational human control. They merely represent the process of differentiation between individuals, institutions, customs, beliefs, traditions, etc. in the light of values and meanings. But a social force is neither a physical force, nor a moral one. From one point of view, it may be understood as an item in the causal chain, where cause means either a condition precedent or a liberating agent. Rituals, public opinion, traditions, educational agencies are all useful institutions in the sense that with their help the individual can adopt definite sets of values, but to think that they alone create values is no less unwarranted than to consider that the needle on the record creates the music. Social force, if it is to be considered as a force at all, is inherent in the individual living in association with other individuals. Religion, public opinion, or educational agencies depend for their value entirely on the individuals associated with these institutions. It is not rare to find that they often lack positive ideals, are actuated by motives more worthy of the lowest organisations than of human beings, and are powers of evil rather

than of good. The charge may be laid that I am confusing ritualism for religion, the yellow press for public opinion, and a third rate school or college for the right type of an educational agency. If this charge be true, it would only show that the rightness or the wrongness of the type depends entirely upon individuals associated with these agencies. Unfortunately, there are far too many examples of religions falling to the level of barren ritualism, of journalistic activities originally started under good auspices pandering to crude sensationalism, of schools and colleges degenerating into machines for cramming examinees. Thus religion, public opinion or educational agencies may be instruments for either good or evil. They are not necessarily uplifting, and cannot create values by themselves.

In the same way ideas also may be powerful influences for good or for evil. People have been known to die for ideas. For aught I know, people have more killed for ideas than died for them. Ideas, as such, are therefore not on a higher level than other social forces. The very idea of equality has been responsible for much oppression. It has also supplied a most powerful urge towards the improvement of social conditions. Its significance for progress again depends on the sense of value of individuals.

Equality is not to be interpreted as identity in the possession of material goods, however necessary and important their possession might be for the enjoyment of opportunities for the development of human capacities. Economic equality, as preached by the Utopian or the doctrinaire, cannot be accepted as the only tenet of distributive justice in so far as it ignores a fact of supreme importance, namely, differences in individual aptitudes.

In case innate gifts had been distributed equally between all individuals, the case for an equal distribution of all material wealth would have been irresistible. The fact appears to be, however, that innate gifts are neither distributed equally among different individuals nor at random among different classes. This has been made the basis of an attack on the equalitarian doctrine in recent times. But the attempts to

prove the innate superiority of one race over all others cannot be considered to be scientifically established. A race inferior in certain traits may easily be found to be superior in other desirable traits. Yet the biological residuum of fundamental inequality between individuals, and probably also between certain economic classes, remain an open challenge to the idea of equality. The strictly scientific findings of Eugenists are (1) that innate group-differences exist, but they are small, (2) that differences obtaining between individuals of the same group are usually greater than those subsisting between different groups, and (3) that such differences correspond, roughly, (at least in certain sections of English and American societies) to differences in social status. Cyril Burt writes: "the main conclusion that can be drawn from experimental work is, I think, the following: innate group differences exist, but they are small". In this connection, Carr-Saunders remarks: "if opportunity was equal for all, if social acquirements counted for nothing, and if examination tests were rigorously imposed, we might expect to find greater intellectual differences between the members of professions and other elements of the population than we do find in spite of the fact that such tests sort out emotional as well as intellectual qualities". Later on, the same authority states: "whether we consider racial groups large or small, or whether we consider the classes into which members of the same racial group fall, we find the differences between the average of one group compared with another are small. The differences are small relative to the vast differences which exist between members of the same community. Innate differences therefore are not distributed at random throughout the population." The above conclusions are supported by the fact that there exists a positive correlation between the distribution of mental gifts and the social distribution of individuals according to rank and position in English and American societies. It also appears to be a fact that in spite of increasing educational facilities offered by enlightened states to the labouring classes in the 19th century, their contribution to the production of men of first-rate abilities has been proportionally less than that of the

middle or higher classes. "Passing from the bottom of a social pyramid to its apex we see a systematic increase of the number of men of genius—an absolute as well as a relative increase." If it is true, as is claimed to have been established by rigorous analysis, 'the higher social classes are more intelligent than the lower ones', then the right relation between the idea of social and economic equality and progress would appear to be what has been indicated by Karl Pearson:¹ "Let there be a ladder from class to class and occupation to occupation, but let it not be an easy ladder to climb; great ability (as Faraday's) will get up, and that is all that is socially advantageous. The gradation of the body social is not a historical anomaly; it is largely the result of long continued selection, economically differentiating the community into classes roughly fitted to certain types of work."

The basic problem of equality is thus concerned with the desire for an equal distribution of wealth fostered by a natural reaction against exploitation of one group by another, and the fact of inequality in the distribution of innate gifts. The problem can be resolved only by the provision of proportional opportunities, on the one hand, and by the recognition of Personality as an important element in the determination of social justice, on the other. It is quite clear that economic inequality cannot be accepted as the only tenet of distributive justice in so far as it ignores differences in abilities. But it is equally clear that the concentration of the greater part of material wealth in the hands of the upper classes cannot be supported by any sort of engenic consideration. The present inequalities of income are *not* based on hereditary difference—this is the cardinal fact of modern industrialized societies. The present inequalities in political privileges are not warranted by racial differences—this is the cardinal fact about the present political situation.

The programme of socialism to do away with such class or national differences in the distribution of wealth appears to be based on sound principles.

¹ National Life from the Standpoint of Science.

But in so far as individual (as opposed to class) differences are concerned, the principle of equal division cannot be considered fair. Emotional and temperamental qualities although not yet successfully measured by the psychologist are as likely to show as large individual differences as intellectual and other abilities. For this reason as well as on account of the known large differences in abilities, the possession of the same amount (and quality) of material goods (above the level of the subsistence minimum) must yield different amounts of enjoyment to different individuals and is consequently valued differently.

One important point may be noted at once. Recent advances in biological knowledge are equivocal in certain ways. One line of advance has been towards a greater insistence on the role of the germ-plasm, which is supposed to be the receptacle of all possibilities of growth. From this point of view, heredity is the most important factor of all. On the other hand the study of conditioned reflexes by Pavlov and his disciples, and the striking results obtained by the Behaviorist school show that rational training may become all important. One thing, however, is clear. Changes in the germ-plasm whether to be brought about by natural and sexual selection, by complicated Mendelian segregation, by unconscious social selection through such agencies as war, disease, etc., or, finally, by conscious eugenic selection, would require enormous periods of time measured in hundreds and thousands of years. On the other hand social changes brought about by great personalities like Buddha and Asoka, Alexander and Napoleon, Lenin or Gandhi, become accomplished facts in a few breathless moments. Hence, in the supreme question of the development of Personality, greater emphasis is to be laid upon the social environment which is more amenable to control by voluntary agencies than upon the mechanical regulation of heredity.

In the absence of specific knowledge regarding the means of regulating the mechanism of heredity, it would be safer to give a fair chance to everyone by removing glaring iniquities and inequalities in the distribution of opportunities. Which chances are to be given to which individuals is subsidiary to the main question that chances should be given to all. In

other words, the fundamental principles of Democracy, *viz.* political and economic equality, though not the only principle of social justice, must be given precedence over all others. The innate differences, if they are obdurate, will not be effaced by the provision of political and economic opportunities for all, and will come out in the long run. Further, the existing organs of government, public opinion, religion, and educational institutions are so much under the control of vested interests and dominated by inertia that there is no prospect in the near future of eugenic or social or vocational survey of population (however desirable such a survey may be) being undertaken on strictly scientific, that is, non-selfish and disinterested principles. The most practical course would therefore appear to be to press for the removal of the existing class-barriers.

The removal of class-barriers and class inequalities will allow social selection (if there is any virtue in it, which I deny) to make itself felt. If social selection does not manifest itself, and in case a scientific survey of inherent abilities becomes possible, we may set about to distribute opportunities according to individual talents.

If no such survey can be held, or after a survey it is found impossible either to measure the eugenic differences, or to distribute opportunities according to such differences it will still be wise to allow the idea of equality free play in society. From the point of view of what is known as social psychology, the desire for equality expresses a sub-conscious desire of the human mind. Whatever may be the explanation (psycho-analytic, psychonic, endocrinological or otherwise) of the origin of this idea of equality, the fact that all men hope to see this dream realized cannot be ignored. The idea of equality, it may be safely asserted, is at least as real and as potent as any other faith or myth. It is the only consolation of the weak and the only hope of the dispossessed.

Natural rights, as such, have already entered into the ideology of the politically minded Indian. Tilak's famous phrase, 'freedom is the birth right of every Indian' has already made history in India. The insistent demand for complete independence gathers strength from the belief in the idea of

equality. These concepts have become charged with emotion. To become forces, they must however be externalized into social behaviour. But if the individual valuation is inadequate they will remain barren.

The above discussion shows that capacities, though various, are more approximate in their urgent need of expression for development than is generally supposed. The modes of expression are various. That different potentialities require different environmental stimuli for adequate response is a fact which must ultimately become important for the equitable distribution of opportunities. But what is important at the present time is that in order to bring about those conditions in which every individual will receive an adequate stimulus from the proper environment for his development, we should try to break up as quickly as possible all class barriers with their glaring inequalities artificially bolstered up by interested people.

The inequality which people have been made to feel most and have protested most against is that imposed by one group over another. Individual tyranny has been much more easily tolerated. In Europe, dictators and tyrants have alternated with democracies and republics. The Asiatic people have never objected to an autocratic ruler of the benevolent type. Leadership of great individuals has always been rather liked by them. But when power is grasped by a group, and is sought to be perpetuated by claims of the intrinsic superiority of one group over another, the human spirit rises in revolt. The individual man has always recognized, even if unconsciously, the fact that group tyranny is most inimical to the development of his personality.

In the existing close and artificial social atmosphere, especially in India, the individual has very little opportunity of developing his personality. At best, he can merge himself into a stagnant group-existence. This has almost always been disastrous for social progress. Owing to the demand of the group (family, clan, caste, etc.) upon the individual to merge his existence in that of the group, and owing to improper recognition and interested interpretations of the purpose of group-

life by the more numerous members of the group, stimuli offered by the group are not adequate for the varying capacities or responses of the individuals. The group demands and creates dead levels.

Progress requires the growth of personality, and it is the task of social justice to remove all restrictions which hamper the development of personality. Herein lies the value of the idea of equality, for it emphasizes the need of providing adequate environmental stimuli to enable potential capacities to develop. If the actual response is small, even then something will have been achieved by the removal of repressions. If the response is large the whole of society is benefited. Rightly understood, equality is not only a valuable instrument of social justice, but is a necessary and fundamental condition of social progress.

MEETING OF THE EAST AND WEST.

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

[Under the auspices of the Discussion Guild and the Indian Society of America, Rabindranath Tagore was given a reception on December 1, 1930, at Carnegie Hall, New York.

Extending welcome to the Poet, on behalf of the Discussion Guild and the Indian Society of America, Mr. M. S. Novik in course of his speech said :—

"It is indeed a pleasure to welcome you all here to-night. We are aware of the honour and the privilege which is ours and were indeed proud to act as platform hosts to the beloved poet of the Far East.

"We are starting a few minutes late only because we were trying our utmost to take in as many people as is humanly possible within the walls of Carnegie Hall. It ought to be said, and I hope it brings comfort to the Poet, and to all friends of India, that there are just as many people trying their utmost to get in, but we have fire rules, and they must be lived up to.

"We have invited the most outstanding woman connected with a University in the United States, and we are fortunate, indeed it is a privilege for us to have as presiding officer one who certainly can be called the Dean of the University women of America, the President of Mount Holyoke College. It is a pleasure to present to you as presiding officer, President Mary E. Woolley."

President Mary E. Woolley said :—

"Mr. Chairman, Dr. Tagore, and the members of this audience, I am sure that our guest of the evening needs no introduction. I feel that he hardly needs word of welcome. The fact that so many hundreds of people are delighted to have this opportunity to pay their respect to a man who holds the respect of the world at large is in itself the greatest of welcomes.

"It is very difficult to select any phase of the work of our guest, especially to emphasize any one phase. He has done so much in so many different ways. Surely no one has done more, or is doing more, to help in solving India's problem than our friend here to-night. He

has emphasized in his educational work the importance of the individual. And he has emphasized the ideal of peace.

"More than twenty-five years ago he started in far-off India a school for children, of which I think many of us (who are but 'children of a larger growth') would have been glad to have been a part. Because the theory underlying that education was the development of the individual child by giving to him the freedom to grow. He had no sympathy with machine-made lessons. And consequently in the Poet's Institution, lessons are given under the shade of trees, in the living presence of nature; plays are acted, there is dancing, there are songs of the spring, songs of the rain, which are composed and set to music by the Poet himself for such festive occasions.

"Freedom and progress were the two educational watch-words in that school. There was an atmosphere of culture. Learned men who could give much came to talk to and interest the children. There was freedom also, as far as caste and race and nationality were concerned. And liberty, the spirit of liberty was in their lives.

"But that school for the children has grown into something very much more significant even than that group, with all the joy in living and the joy in thinking, and the impressions that arose from the things of beauty by which they were surrounded. Soon there will be the tenth anniversary of the University which was established as the out-growth of the smaller school. It is a cultural meeting place between the East and the West, and its object is 'to study the mind in its realization of the different aspects of peace from diverse points of view, and to bring into more intimate relations with one another the different cultures of the East on the basis of their underlying unity; to approach the west from the point of view of such a unity of life, to seek to realize in Asia a common fellowship of study, and the meeting of the East and the West and thus ultimately to strengthen the fundamental conditions of world peace through the free communication of ideas between the two hemispheres.'

"Truly a cultural meeting place between the East and the West. And I suspect that if you and I were to visit that International University, we should find many things that would be surprising from the practical side as well as the idealistic side. There are, for example, experimental farms with growing vegetables; there are spinning-wheels, looms and work along other practical lines. A practical visionary at

work. I sometimes wonder whether the real visionary, that is, the man with vision, is not after all the most practical of all human beings. A practical visionary at work. From dreamland to reality, for in this effort to build up a school, a University representing Indian culture at its highest, it was thought well to develop the practical as well as the ideal. An institution based upon the ideal of spiritual unity of all races. That is the underlying thought.

"And so to-night I have the honour to present to this great audience our visitor, our guest, who needs no introduction. Rather it is for this audience to welcome our guest of honour and our speaker,—a man who is poet and philosopher, teacher and friend of humanity: Rabindranath Tagore, who is going to speak to us on the Meeting of the East and the West."

The speech of Rabindranath Tagore is given below.]

I have felt the meeting of the East and the West in my own individual life. I belong to the latter end of the Nineteenth Century. And to our remote country in Bengal, when I was a boy, there came a voice from across the sea. I listened to it. It would be difficult to imagine what it meant for me in those days. We realized the great heroic ideal which had been held in Ancient Greece and that art which gave expression to its greatness. I was deeply stirred, and felt as if I had discovered a new planet on the horizon.

THE MESSAGE OF THE WEST IN THE 19TH CENTURY.

It was the same feeling which I had when I listened to those in my family who recited verses from English literature and from the great poets of those days. Then also I felt as if a new prophet of the human world had been revealed to my mind.

You all know it was the last vanishing twilight of the Romantic West. We had been living in the atmosphere of the lyrical literature of poets like Shelley, Keats, Wordsworth, and we know what inspiration they had within them. And what it was for the rest of the world. There was an upheaval of

idealism. In Europe, the French Revolution had not died out, and people were dreaming of freedom, of the brotherhood of man. They still believed in the human ideals that have their permanent value, ultimate value in themselves. And it moved my heart. I cannot express how it did move my soul.

I remember as a boy how a friend who had just read a poem came running to me in the night when I was asleep and awakened me, saying, "Have you read this?" And he recited the lines to me, and it stirred us deeply. It was that atmosphere, that human aspect of the Western civilization which appealed to us. It was the humanity of the West. It was not anything mechanical; it did not represent any physical or material quality. Ah, no. It was the message from the heart of the West that touched us deeply.

The West at that time believed in freedom of personality. We heard about Garibaldi, about Mazzini, and it was a new revelation, an aspect of humanity with which we were not quite familiar—the great ideal of the freedom of man, freedom of self expression for all races and for all countries. And we had great reverence for the people who were dedicated to that dream, through their literature, and also through their practical life.

THE MODERN WEST.

I may tell you what I think is the characteristic difference to-day between the East and the West. We, in the East, believe in personality. In the West you have your admiration for power.

Whenever our heart is touched with something that is perfect in human nature, in its completeness, in the spiritual aspect of it, we bow our heads before it. We have a feeling of reverence for the divine in man. And I thought that this human aspect of civilization, which I saw and which I realized in the West when I was young, was something permanent that would help to save the whole world.

There are times when some particular people play the part of messengers of humanity. They come to rescue human

relations from all kinds of fetters of ignorance or moral degradation and despair and weakness of will. We thought the present age belonged to the West, that they had come to save us, to save the whole world from all forms of weakness and which still remains inexhaustible. All these great revelations of history. We knew what India herself had done in olden times. We knew what Greece had offered to humanity and which still remains inexhaustible. All these great civilizations had the effect of redeeming the minds of men from fetters and narrowness, from sluggishness and stupidity.

It is evident that this modern age can belong to the West. You have the illumination, and we have been waiting for long that it should reach us in the East. And we hoped that you would come to us with a message which was universal, which had nothing provincial or exclusively national in it, and in a language that was not ashamed to have itself surrounded by an atmosphere of beauty,—a beauty that had a universal appeal.

And I say as an individual that the West and the East did meet in India in my younger days. But how short was that twilight of a vanishing age, of chivalry, of idealism higher and greater than one's nationality. That age came to an end, and you know, in what a great clash and conflagration of war and misery all over the world.

THE MENACE OF POWER.

And what is the harvest of your civilization? You do not see from the outside. You do not realize what a terrible menace you have become to man. We are afraid of you. And everywhere people are suspicious of each other. All the great countries of the West are preparing for war, for some great work of desolation that will spread poison all over the world. And this poison is within their own selves. They try, and try to find some solution, but they do not succeed, because they have lost their faith in the personality of man.

They do not believe in the wisdom of the soul. Their minds are filled with mutual suspicion and hatred and anger,

and yet they try to invent some machinery which will solve the difficulties. They ask for disarmament, but it cannot be had from the outside. They have efficiency, but that alone does not help. Why? Because man is human, while machinery is impersonal. Men of power have efficiency in outward things; but the personality of man is lost. You do not feel it, the divine in man, the divinity which is in humanity.

I have felt it, and I have said to myself, I have repeated that song: "Where shall I find him? Man the Great? The Supreme Man?" Not in the machinery of power and wealth shall I find the humanity of the world. If he is not in the heart of a civilization, where is he? The great man, the harvester, the music-maker, the dreamer of dreams, where is he?

Almost every day I feel my heart go back to my own country, to the personal, the dreamer, the believer in God. I seek Him, and I want to go back to my own country. I have my school there. Do not think that it is an ordinary school. I enjoy the wealth of human relationship there. Those boys and girls, they are my children. There is something that is indescribable in that school. Our relationship is spiritual—and I may not merit it, but I know that they do reverence *Man* in my own person; not the schoolmaster, but something higher than that. It is not superstition. In the East we believe in personality which is above all things.

You fight against evil, and that is a great thing. I often think you should come to help us fight all those difficulties, those material evils, from which we suffer. We have been praying for centuries, that the West would really come to us, that their chivalry would help us in our trouble. We are unfortunate. We have much need, for our injuries are great. We had formerly our own system of education—that has vanished. We had our industries to help to eke out the income of those dependent upon agriculture for their livelihood, but all those industries have vanished like the autumn leaves. And we pray that the West would come to us as a member of a common humanity. We claim it from you who have wealth

which is overflowing, and we are in the direst and deepest shadow of poverty and distress on our side of the world.

GANDHIJI'S SPIRITUAL POWER.

We have been waiting for the Person. Such a personality as we see in Mahatma Gandhi (applause). It is only possible in the East for such a man to become a great personality. He has neither physical nor material power, but through his great influence people who have been in subjection to all kinds of tyrannical power have stood up; and he is the strongest spiritual power in this world to-day. Not because of his political prudence, but for his spiritual influence the people believe in him, and they are ready to die for their faith. They are ready to suffer. It is a miracle that these people, downtrodden for centuries, are coming out, and without doing any injury to others, they suffer and through suffering, conquer.

And our women,—only the other day they were secluded in their own inner apartments—they have come out to follow this man, this leader. Not an association, not an organization, not a politician, but a Man! And his message goes deep into our veins. He attacks the enemies that are within us. Not like the political machinery which you have that attacks from the outside and that tries to work through the external. But he attacks the inner man. They believe in him, in this man who is not a Brahmin, for he belongs to a class of money-makers who have been despised for centuries.

PERSONALITY IN HUMAN HISTORY.

When times were dark, there came a Man in other days to people who were seeking salvation, emancipation from evil. He came to their door. The babe who was born centuries ago, brought exaltation to man. Not machinery, not association, not organizations, but a human babe, and people were amazed. And when all the machinery will be rusted, he will live.

I have felt that the civilization of the West to-day has its law and order, but no personality. It has come to the perfec-

tion of a mechanical order but what is there to humanize it? It is the Person who is in the heart of all beings. When you follow the atoms, you come to something which has no form, no color. It is all abstraction; it is reduced to some mathematical formulæ. But Personality goes beyond the heart of these atoms. I have seen, I have known it within me, in the depths of my feeling. And I know that only when you come to Him will there be peace.

[Mr. Novik said: "The Poet feels that he has given his message to us. I wondered as I sat here what he would feel from this audience if each one of us were able to speak to him and to tell him what his message has meant to us. Probably for many of us there will be new inspiration in our individual living. After all, what we shall be as persons depends not upon chance but upon ourselves. And I think new inspiration has come to us in these moments.

"And may be as he goes back to the East, he will carry our message to India, our hope that the day is not far distant when the East and the West shall meet indeed, when each may contribute to the common good of humanity."]

VEDIC INTERPRETATION AND TRADITION*

By VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

॥ श्रीः ॥

॥ नमो वेदविदे च वेदान्तकृते च ॥

॥ नमः परमर्षिभ्यो वेदविद्याप्रवतंकेभ्यः ॥

॥ नमः श्रोतुजनेभ्यश्च सुहृज्जनेभ्यश्च ॥

In this paper I have approached some of the fundamental problems in the interpretation of the Veda with special reference to those who hold it as an inspired and a sacred heritage, and find it a great source of peace and happiness in their lives.

Let me begin with a short apologue which has been handed down by the Rishis :

विद्या ह वै ब्राह्मणमाजगाम ।

गोपाय मा शेवधिस्तेऽहमस्मि ॥

—*Samhitopaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, 3.

‘Verily Vidyā (the Vedic Lore) approached the Brahman thus :
“Protect me, I am your treasure.” ’

The Brahman realized it, and undertook to protect her. He was also duty-bound to do so, for he knew the old injunction : ‘When a man is born, he is born with a debt (to pay)—a debt to the Gods, a debt to the Rishis, and to the Fathers, and to Mankind.’ (SB, 1. 7. 2. 1 ; See TB, VI. 3. 10. 5). He must free himself of his debt to the Gods, the Rishis, as well as to the rest. So far as his other debts are concerned, the scriptures teach him how to repay them. His debt to the Rishis can only be repaid, as they declare, by becoming their ‘Treasure-warden’ (*nidhi-gopa*), by protecting the treasure ; in plain words, by continuing the study of the Veda.

*Presidential Address in the Vedic Section of the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference. Patna, December, 1930.

Whatever might be our attitude towards life and culture, it has got to be admitted that the Veda is really a treasure, a treasure not only for the Brahman, but also for the humanity at large, a most precious inheritance of the past. And it is specially so for us Indians, as it is the ultimate source, directly or indirectly, of whatever we have thought about and striven for the peace and happiness of man and the universe during the whole course of our existence as a people.

Let me, however, strike a note of warning, and I think that the ancient teachers will lend me their support when I do so. The treasure must not be confounded with its receptacle: we should know that the *ādhāra* is generally of a different material and character from the *ādheya*. The gems of truth are ensconced in the entire mass of the Veda. The Greek proverb says that the part is greater than the whole. Yet the *whole* has its value and its justification—as a fact of history and as an influence on life when it is an influence. Human Society is a chequered pattern, and we have wise men and foolish men, we have saints as well as sinners. What we may be tempted to regard as useless may have its use with others. And we must take note of it.

Be that as it may, I was telling you the story of Vidyā. Let me continue it. The Brahman undertook to protect her. But has he done so? If so, how far has he succeeded? Did the Vedic tradition remain unbroken? If it did not, how long then did it continue? I want to tell you another story. Fifty years ago it was first told by Max Müller in one of his Hibbert Lectures,¹ and I think it is worth repeating, even though it may be a little long.

"These men," continues the great savant referring to the Brahmans of his time, "and I know it as a fact, know the whole of Rig-Veda by heart, just as their ancestors did, three or four thousand years ago; and though they have MSS., and though they now have a printed text, they do not learn their sacred lore from them. They learn it, as their ancestors learnt it, thousands of years ago, from the mouth of a teacher, so that the Vedic succession should never be broken. The oral teaching and learning became in eyes of the Brahmans one of the 'Great Sacrifices'.....I have had visits from natives who knew large portions of the Veda by heart; I have been in correspondence with others who, when they were twelve or

¹ *Collected Works of Max Müller*, Lectures on the Origin of Religion, Longmans, Green & Co., 1898, pp. 132 ff.

fifteen years old, could repeat the whole of it.² They learn a few lines every day, repeat them for hours, so that the whole house resounds with the noise and they thus strengthen their memory to that degree, that when their apprenticeship is finished, you can open them like a book ; and find any passage you like, any word, any accent. One native scholar, Shankar Pandurang, is at the present moment collecting various readings for my edition of the Rig-Veda, not from MSS., but from the oral tradition of the Vedic Śrotṛiyas. He writes on the 2nd March, 1877 ; 'I am collecting a few of our walking Rig-Veda MSS., taking your text as the basis. I find a good many differences which I shall soon be able to examine more closely, when I may be able to say whether they are various readings or not. As I write a Vedic scholar is going over your Rig-Veda text. He has his own MSS. on one side, but does not open it, except occasionally. He knows the whole Samhitā and Pada text by heart. I wish I could send you his photograph, how he is squatting in my tent with his Upavīta (the Sacred Cord) round his shoulder, and only a Dhoti round his middle, not a bad specimen of our old Rishis'.

"And though it may have sounded to some of you like a fairy-tale, believe me, it is truer in all its details than many a chapter of contemporary history."

This story depicts the condition of the Vedic studies by the Brahman fifty years back ; and I can tell you that even at the present time you will find, mostly in the South, such half-naked Brahmans (their race—a race of giants—is, alas, declining every day), repeating the sacred hymns handed down to them from generation to generation and saying those prayers which were first uttered thousands of years ago on the banks of the Sarasvatī or some other sacred river by Rishis like Vasiṣṭha or Viśvāmitra—the Rishis who stand at the head of Indian Culture, but who in the hands of unsympathetic though "ingenius and judicious" experts on Indian culture received, together with their gods, the sobriquet of "barbarians".

You are now to draw your own conclusion as to whether the Vedic succession or tradition was completely broken at the time of Yāska, or of Sāyaṇa, or whether it continued unimpaired down to a generation back, —since when, owing to altering conditions and ideas of life, it has suffered a

² *Indian Antiquary*, 1878, p. 40 : 'There are thousands of Brahmans' the editor remarks, 'who know the whole of the Rig-Veda by heart and can repeat it.'

check; and it was lucky that we could save some of it through the printing press.

Here naturally arises a question. The request of Vidyā to the Brahman was for her protection. This certainly did not mean protection of only the text in which she was enshrined, but also of the interpretation in which dwells her soul. For the Brahman was enjoined not only to read, but also to understand the Veda (*adhyeyo jñeyas ca*), without looking forward to any earthly reward for it (*niṣkāraṇa*).

Now, so far as the text is concerned, it has been universally accepted as having been preserved intact. The Brahman here has performed his task to perfection. But what about the interpretation?

In order to understand the situation in the matter of the correct interpretation of the Veda-vidyā—the interpretation which was intended by the Rishi to whom the *mantra* was revealed—let us take note of the difficulties from the case of a living poet and his composition. We have here a living poet of world-wide fame, Rabindranath Tagore. Let us take one of his best known mystic poems, approach some of our best scholars and cultured men who have the requisite training in and feel for literature and are teachers of the subject, and ask them individually to interpret that particular poem. And what shall we see? We shall see that *nāsau munir yasya matam na bhinnam*; there may be partial agreement here and there, there will never be entire agreement; in fact, there will sure to be some disagreement. And yet it may be that none of the interpretations proposed by these eminent scholars is the right interpretation, that is, the interpretation which the poet himself had in his mind when he composed it. Supposing that these scholars and experts in literature went on in their own way, and each taught his own particular interpretation to his group of pupils, and these latter in their turn also taught their own pupils the interpretation received from their masters, we would have a series of traditional interpretations, each equally old. How can a man of a future generation judge these various traditions, or one tradition, as correct? How can it be maintained that the interpretation first offered by those prominent teachers was the right interpretation, simply because these teachers were eminent men, or because they were contemporaneous with the poet himself, or were associated with him?

A poet does not necessarily interpret his own poem, for he is not bound to do so; nor is it his business. He composes a poem and there

ends his work. But he may give his interpretation if he pleases. Now, let us again think over another aspect of the question. Supposing that the poet explains at a time one of his poems to a particular individual. The latter perhaps does not fully comprehend, or comprehends the explanation fully, but does not remember the whole of it, and without any consideration of the fact of his forgetfulness he starts to explain the poem to the group around him, and from the group begins a school of tradition. Here we may ask a question: Will it be right to think that one who has received this tradition is justified in claiming that *his* is the right interpretation, because the line of succession he belongs to is directly connected with the composer of the poem? Will it be reasonable to hold that the direct connection with the author of the poem is itself a sufficient ground for the genuineness of the interpretation given to it?

There can be another situation to make the whole question further complicated. It may be that the poet himself explains one of his difficult poems to a person of superior culture, intelligence, and memory. This person retains the explanation perfectly well and hands it over to a second man, and the second man to a third man, and in this way another line of tradition grows up. But facts relating to the origin of this tradition, that it goes back to the poet himself and has been transmitted unimpaired, remain unknown. This interpretation, the only *right* one, is not noted down in any book for some generations, though passed traditionally, and then a late writer offers it, without mentioning its credentials. How are we to discriminate the genuineness of the tradition in a case like this?

Situations like the above are possible with a living poet; in fact, some of these cases have actually happened with the works of Rabindranath himself. It is quite conceivable that in the case of a Vedic poet, to whom a particular *mantra* was revealed or by whom it was 'visioned' (*dṛṣṭa*) thousands of years back, similar things have happened.

The difficulty of discrimination in this matter seems to have been noticed or anticipated even by a poet in the Rig-Veda itself (X.71.4), when he says:

उत त्वः पश्यन्न ददर्श वाच-

मुत त्वः शृण्वन्न शृणोत्येनाम् ।

'Even while seeing, one does not see Speech ; even while hearing, one does not hear it.'

And it is also quite clear from Yāska's observation (I.20) to the effect that there were Rishis who had intuitive insight into *dharma* (*sākṣātkṛta-dharman*), but the teachers of a subsequent age lost that intuition. And these later teachers who, according to a commentator, may be described as *śrutarṣis*, i.e., sages who derived their wisdom not directly as the earlier sages did, but from others, declined in the power of communicating instruction. This is quite natural on account of impermanence of human knowledge (*puruṣavidyānityatvāt*), as Yāska would express it.

This lowering of the high intellectual position, as time went on, brought in new view-points and new interpretations. And I may refer you, for instance, to the mystic hymn called *Asyavāmīya* in the Rig-Veda (I.164). It is found there, as you all know, how some of its stanzas have been interpreted in different ways in the commentary of Sāyaṇa. It is well-known that Sāyaṇa is not the author of *all* these interpretations, as it can very clearly be shown that in a number of cases his variant interpretations were current in the country hundreds of years before him. Let us take, as an example, the following stanza (32) of the same hymn :

य ईं चकार न सो अस्य वेद
य ईं ददर्श हिरुगिन्नु तस्मात् ।
स मातुर्योना पखीतो अन्त-
र्बहुप्रजा निर्ऋतिमा विवेश ॥

'He who made him knows not of him; [he is] verily out of sight now of him who saw him; he, enveloped within his mother's womb, with numerous progeny, entered into *nirṛti*'.¹

It is to be noted that the word *nirṛti* in the fourth line of the stanza has two meanings, 'calamity' and 'earth'. Now, what does the *mantra* mean? The opinion is divided. Some say, it implies that one having a number of children falls into calamity; while others are of opinion that it refers to the phenomenon of rain (*varṣakarman*). The former are the Parivrājakas or wandering religious mendicants, while the later are the Nairuktas or scholiasts. And both the views are mentioned by Yāska in his *Nirukta*, II.8.

Here is another mystic *mantra* from the Rig-Veda, IV.58.3 :

¹ Whitney AV. Tr., IX.10.10, slightly modified.

चत्वारि शृङ्गा त्रयो अस्य पादा
 द्वे शीर्षे सप्त हस्तासो अस्य ।
 त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो ररवीति
 महा देवो मर्त्या आ विवेश ॥

'Four are his horns, three are his feet; his heads are two, and his hands are seven. Bound with a triple bond, the strong one (or the showerer of bounties) roars loudly; the great god enters into mortals'.¹

Who is that great god? Some say, according to the *Nirukta-pariśiṣṭa*, XIII. 7, he is *yajña*. The four horns are with reference to it four Vedas; the three feet are the three *savanas* or pressing out of *soma*-juice at the three periods of the day; the two heads are the two libations, introductory and concluding; the seven hands are the seven metres; 'bound with a triple bond' refers to three-fold scripture, *Mantra*, *Brāhmaṇa*, and *Kalpa*.

Others say, the great god is the sun: the four horns are the four directions or cardinal points (*diś*); three feet are the three Vedas (as, according to the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇ*, III.12.9.1., the movement of the sun is connected with the three Vedas: *Vedair aśūnyas tribhir eti sūryaḥ*); the two heads are the day and night; the seven hands are the seven rays of the sun; 'bound with a triple bond' refers either to the three regions (terrestrial, atmospheric, and celestial), or to the three seasons (hot, rainy, and winter).

I want to refer you to one more explanation of the above passage which the great Patañjali, the commentator of Pāṇini (1.1.1.) gives. He explains it with reference to speech (*śabda*) from the point of view of the grammarians. He says that the great god is speech; the four horns are the four kinds of the words, *viz.*, noun (*nāman*), verb (*ākhyāta*), preposition (*uḥsarga*), and particle (*niḥpāta*); the three feet are the three times, present, past, and future; the two heads are the two forms of speech, eternal and artificial; the seven hands are seven case-endings (*vibhaktis*); the triple bond signifies the connection of a word when it is uttered with the three parts of the body, the chest, the throat, and the head.

And if you want to know the observation of Sāyaṇācārya, he would tell you that other explanations are also possible here.

¹ Griffith (modified).

I should like to quote here one more *mantra* from the same *Asyavāmīya Sūkta* (RV, I.164.45):

चत्वारि वाक् परिमिता पदानि
तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः ।
गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेङ्गयन्ति
तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति ॥

'Speech hath been measured out in four divisions: the Brahmins who have understanding know them. Three kept in close concealment, they do not move. Of speech men speak only the fourth division.'¹

Now, what are these four divisions of speech? Look into the *Supplement to the Nirukta* (XIII. 9), and into Sāyaṇa, and you will find not less than seven interpretations, according to different schools, to one of which belongs the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, Patañjali, explaining the stanza himself (I. 1. 1.).

Apart from the explanation of different Vedic passages great divergency is found also with regard to particular points; for instance, the identity of the *Aśvins*—a question which is still being discussed. Yāska himself raises it and gives his answer (XII.1): "But who are the *Aśvins*? Some say 'heaven and earth'; 'day and night' say others; while others say, they are the sun and the moon. But according to the *Aitiḥāsikas*, they are virtuous kings."

Not less than eight or nine schools of older expounders of the Veda, such as the Yājñikas, the Vaiyākaraṇas, the Naidānas, the Parivrājakas, the Nairuktas, and so on, are mentioned by Yāska, besides more than one and half a dozen of teachers holding different views with regard to particular points in the Vedic texts.

There is no reason to think that the interpretations offered by them are always without authority. For instance, the identity of the *Aśvins* with heaven and earth referred to above is actually found in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IV. 1. 5. 16; and it may be noted that the derivation of the word *Aśvin* as given by Yāska is also fully supported by the same passage of that work.

Many interpretations, whether right or wrong, reasonable or fanciful, which are found in the *Nirukta*, are based on some passage or passages

¹ Griffith (modified).

in a *Brāhmaṇa*. For instance, one may be referred to the derivation of the word *Vṛtra* (*Nirukta*, II. 17). It is also to be noted that in *Brāhmaṇas*, too, the same diverse explanations also occur.

All the above explanations, in their bewildering diversity, are traditional ones. But here arises a question: Are all of them without exception true explanations, simply because they are traditional? The true explanation that intended by the author or the Rishi himself can only be one. The doctrine of Bādarāyaṇa's *Brahmasūtras* can only be one, and this may be either *dvaita*, or *advaita*, or *viśiṣṭādvaita*, or *dvaitādvaita*, or something else; but in no case it can be equally all of them. One may, however, try to find out a conclusion that may somehow or other reconcile all the different views. But can one say that this reconciliation, or *samanvaya*, was intended by Bādarāyaṇa himself? It may or may not be so, but there is no way to find it out. All that can be said with certainty in this connection is that this attempt at reconciling the conflicting schools is the aim more of the scholars who are for this reconciliation than of Bādarāyaṇa himself. But we are not concerned with it, we want to know what the original author himself actually intended to say. But is it possible to do so under the circumstances described above? It is exceedingly unlikely that that can be done; but nevertheless, we should try to get as near to the truth as possible.

Here the Nairuktas offer us something to go by. Having explained one of the stanzas of that mystic hymn, the *Aśvavāmīya Sūkta*, already referred to (RV. I. 164.39), in three different ways, viz., with reference to *devatā*, to *yajña*, and to *ātman*, the author of the *Supplement to Nirukta* (XIII.11) observes:

अयं मन्त्रार्थान्मूहोऽभ्यूहोऽपि श्रुतितोऽपि तर्कतः ।

'This reflective deduction of the sense of the hymns is effected by the help of oral tradition as well as reasoning.'

न तु पृथक्तेन मन्त्रा निर्वक्तव्याः । प्रकरणश एव निर्वक्तव्याः ।

'The hymns are not to be interpreted as isolated texts, but according to their context.'

न होषु प्रत्यक्षमस्त्यनृषेरतपसो वा ।

'For, a person, who is not a Rishi, or who is without severe meditation, has no intuitive insight into them (*mantras*).'

पारोर्ध्ववित्सु तु खलु वेदितृषु भूयोविद्यः प्रशस्यो भवतीत्युक्तं पुरस्तात् ।

'It has already been said (*Nirukta* I. 16) that among those who are versed in tradition, he who is most learned deserves special commendation.'¹

The author then proceeds to show the importance of reasoning in the following passage quoted from a Brāhmaṇa :

मनुष्या वा ऋषिषूक्तामत्सु देवानब्रुवन् को न ऋषिर्भविष्यतीति । तेभ्य एतं तर्कमृषिं प्रायच्छन् मन्त्रार्थचिन्ताभ्यूहमभ्यूढम् । तस्माद् यदेव किञ्चानूचानोऽभ्यूहत्याषं तद् भवति ।

'Verily when the Rishis were passing away, men inquired of the gods, "Who shall be our Rishi?" They gave them this science of reasoning as Rishi (*tarkam ṛṣim*)² for consideration of the sense of the hymns. Therefore whatever is decided by a man well-versed in the Veda becomes *ārṣa* or derived from a Rishi.'

It is then clear from the above that in order to understand the significance of the Veda our traditional method regards these three things as essential : (1) *śruti*, oral tradition from the mouth of a competent *Ācārya*, or from repositories of traditions, such as the *Brāhmaṇas* ; (2) *tarka* or reasoning ; and (3) *tapas* ; which I think ought to be translated in such cases, as Muir has already done, as 'severe meditation.'³ Of course, it is understood that the essential preparatory knowledge of the six *Vedāṅgas* or supplementary Veda sciences (*viz.*, phonetics, grammar, science of language, metrics, astronomy, and ritual), have been already acquired.

The above method will meet with the fullest approval of the modern 'scientific' investigator, who has practically nothing more to add, excepting a study of the culture of the age from a historical and comparative

¹ Translations mostly by Muir

² This reminds one of the following words of the Buddha in the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* (VI. 1) : 'Now the Exalted one addressed the venerable Ānanda and said : It may be Ānanda that in some of you the thought may arise "The word of the Master is ended, we have no Teacher more!..... The Truths and the Rules of the Order, which I have set forth and laid down for you all, let them, after I am gone, be the Teacher of you".' We may also recall the story of the last Sikh Guru Govind Singh declaring that after his demise the Sikhs will have to obey the Granth Sāhib as their *Guru*.

³ In support of it the following may be quoted from the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* (I. 1 9) : *Yasya jñānamayaṁ tapaḥ*. See Śaṅkara on the *Praśnopaniṣad*, I. 4. Cf. the sense of *atīkṣata* in the *Chāndogya Up.* VI. 2. 3.

standpoint. This includes the findings of Comparative Philology, Anthropology, Archaeology, Sociology and other human sciences.

The study and research proposed by the six *Vedāṅgas*, for instance, have been worked out in greater detail and with the help of modern appliances by Western scholars; and for this we ought to show our cordial appreciation as fellow-workers in a common field.

We have seen how great was the divergency among the teachers with regard to the Vedic interpretations. But this is a fact not exclusively peculiar to the Veda. The case is the same in all times and in all lands, in all the various branches of science. This diversity of explanations makes the original meaning extremely obscure, no doubt, but does it not also imply the growth and development of the science through the centuries? Growth and development are a sign of Life, and the ever-growing variety of expositions proposed by the different scholars and traditions indicates that the mind of the Brahman who took upon himself to protect the Vidyā has remained alert and active,—although it may be argued that the Vidyā has not been preserved in her original form everywhere, and that her proper form has been overlaid by later additions and possibly decorations. This sort of change is unavoidable, for change is the law of Life. But although the outward body changes, the inner being remains the same; only we shall have to strive to find it out in its proper form. Moreover, we must remember that great or noteworthy discrepancies occur with regard to a comparatively small number of hymns, while it can safely be asserted that there is complete agreement in most of the other cases. However, the net fact remains that there has been an unbroken series of commentators and exegesists from Yāska downwards. I may quote here the conclusion which Dr. Lakshman Sarup has arrived at (*Indices and Appendices to Nirukta*, Intro: pp. 75-76): 'It will also show that there have been numerous Pre-Sāyaṇa commentators of the Ṛg and other Vedas and an unbroken, uniform and continuous tradition of Vedic interpretation has been a common inheritance of the orthodox scholars. The current belief that Sāyaṇa is the only or the most important commentator after Yāska or that the tradition of Vedic interpretation was lost before the former's time is erroneous.' Other scholars like Professor Bhagavad Datta have come to the same conclusion from a study of both available commentaries and incomplete fragments.

With regard to the tradition I should like to put before you the following fact also. According to the Vedantists there are three courses

(*prasthāna-traya*) for ascertaining the meaning of Vedānta, viz., the *śruti-prasthāna* or the Course of the Vedic Texts, the *smṛti-prasthāna* or the Course of Tradition, and the *sūtra-prasthāna* or the Course of the Aphorisms (of Bādarāyaṇa). It follows from it that sometimes when the true meaning of a certain Vedantic text cannot be ascertained with the help of either *śruti* or *sūtra* it can be done with the help of the *smṛti*. And as such the *smṛti* cannot be neglected. And, I may suggest, this *smṛti-prasthāna* may be applied in the case of some of the Vedic texts, too, with conspicuous results. For instance, we read in the *Vājasaneyisaṃhitā*, IX.2 (*Īśopaniṣad* 2):

कुर्वन्नेवेह कर्माणि जिजीविषेच्छतं समाः ।

एवं त्वयि नान्यथेतोऽस्ति न कर्म लिप्यते नरे ॥

‘It is only performing karmas that one should desire to live here a hundred years. Thus it is in thee, and not otherwise than this. Karma does not affect (*lipyate*, √ *lip*) a man.’

Where is the explanation of this verse? Does it not remind one of the following couplet of the *smṛti*, the *Bhagavad-gītā* (IV. 14) together with the whole philosophy of karma expounded there?

न मां कर्माणि लिम्पन्ति न मे कर्मफले स्पृहा ।

इति मां योऽभिजानाति कर्मभिर्न स बध्यते ॥

‘Karmas do not affect (*limpanti*, √ *lip*) me, nor have I any desire for the consequence of a karma. He who thus knoweth me is not bound by karmas.’

Let me take another example. The following stanza occurs in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, IV.4.7, as well as in the *Kaṭha Up.*, VI.14:

यदा सर्वे प्रमुच्यन्ते कामा येऽस्य हृदि स्थिताः

अथ मर्त्योऽमृतो भवत्यत्र ब्रह्म समश्नुते ॥

‘When all the desires cease which were cherished in his heart, then the mortal becomes immortal, then here he attains to Brahman.’

Where do we get the fullest interpretation of it? Is it not the same *smṛti*, the *Bhagavad-gītā*, which having thoroughly discussed the topic repeats the same truth only in different words (II.71)?

विहाय कामान् यः सर्वान् पुमांश्चरति निःस्पृहः ।

निर्ममो निरहङ्कारः स शान्तिमधिगच्छति ॥

‘Whoso forsakes all desires and moves about free from yearnings and from the notion of ‘I am’ and ‘It is mine,’ he attains to peace.’

Or let us consider again. Is it not that the same truth ‘there is only one without the second’ which has found expression in Vedic texts,¹ has again appeared through the Upaniṣad in a much later work, the *Durgā-saptasatī* (included in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*) in the following couplet?

एकैवाहं जगत्यत्र द्वितीया का ममापरा ।

पश्येता दुष्ट मय्येव विशन्ति मद्भिभूतयः ॥

‘I am only one in the universe. Who is other than me that can be regarded as second? See, O villain, my manifestations are entering into me.’

Here in the *smṛti* we have either a later development or expansion of an idea already expressed in the Veda ; or it may be that the *smṛti* passages only enshrine a traditional interpretation of the Vedic passages.

This traditional relation between the Vedic and post-Vedic literatures is only too apparent to require any further discussion. The point is that the Purāṇas, Dharmasāstras, and other *smṛtis* frequently help us in elucidating the Veda, and as such they are always deserving of respectful attention as repository of tradition,—they should much less be ignored, as is unfortunately the case in certain quarters among Vedic scholars both in India and in Europe. This is just like the later classical Sanskrit itself, with all its non-Vedic and so-called artificial character (which has earned for it the contumely of Veda-enthusiasts in Europe), helping a great deal in understanding at least to some extent the general sense of a Vedic text. Just as we acknowledge the common basis of both Vedic and classical Sanskrit, we should be equally alive to the common back-ground of both the Veda and the later literature. We may illustrate the point by a few instances. Even such popular works like the *Amarakośa* which are read in our Sanskrit Pāṭhāśālās by tender boys in their first year of Sanskrit give the meanings of a great number of Vedic words, though at times the original senses of some of them are found to have been modified. A

¹ For example, ‘There is only one Rudra and no second’—TS. I. 8.6.1 ; ‘The wise say one in various ways.’—RV. I. 164.46.

young Sanskrit scholar of even seven or eight (wherever the traditional method is followed), if asked, will at once reply that the Vedic words *Marutvat* 'accompanied by Maruts,' *Śakra* 'mighty,' *Śacīpati* 'lord of might,' *Satakratu* 'having a hundred powers,' *Vṛtrahan* 'Vṛtra-slayer,' *Purandara* for the actual word *Pūrbhid* 'fort-shatterer,' and *Vajrabhṛt* 'bearing the bolt,' mean Indra. He will at once tell you that *Vaiśvānara*, *Jātavedas*, *Tanūnapāt*, and *Āśuśukṣaṇi*, all used in the Rig-Veda, are nothing but Agni 'fire'; and *Mātariśvān* is Vāyu. Multiplication of instances is not needed. Here we have but a partial preservation of the Vedic tradition through school lexicons.

En passant I may mention here the views of the Mīmāṃsakas who may be included among the Yājñikas already referred to in connection with Vedic interpretation. I shall quote here only two passages from the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* illustrating the methods of the Mīmāṃsakas in interpreting the Veda. They certainly represent an old tradition and as such are entitled to the respect which Sāyaṇācārya and others are given. The first of them runs (TS.II.1.1.4.):

प्रजापतिर्वा इदमेक आसीत् । सोऽकामयत प्रजाः पशून् सृजेयेति । स
आत्मनो वषामुद्विषदत् । तामग्नौ प्रागृह्णात् । ततोऽजस्तूपरः समभवत् । तं
स्वार्थं देवताया आलभत । ततो वै सः प्रजाः पशून्सृजत् ॥

'Verily here was Prajāpati alone. He desired: "May I create offspring and cattle." He took out (from his body) his omentum (*vapā*), and placed it in the fire. From that the hornless goat came into being. He offered it to its own deity. Then did he create offspring and cattle.'

This is explained as myth (possibly in his anxiety to establish an eternal connection between a word and its meaning) by Śaṅkarasvāmīn in his commentary on the *Mīmāṃsā-darśana*, I.1.10. He says that Prajāpati may refer here to an eternal object: (i) air, (ii) the sky, or (iii) the sun; the omentum may mean (i) rain, (ii) wind, or (iii) the rays of the sun; the fire implies (i) the fire of lightning (*vaidyuta*), or (ii) of the rays (*ārciṣa*), or (iii) of the terrestrial fire (*pārthiva*); and the word *aja* taken to mean 'a goat' signifies here (i) food (*anna*), or seed (*bija*), or plant (*virudh*).

And here is the second passage (TS.VII.1.10. 2-3):

बभूवः प्रावाहणिरकामयत वाचः प्रवदिता स्यामिति ।

The plain meaning is that Babara, a descendant of Pravāhaṇa desired that he might be a speaker of speech. But Śābarasvāmin (I.1.31.) would explain it saying that there is no man known as Pravāhaṇa. Therefore there cannot be his descendant Prāvāhaṇi. The word is derived from *pra*+√*vah*+*i*, the suffix *i* is used to mean both a descendant as well as an agent ; thus any eternal object that makes one carry on a work is *Prāvāhaṇi*. And *Babara* is an onomatopoeic word.

I am speaking of the interpretations, and in this connection it seems to me that if we follow some of the remarks of Yāska, many an unexplained myth or allusion, and many a mystic or obscure, or doubtful passage will become perfectly clear. The following occurs in the Rig-Veda (X.51.9) :

तव प्रयाजा अनुयाजाश्च केवल
ऊर्जस्वन्तो हविषः सन्तु भागाः ।
तवाग्ने यज्ञोऽयमस्तु सर्व-
स्तुभ्यं नमन्तां प्रदिशश्चतस्रः ॥

'The introductory and the concluding oblations are entirely thine; let the juicy portions of the offerings be thine. Let this whole sacrifice be thine, O Agni, and let the four quarters bow before thee.'

Here it is quite clear that the introductory and concluding oblations belong to the deity, Agni. There can in no way be any doubt of it. Yet there are not less than six passages in different Brāhmaṇas referring to the above verse, of which only one says that the deity here is Agni, while according to the rest the deity concerned is *chandasa* (metre), or *ṛtu* (season), or *paśu* (cattle), or *prāṇa* (breath), or *ātman* (soul). But why is here such wide difference? Is it due to the ignorance of the authors of the Brāhmaṇas? Yāska finds here a solution. And this solution proposed by him involves a fundamental principle in approaching Vedic passages of a similar character. He is quite right when he observes (VII.24) :

बहुभक्तिवादीनि ब्राह्मणानि भवन्ति ।

It means that the Brāhmaṇas have a great deal of *bhakti-vāda*. But what is *bhakti-vāda*? Here *bhakti* is *bhāga* 'part' or 'portion' (cf. *bhakti* in *svara-bhakti*), and *vāda* 'statement' ; thus *bhakti-vāda* literally means 'a

statement of a part,' i.e., 'a statement only of a part of a thing and not of the whole of it.' For instance, if it is said *siṃho māṇavakaḥ* 'the lad is a lion,' it is to be understood that the lad is, so to say, *partly* a lion ; in other words, the lad has a *bhakti* or *bhāga*, i.e., 'part' of a lion, e.g., the bravery of a lion. The later word for *bhakti-vāda* is *guṇa-vāda* 'statement of quality,' generally translated by 'statement meant figuratively.' In the same example, 'the lad is a lion,' the speaker wants to express that the lad has the quality (*guṇa*), i.e., bravery, of a lion. Here both the lad and the lion having the common quality, bravery, are identified. In explaining *bhakti-vāda*, Durgācārya observes :

भक्तिर्नाम गुणकल्पना । येन केनचिद् गुणेन ब्राह्मणं सर्वं सर्वथा वर्णयति ।
तत्र तत्तुमन्वेष्यम् ।

'*Bhakti* means imagination (or consideration) of quality by which a Brāhmaṇa describes all things in all kinds of ways. But the truth must be investigated there.'

Yāska gives here an example from a Brāhmaṇa: "The earth is Vaiśvānara, the year is Vaiśvānara, the Brahman is Vaiśvānara.' Here the author must have found some common quality (*sāmānya guṇa*) of the earth, etc., and Vaiśvānara, owing to which there is this identification. But what is that *guṇa*, or common *guṇa*? It is for the reader to find it out, if he can.

Now, with regard to those introductory and concluding oblations, Yāska remarks that it is the fixed decision (*sthiti*) that they belong to Agni. But what about the different statements of the Brāhmaṇas? It is mere *bhakti*, i.e., with reference to some common quality participated in both by Agni on the one hand and by *chandasa*, or *ṛtu*, or *paśu*, or *prāṇa*, or *ātman* on the other.

In this way such identification as that of sacrifice (*yajña*) with Viṣṇu, or with Prajāpati; or that of the year with Prajāpati, or Agni; or that of Agni with Prajāpati, and so on, becomes intelligible through *bhakti*. And this common quality may be more inherent or imaginary than apparent or real.

The following stanza of the previously discussed *Asyavāmīya sūkta* of the Rig-Veda (I.164.46) is well-known to you all :

इन्द्रं मित्रं वरुणमग्निमाहु-
 रथो दिव्यः स सुपर्णो गरुत्मान् ।
 एकं सखिप्रा बहुधा वदन्-
 न्त्यग्निं यमं मातरिवानमाहुः ॥

'They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, and Agni; and he is divine Garutmat with beautiful wings. The sages speak of that which is one in various ways: they call it Agni, Yama, and Mātariśvan.'

And similar statements in the same Veda are not wanting. For instance, we read (X.114.5) :

सुपर्णं विप्राः कवयो वचोभि-
 रेकं सन्तं बहुधा कल्पयन्ति ।

'The wise poets describe by their words in various ways the bird (Suparṇa) who is one.'

Yāska taking his stand on such ideas of the Rishis observes (VII. 4) 'on account of the supereminence of the deity (*māhābhāgyād devatāyāḥ*) a single soul (*eka ātmā*) is praised in various ways (*bahudhā stūyate*).'

This view has been given expression in the Upaniṣads and other religious literature of the country. Thus there is no inconsistency with the Brāhmaṇa saying to the effect that Agni is all the deities (KB, XXV. I. 9; AB, V. 16), although, in fact, there is a great number of deities mentioned in the Mantras and the Brāhmaṇas.

Passages like the above are clear indications of the fundamentally monistic character of the Vedic religion. Whenever we have the temptation of laying too much stress on the 'polytheism' of the Veda, we ought to think of the above and similar passage in the Brāhmaṇas and in Yāska and other old commentators.

I want to refer you to one more remark of Yāska. In the Rig-Veda (I. 89. 10) we have the following verse :

अदितिर्नोरदितिरन्तरिक्ष-
 मदितिर्माता स पिता स पुत्रः ।
 विश्वे देवा अदितिः पञ्च जना
 अदितिर्जातमदितिर्जनित्वम् ॥

'Aditi is heaven, Aditi is atmosphere, Aditi is the mother, she is the father, and she is the son. Aditi is all deities, Āditi five-classed men, Aditi all that hath been born, and Aditi all that shall be born.'

How is it that one is the heaven as well as the atmosphere? How is it that the same person is the father, the mother; and also the son? It would look very inconsistent. But let us hear what Yāska has to say in this connection. He says (I. 16) that such a statement is found also in ordinary speech (*laukikeṣv apy etat*). For example, one having drunk water says 'I have got all kinds of flavour (*sarvarasā anuprāptāḥ pānīyam*). And he finally concludes (IV. 23), saying that the *vibhūti* (multifarious manifestation) of Aditi is mentioned here; Yāska has rightly caught the spirit of the verse quoted above which is to extol the greatness of the deity, Aditi.

If one takes such passages as the following (Atharva-Veda, X.10.26.34) which extol the cow (*vaśā*), in that line, there will remain nothing to complain of :

वशामेवामृतमाहुर्वशां मृत्युमुपासते ।

वशेदं सर्वमभवद् देवा मनुष्या असुराः पितर ऋषयः ॥

वशां देवा उपजीवन्ति वशां मनुष्या उत ।

वशेदं सर्वमभवद् यावत् सूर्यो विपश्यति ॥

AV, X. 10. 26, 34.

'It is cow alone that they call immortality; they worship cow as death; the cow becomes this all—gods, men, Asuras, Fathers, and Seers.'

'On the cow the gods subsist; on the cow, men also; the cow becomes this all; so far as the sun looks around.'¹

Such is, then, the rôle which *bhakti-vāda* plays, not only in the Brāhmaṇas, but also in the Mantras.

In interpreting the Veda, the findings of Indo-European Linguistics should in no way be neglected or under-estimated. But sometimes the philologist's zeal carries him away a little too far, and leads him into a morass of a series of possibilities which one should always guard against. I think Comparative Philology and Tradition should be taken as mutual correctives. Unfortunately, however, the tradition, though supported by strong reason, is sacrificed at the altar of an insecure linguistic speculation. Let me give an example, and in so doing I should like to raise before you an

¹ Whitney.

old question which has already been discussed by eminent scholars. I mean the question of phallus worship in the Vedas. The only argument advanced in support of it lies in the word *śiśnā-deva* used twice in the Rig-Veda (VII. 21. 5 ; X. 10.99). The traditional meaning of it is 'lustful' : both Yāska and Sāyaṇa explaining it by *abrahmacarya*. There is no ground whatsoever to reject it. The word *deva* is used here in the figurative sense, it signifying 'like a deva.' And it is supported by a number of words compounded with *deva* as the last member. The following four words are well-known : *mātr-deva*, *pitṛ-deva*, *ācārya-deva*, and *alithi-deva*. Will it be reasonable to hold that a father-worshipper, a mother-worshipper, a teacher-worshipper, and a guest-worshipper are meant here respectively? The word *pitṛ-deva* simply means 'a person to whom the father is just like a deva'. Accordingly, the sentence in the Taittirīya Up. I. II. *pitṛ-devo bhava* implies that the father is to be revered just like a god. The remaining words, too, are to be explained in the same way. And this view is taken by the great Śaṅkarācārya saying with regard to them : *devatāvad upāsya eta ity arthaḥ* : 'the meaning is, that they should be revered as gods'. Let us take another word of the same class, *śraddhā-deva* found in the Taittirīya-saṃhitā and in different Brāhmaṇas. What does it mean? The authors of the *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch* tell us, *Gott-vertrauend* 'trusting in god.' It can hardly be accepted, for the compound cannot be made after the manner of *bharad-vāja*, as in such cases the first member is a present participle. Nor can I understand how Egge-ling takes it (SB, I. 1. 4. 5.) to mean 'god-fearing'. The commentators generally explain it by *śraddhāvat* 'believing,' or *śraddhālu* 'disposed to believe'. The actual meaning is, however, shown by Sāyaṇa in his commentary on the TS, 7. 1. 8. 2, when he says : *śraddhā devo yasyāsau śraddhādevaḥ* : 'one whose *deva* (god) is *śraddhā* (trustfulness) is *śraddhā-deva*.' And then he adds : *yathā devatāyām ādaraś tathā śraddhāyām ity arthaḥ* : 'as towards god, so is the respect towards trustfulness.'

This interpretation then decides the case of *śiśnā-deva* implying a person who reverts his *śiśna* just like a god, or a man of lustful character, *abrahmacarya*, as Yāska would explain it.

The word in this sense may sound strange to a non-Indian reader, but Indians themselves are quite familiar with such expressions from the later Sanskrit literature. For instance, *śiśnodara-parāyaṇa*, which is the same as *śiśnodara-ṭṭp*, or *śiśnodaram-bhara*, all meaning nothing but 'one

addicted to lust and gluttony.' Mark here the use of *parāyaṇa*, literally meaning 'last resort or refuge,' as the second member of the first word. And compare its use in such words as *Nārāyaṇa-parāyaṇa* 'devoted to Nārāyaṇa', and *kāmakrodha-parāyaṇa* 'given over to lust and anger.'

It seems to me that sometimes too much importance is attached to modern philological interpretation utterly ignoring the traditional one. For instance, I may refer you to the well-known hymn to the so-called 'Unknown God,' RV, X. 121, with the refrain '*kāsmāi devāya havīṣā vidhema*'. It has been discussed from different points of view by a number of scholars. Some of them want to take here *kāsmāi* in the sense of 'to whom', as a form of the interrogative pronoun *ka* (or *kim*). I do not say that it can in no way be maintained. But I want to ask: What is the ground for rejecting the traditional meaning of the word here, which is Prajāpati? Why, as Sāyaṇa has done, *kāsmāi* is not to be construed supplying *tāsmāi*, as is often the case in the Rig-Veda¹ itself, when the relative pronoun *ya* (or *yad*) is used in the subordinate clause? That *ka* is identified with Prajāpati is found in different Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas. The main ground for this identification is, according to the Rishis of the Brāhmaṇas, that both the interrogative pronoun *ka* (or *kim*) and Prajāpati are *anirukta* 'not explained'; that is, as the interrogative pronoun means a thing or a person not known definitely, as 'this' and 'this-like' (*idam*, *īdṛk*), so is Prajāpati,—he cannot be described definitely, for such is his greatness. Considering the manner in which they express certain thoughts, as we have already seen in connection with the *bhakti-vāda*, this identification of *ka* with Prajāpati who is expressly mentioned in the last verse of the hymn seems quite natural and appropriate.

Too much reliance or emphasis on the derivative sense is a pitfall, especially when in a great many derivations we are still in a speculative stage. Let me give one or two examples. The following line occurs in the *Chāndogya Up.*, 4.17.10:

ब्रह्मैवेकं ऋत्विक् कुरुन्भवाभिरक्षति ।

Here the foremost scholars of the school of the philological interpretation, Böhtlingk and Roth, would not hesitate to explain *aśvā* saying *na-śvā*, *na* (or *a*) being taken in the sense of *sādrśya* 'likeness,' and thus the word meaning 'as a dog' ('wie ein Hund')! I suggest that *aśvā* here is only the instrumental singular of *aśva*.

¹ I. 85. 1, 4; VII. 36. 4, 6, 7; 39. 5; 88. 7; 91. 6; 104. 8.

Following the obviously literal sense, ignoring tradition which indicates the special meaning a word or expression comes to have, is equally dangerous. For instance Rahder, who knows not only Sanskrit, but also Tibetan, Chinese, and Mongolian, would translate (in the Introduction to his edition of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra*, in the *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. IV, p. 218) the well-known Buddhist word *brahma-vihāra* (which means the 'sublime state of mind' arising from meditation on *maitrī*, *karuṇā*, *muditā*, and *upekṣā*), as the *Brahmā-hall* (!), taking the expression literally.

But we must not be blind to the purely philological method, for, the real meaning of an expression, it is quite possible, is lost and another one takes its place. Without accepting as final, I may in this connection refer to the very plausible explanation by Dr. L. D. Barnett in his translation of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* of the two well-known words *hṛṣīkeṣa* and *guḍākeṣa* as respectively 'having upstanding hair,' and 'having knotted hair.' The word *hṛṣīka* in the sense of *indriya* occurs in Sanskrit, but it is a rare word, and I have not found *guḍākā* to mean *nidrā* anywhere excepting in lexicons. Dr. Barnett's suggestions are deserving of full consideration.

The conventional or accepted sense is more important than what the original root or composition would imply, when the word has been long in use (*rūḍhir yogād balīyasī*). While derivation gives us the original idea behind a word, the conventional sense is the one which has grown up, and is the sense in which it is employed. The word *nadī* or *dhunī* (from *dhvani*), when first applied to a river, indicated the idea of its being 'noisy' (*nadī nadanāt*). But it does not follow from this that while we employ the above words we must be necessarily thinking of the root-sense, "the 'noisy one.' To insist upon the root-sense when the word has been accepted in a general way would be improper. Whether originally it was *agra+nī*, or *agri*, or *aj* (*ag*)+*nī*, or whether it has any connection with Latin *ignis*, Lithuanian *ugnis*, Slav *Ognj*, it does not matter ; for we all know that the word *agni* in Sanskrit means 'fire'. More than ninety per cent. of the students in our Colleges and Sanskrit Pāthasālās, if asked, would answer that *paśyati* is from the root *dṛś*, though this derivation is not the fact (philologically, the form *paś* is only an abridged form of *spāś*). Yet, they perfectly know what the word really means. In every language and literature writers employ a large number of words in their current senses, without any reference to the original ideas behind their roots. Under these circumstances, is it not that the interpreter should proceed

with much caution in every step he takes with regard to the derivative meaning of a word he discusses or interprets?

The present condition of Vedic studies in our country is a most regrettable one, specially when it is compared with that in Europe. Vedic Sanskrit is taught to some extent in our Universities, but real interest in it among the students is rare, just as in Prakrit. It appears to me that in most cases it is due to the fact that the teachers themselves are not serious, or have no love for the subject. As such they can hardly rouse any enthusiasm or create any interest in the minds of their pupils. In regard to the Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālās, the condition is not better, most of the students taking no care for Vedic studies. And the result is that even a really profound Pandit is often unable to construe or understand a passage in Vedic Sanskrit. Nor does he possess the least information about Vedic literature. Though in some of the Pāṭhaśālās there are arrangements for the study of the Veda, they are mainly for chanting purposes, the interpretation being not properly made. This of course has its value, for it is helping to preserve the tradition with respect to *svādhyāya*; but the students who chant without understanding stultify themselves. We should remember what Yāska quotes (I.18) in this connection from the *Samhitopaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, 3 :

**स्थाणुरयं भारहारः किलामू-
दधीत्य वेदं न विजानाति योऽर्थम् ।**

But even this situation is altering owing to our changing social ideals. Simple *svādhyāyins* also are getting rarer and rarer, as the bestowing of *dakṣiṇās* to maintain them is getting rarer and rarer. I do not impute any mercenary motives to our *Srotriyas*, who are still great in the midst of their poverty : but what I suggest is that our Society at large is becoming distracted by other things, and is forgetting its duty to maintain the *Srotriyas* as necessary to Hindu society. Vedic studies in the traditional way must languish under such circumstances.

We should nevertheless try to keep up the Vidyā and pay our debt to our Rishis. A reorganisation of Vedic studies should come in. It may be suggested that every student of our Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālās should read Vedic Sanskrit to a certain standard—and this must be a high one—as a compulsory subject for his passing a Title Examination. The course should

comprise in addition to the texts a good account of Vedic literature, the Nirukta, a grammar written scientifically, and a book on Sanskrit philology. Besides, some acquaintance with the sister literature of the Avesta may be introduced.

Avesta is not a difficult language to one who knows Sanskrit, specially Vedic Sanskrit. The agreement between Sanskrit and Avesta may be compared with that between Sanskrit and Prakrit. As regards meanings, they help each other. In this connection with your permission I may mention an experience of mine. I was thinking that the names for year are the names for the seasons. For instance, *abda* literally 'one that gives water', i.e., 'rainy season'; *varṣa* (which is the same as *varṣā*) 'rain', 'rainy season'; *śarad* 'autumn' (*saradaḥ śatam*); *hima* 'winter season' (*śatam himāḥ*);—all these are the names for the year. But what is the word that originally meant 'hot or summer season', and was employed to denote a year? There must be such a word, for the summer season is very acutely felt in this country. I was then turning over a page of an Avestic work, and came across a word *hama* which means 'summer.' Now *hama* of Avesta, according to phonology, is nothing but *sama* (feminine *samā*) in Sanskrit. And it at once struck me reminding that the word I was seeking after is *samā* (*jijīviṣec chataṁ samāḥ*). It is from the root *sam* 'to heat', as Bhānuji Dikṣita explains in his *ṭīkā* on *Amara-koṣa*. Cf. English *summer*, German *Sommer*, etc.

I am, however, glad to tell you that our scholars are not remaining idle. Since last we met at Lahore, three important Vedic publications have come out. It was in the first session of our Oriental Conference held in Poona that as many as three MSS. of unpublished commentaries on the Rig-Veda, lent by the Government MSS. Library, Madras, were exhibited, one of them being that of Skanda-svāmin, and another of Veṅkaṭa Mādhava. It is now gratifying to see that the first part of these two as edited by Pandit Sāmbaśiva Śāstrī has been placed in our hands by the authorities of the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*. The second work has been given to us by Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit V. Venkatarama Sharma Vidyabhushana. It is an important commentary on the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*. It forms the first volume of the recently started *Madras University Sanskrit Series*. The last work comes from the North, the Punjab, the old home of Vedic culture, the people of which have once more become alive to our great ancestral heritage, specially through the inspiration of the Ārya-samāja. We all know the Word-Indices of all the

four Saṁhitās of the Veda prepared by the late Svāmī Viśveśvarānanda and Svāmī Nityānanda, both of the Ārya-samāja. Then Pandit Hansraj of the D. A. V. College has given us his *Vaidika-kośa* which helps one much in Vedic studies with special reference to Brāhmaṇas. And now Principal Visvabandhu Śāstrī of the Dayānanda Brāhma Mahāvidyālaya, Lahore, working in the same line, has been engaged in bringing out a complete Etymological Dictionary of the Vedic Language in Sanskrit, Hindi, and English, of which the first (specimen) fasciculus has already reached our hands. It prompts one to say that there is not the least doubt that this work, when completed, will take a unique place in the field of Vedic studies, and as such it is bound to be appreciated by all Vedic scholars. Here I should like to mention one more work which reached my hands after the paper was written. It comes from Bengal. It is *Chāndogyamantra-bhāṣya*—a bhāṣya on what is generally known as *Mantra-brāhmaṇa*. This *bhāṣya* is by Guṇaviṣṇu who is believed to have flourished before Sāyaṇa and is widely read in Bengal and Mithila. The present edition is a critical one under the able editorship of Prof. Durgamohan Bhattacharya and issued by the Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta. We express our sincere thanks to all these workers.

SOME PROBLEMS IN THE ORIGIN OF ART AND CULTURE IN INDIA*

By SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

Thanks partly to our national temperament, by which we most easily can regard all existence as fleeting or illusory, and consequently can neglect to preserve anything which does not seem to us to have any value for the ultimate reality—by which we put no abiding importance on the appurtenances and the adornments of life—on the *Upakaranas*, as the Upanishad calls them ; thanks also to other agencies, *e.g.* the havoc wrought by climate as well as by the hand of man converted into a blind force of destruction and barbarism by the pride of conquest and by the frenzy of religion,—and the criminal ignorance of the value of the heritage from antiquity that has come down to us ; thanks to these reasons, the history of cultural and artistic development in our country remains, for lack of documents a tale half-told. The earlier chapters of this history are lost, and there are wide breaks, which we can fill up only by the exercise of our imagination. Indian tradition takes back our history to untold millenniums. But the lavish largesse of Tradition is restrained by the careful hand of sober History, which doles out meagre measures of antiquity and seeks to curtail our credulity. A variety of reasons based on recently discovered facts now induce us to believe that the advent into India of that virile, highly imaginative yet practical, and comparatively rather rude race—the Aryans—took place at a period which cannot be anterior to the middle of the second millennium B. C. The orthodox opinion now current among most scholars takes the period back to five hundred or a thousand years more, and some would even stretch it back to a further two thousand or even two thousand and five hundred years beyond. I shall not discuss that point now. But suffice it to say that our traditions, and the literary documents that we have, take the history of our culture back to times considerably before 1000 B.C., whereas the actual remains of the culture which these traditions refer to and of which this literature is an expression do not go beyond 300 B. C., barring a few articles of problematic date which may be pre-

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Mauryan, *i.e.*, anterior to 300 B.C. The period before 300 B.C. is a blank for India, so far as the material remains of an Indo-Aryan culture—*i.e.* specimens of the handiwork of men speaking an Indo-Aryan tongue—are concerned. We have an unbroken record of temples, inscriptions, pyramids, and artifacts from tombs—of huge pieces of sculpture and of tiny trinkets—which open up for us a panorama of Egyptian life throughout the centuries, up to the pre-dynastic periods. With her cuneiform tablets, the ruin mounds of her temples and ziggurats, her sculpture, her portraits of kings and rulers, Assyria and Babylonia bear ample testimony to her achievements from the 4th millennium B.C. Greece has a clear story to tell of her cultural life through her remains, her temples, her sculpture, her vases, back to the centuries when a New Greece was arising out of the ashes of the old,—and this Old Greece of pre-Indo-European days itself has opened up her treasure-chests of art-objects and antiquities for us. China too has an old tale to tell, with her bronze vases and vessels, her stone drums, and her messages on bones. But in India, there is a profound silence—in the matter of plastic expression of her artistic thought or intuition. In the remains of the time of Asoka, Indian Art makes a sudden appearance, in full bloom: it is a sudden lifting of the cloud, to reveal to us the sun already high in the sky. The dawn and the early morning are lost to us in the mists of undocumented antiquity. A few rays here and there—that is all: in the gold-foil images of the so-called Earth-Goddess, and in the possibly pre-Mauryan terra-cotta figures.

The imagination displayed in painting word-pictures of the Gods and of Nature in Rigvedic poetry makes the gloom all the more mysterious and the silence all the more tantalising. The Rigveda mentions painting in connexion with the Gods—either painting their own divine forms, or their images. There seems to be a clear reference to a painted image of Rudra (cf., p. 454, Muir's Sanskrit Texts, Vol. V: RV. II, 33,9—*sthirebhir aṅgaiḥ pururūpaḥ ugraḥ babhrus śukrebhiḥ pipīṣe hiraṇyair* 'with strong limbs, many-formed, awful, brown, he is painted with shining golden colours'). Did the people of the Veda—the Aryans among whom the hymns originated, attempt to translate into wood or stone the visions they had of Ushas and of Indra, of Rudra and of the Aśvins? What success did they attain, if that attempt was ever made? An image of Ushas—bright and handsome, like a maiden unveiled rising from her bath; or of a thunder-wielding Indra—the very language of the Vedas

recalls to us the deathless creations of the Hellenes—was it ever sought to be depicted in wood or clay, stone or metal, by Aryans of the Veda? Such images, if they were actually made, could then be regarded as the prototypes of the gold-leaf Earth-Goddess, or the Didarganj chowrie-bearer, or the Barhut and Sanchi Śrī, or of the Yakshis of the oldest art of India; and what could such prototypes be like, antedating the oldest extant specimens of Hindu art by eight or ten centuries? How far is the Siva image on the Guḍimallam *liṅga*, our oldest Siva figure, based on earlier prototypes,—and are these prototypes the figures of Rudra mentioned in the Veda, or something non-Aryan? We have nothing at all to tell us about the nature of the plastic arts of the Vedic period. Did that art reveal the mastery of human skill over the inert wood, the resisting stone, or the dull clay? Did it show a suppleness of the hand and the fingers that nobly served the imagination? Or did Vedic Art, for some art must have existed then, show only a struggle of the imagination with the soulless material, as in Primitive Art, such as we still find among some Negro peoples,—despite the magnificence of the word-pictures evoked? Was the Art of the Indian Aryans as crude as that of their Germanic kinsmen of Scandinavia, whose Edda is as beautiful poetry as the Rigveda, but whose wood-carving and rock-carving are quite primitive—especially the latter—possessing a certain vigour no doubt, but recalling nevertheless the efforts of the South Sea Islanders?

We have no reply to these questions. But we can attempt to find out the environment of an artistic expression in this oldest period of our history, and a knowledge of the *milieu* might be of some help in studying the Origins of Indian Art.

We read in our school histories that India was inhabited by dark-skinned Non-Aryans, who were barbarians without any culture, and that the fair-skinned, highly civilised Aryans came from Central Asia, made a matter-of-course conquest of the original people of the country, imposed their superior culture and their language on them, and laid the foundations of Hindu or Indian civilisation. In India, these Aryans were impressed by the panorama presented by Nature in field and wood and mountain and river, and in the rising and the setting of the Sun, in thunder and rain and sunshine; and in their newly-found ecstasy they composed wonderful hymns to these forces of Nature, which they deified. It is not necessary to repeat this sort of reconstruction of the Vedic *milieu*, which we all know. It is a simple story, and very ingenuous too.

It was a hypothesis good enough for the time when it was made, and that is some eighty years ago. But now other facts are coming up, and these facts now make this hypothesis hardly tenable. And these facts tell us a new tale, which is now being built up slowly—this tale about the beginnings of culture in India; of the mingling of races with their diverse mentalities and contributions; of the conditions in India when we are at the threshold of her history; of the background for the beginnings of Indian Art; and of the main currents that contributed to the birth of this Art itself.

The condition of the civilised world of Europe, Asia and Africa about B.C. 2000, a convenient date to begin our survey of Indo-European or Aryan history, was (as we can learn from contemporary documents) the following. In Greece and in the Islands of the Aegean were the Aegean people, with their centres at Mycenae and Tiryns, at Troy, and in Crete; these were the pre-Indo-European precursors of the Greeks, with their flourishing civilisation, their commerce with Egypt, their ceramic and other arts, their bull-fights. In Egypt, the Egyptians were already a well-organised people with a civilisation several thousand years old. In Asia Minor, the Hittites were dwelling in the highlands of the interior, possessed of a high degree of culture and organisation—they were an impetuous mountain people, giving continual trouble to their neighbours. In Babylonia, the Semites from Arabia and the original Sumerians had long ago commingled their blood, their cultures, and their faiths, and in this way a people with a high civilisation with temples and palaces, organised religion and science, had come into being; and this new people, or their culture, had extended into the neighbouring land of Assyria. East of Babylonia were the Elamites, in what is now Western Iran,—they were a people of unknown affinity who had attained to a high level of civilisation. Syria was in possession of Semites, with a culture akin to the Babylonian, but susceptible to Egyptian and other neighbouring influences. At that time, we do not know what the situation was in the eastern lands, in Persia, in India. We did not possess until very recently any contemporary remains. Our traditions, and the reconstruction of our prehistoric past with which we are familiar, would have it that the Aryans were living in India and in Iran,—and in India they were fighting the Non-Aryan and expanding their conquests into the interior of the country, and tilling the soil and composing their hymns. But we cannot be sure of all that for this period. We do not know. About this

date, B. C. 2000, we find that the Aryan people, is first manifesting themselves in the arena of history in Northern Mesopotamia. Compared with the civilized peoples of pre-Aryan Greece and the Aegean islands, of Asia Minor, of Egypt, and of Assyria and Babylonia, the Aryans were rude and uncivilised. They seem to have come to Northern Mesopotamia from lands further to the North—beyond the Caucasus Mountains,—in Southern or Eastern Russia, perhaps, or in more central or western tracts of Europe. Some of their relations made similar descents into Greece about that time. The culture of these Indo-Europeans in their original homeland was in the bronze-weapon stage. But they had tamed the horse, which became in those days a swift and a terrible weapon in migrations and in warfare.

The Indo-Europeans (or Aryans, as they called themselves in Iran) were already by 2000 B.C. in the mountain tracts of Armenia, of Northern Mesopotamia and of North-Western Iran. And they soon came in touch with their civilised neighbours, in peace as well as in war. The next few centuries saw Aryan expansion in the south and in the south-east. A group of them, the Kassites, made themselves masters of Babylon, and they ruled there for six hundred years, and were evidently finally absorbed among the Babylonians. Another band with a horde of Semitic confederates seems to have penetrated into Egypt, where they were the Hyksos, ruling over Egypt for some four centuries and a half. Other bands or tribes showed their activity in the north. Some of them, the Mada or Manda, who came originally as horse-dealers into Assyria and Western Asia Minor, settled finally in North-Western Persia and became the ancestors of the Medes. The Parśu, or Parsawa (Persians), were another tribe settling in South-Western Persia. One band, the Kanisian tribe, settled in the Hittite Kingdom of Asia Minor, and became one of the ruling peoples there. Another, the Harri or the Aryans, established themselves in the northern part of the *doab* between the Euphrates and the Tigris. A further band of these Aryans were the Mitanni, the ruling class in a state to the north-west of Assyria, who had political and matrimonial relations with the ruling houses of Egypt, Babylon and the Hittite Kingdom, and who, as the Boghaz Kōi documents tell us, worshipped the Gods Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and the Nāsatyas, whose cults were evidently carried into India by the kinsmen of the Mitannians—the Vedic Aryans. Excepting the Aryans who were settled in Persia, and those who ventured further east, these various tribes of Aryans, who

stayed on in Northern Mesopotamia and Eastern Asia Minor and fought and lived and carved out kingdoms for themselves there, were subsequently absorbed among the surrounding peoples.

Between 2000 B.C. and 1300 B.C., then, we have these oldest contemporary references to Aryan activities in the Asia Minor and Mesopotamia region. It seems that during these centuries the Aryans had developed their culture and their religion which we find in later and sharply differentiated forms in the Vedas and in the Avesta, in India and in Iran. Their language during this period was in the pre-Vedic and pre-Avestan stage—in the *Indo-Iranian stage* as it is called. The slight evidence of their language which we obtain from the cuneiform inscriptions from Assyrio-Babylonia and Asia Minor indicates that it was, at the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C., still in this pre-Sanskrit stage. The Mitanni among whom we find evidence of the worship of the Vedic Gods Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and the Nāsatyas were just some of the Aryans who stayed on, while others pushed further to the east.

The religion and culture that we call Vedic might very well have developed, in its incipient stage of course, among these fighting and trekking Aryans while they were still outside India: the first phase of this culture and religion certainly goes back to the time when they had not yet entered India. The Aryans, it would seem, were in Iran for some time before they entered India; and in Iran, it is quite natural to think they came in conflict with the original people of the land before they could find the way to India open. When they came to the Panjab, they were not conscious of entering a new country: the Vedas do not at all give us any such impression. The situation as regards the people whom they met in Eastern Iran and in the Panjab would seem to have been similar. Those Aryans who remained in Iran, the Mada, the Parsawa and some others, developed their common culture and religion as well as speech along their own lines during the following centuries; and some of them later went up north into the plains of Central Asia, and developed the nomadic life, and became the Sakas or Scythians. The Aryans who came into India were a song-making people. We may be sure that they made songs even before they came into India. Some of their song or verse forms were already evolved outside India, *e.g.*, the *Gāyatrī* form, which was also inherited from their common ancestors by the Aryans of Persia.

In these Aryans we have thus one element in the Old Indian cultural texture. Linguistic Palaeontology by examining the linguistic records of the different Indo-European speaking peoples has sought to appraise the culture of the Primitive Indo-Europeans, of whom the Asiatic Aryans were only a branch. The findings of this science has been mainly on the negative side. What little positive testimony we have been enabled to obtain is not very flattering to the material culture of these Indo-Europeans. The Primitive Indo-Europeans of 3000—2000 B.C., in their yet undiscovered home, seem only to have emerged from the Neo-lithic to the Bronze Age. They were partly nomadic shepherds and partly agriculturists, and kept domestic animals, and had tamed the horse—and this was their greatest contribution to material civilisation ; otherwise in this direction they did not possess any remarkable characteristic of their own which could hold them up before the civilised peoples, *e.g.* of Assyria and Babylonia and Egypt. But as a living people, in their fresh and unsophisticated youth, they were willing to learn from the cultured nations they met, and after they came out from their isolation in the north, they everywhere imbibed foreign cultures, foreign ideas, foreign religions, foreign social systems, along with the masses of foreigners who affiliated themselves to them and acknowledged their suzerainty by adopting their language, and were thus absorbed by them. But the Aryans, inspite of this intermixture, retained a great many features of their own religion and ideals. They adopted whatever came in their way, but their robust *rudesse* and their own social organisation as well as their magnificent speech gave the tone to all that they assimilated ; and even when they themselves were absorbed by other peoples, if they came in appreciable numbers, their presence has left its mark indelibly.

What Art did the Indo-Europeans possess, when as Aryans they poured into Mesopotamia and Iran, and then came into India? What advance had they made, coming into contact with the civilised peoples of Asia Minor and of Assyria and Babylon, and Elam, and possibly of pre-Aryan Iran?

We have no records of the art of the Primitive Indo-Europeans. The few crafts they possessed were in a rudimentary stage, as would be natural to expect in a primitive people. There is no evidence to show from their language that they had any sculpture or painting. There is a common Indo-European root,* *pik*, *peik*, *poik* (=Skt. *piś*, *peś*), 'to paint,' which is found in Sanskrit, in Greek, in Latin, in Germanic: it may mean

as much applying woad on the person, as daubing a plank or adorning a picture. From the study of the words used in connexion with religion in the various Indo-European languages, Prof. A. Meillet has come to some conclusions about the character of Primitive Indo-European religion, one of which is that the Indo-European people did not know the use of idols, and that their deities were not personal or anthropomorphic to start with (Meillet, *Linguistique historique et Linguistique générale*, p. 332). The deified forces of Nature were as yet too much in their original natural form, as Sun, Moon, Wind, Thunder, Dawn, Rain, to be regarded as human or personal deities. How much of humanising was achieved is an unsolved problem. This is in strong contrast with the cult ideas of the civilised Non-Aryan peoples of the South—the Ægeans, the Asia Minor peoples, the Egyptians, the Northern Semites,—with their Snake-Goddesses and Mother-Goddesses, their Osirises and Isises, their Ishtars and their Baals and Marduks—each with his or her well-defined anthropomorphic character, and very human attributes and symbols. This presence of the personal idea of the Godhead, and a consequent attempt to visualise it in art, acts as a strong stimulus to the artistic impulses of a people; and the Primitive Indo-European people seemed to lack this stimulus, from the nature of their religion. We have to be content with this negative statement of the conditions for art in the Primitive Indo-European period. The Aryans met the Hittites and the Assyrio-Babylonians, the Elamites and other peoples, and then they peoples, especially the highly artistic Assyrio-Babylonians, were the first masters of the Aryans in the domain of Art. A pastoral and agricultural people may do with vague nature Gods; but when we have a fighting people, whose enemies invoked their Marduk or Shamash, their Ma or their Thunder-wielding God, to help them and fight for their, we can only expect them to develop personal Gods in their turn. That is what seems to have happened. Indra, leading the Aryan fighters to victory; Varuṇa, watching their deeds and keeping a moral control; Mitra, seeing that friendship and oaths are honoured; the Nāsatyas, the divine healers wandering about on horseback, healing wounds and deformities; Ushas, inspirer of new life after the night's refreshing sleep; and even a supreme deity **Asura Mazdha*, later the *Ahura Mazda* of the Persian Aryans—the 'Potent Highly Intelligent One'—was evolved among some Aryans. And with these personal Gods, the example of the Assyrians and the rest could naturally act as stimulus to the artistic or icon-making tendency of

the Aryans ; more so when some of the deities of these peoples, and the characteristics of others, were unconsciously accepted by the Aryans in their own pantheon. The quickening of the Aryan artistic impulses was undoubtedly effected through the contact with the Asuras—the Assyrians. The art of the ancient Aryans of Persia some centuries later is mainly a copy of that of Assyria. The Indian Aryans also carried with them rudiments of what they had picked up from the hated Asuras whom they always had to fight while they were sojourning in the West,—and with the memories of these fights and the cruelties of the Asuras they also remembered the fact, in their distant homes in India, that the Asuras were superior to the Aryans in the art of building and in making beautiful things, as much as in warfare. Traditions of the sons of wise men among the Aryans going to learn the mysterious arts and crafts from the wise men among the hated Asuras have survived in Indian legends.

One important element in the composition of art in Ancient India is thus the kind of art the Aryans learned from the Assyrio-Babylonians and brought into India: and the Earth-Goddess images or designs, and the lotus rosette (so characteristic of Barhut and Sanchi) seem to be the result of this early contact between Ārya and Asura outside India.

In Eastern Iran, the Aryans seem to have met with a great people who probably extended from Northern and Western Persia to the Panjab and Sindh—the *Dāsa* or *Dasyu* people. In Iran, they came later on to be called *Daha* and *Dahyu*, and the land was so much the land of the *Dahyu* that in Avestan the word (*dahyu*) came to mean 'the country-side'. In Greek times the Aryans were spread almost all over Iran, and the *Daha* were confined to North-Eastern Iran—to the east of the Caspian. And we learn from the Rigveda that the toughest foes of the Aryans were the *Dāsa* or *Dasyu* people ;—foes whom they had to fight within India, certainly ; and probably also outside India ; since there is the great likelihood that many of the hymns compiled in the Rigveda were actually composed in Iran, where also the *Dāsa-Daha* and *Dasyu-Dahyu* tribes lived. These *Dāsa-Dasyus* apparently presented a teeming population ; the Rigveda is full of them. The Aryans fought them, and invoked their Gods against them, and killed and enslaved them—and did the last thing to such an extent that the word *Dāsa* came to mean 'slave' in the Aryan's language. And these original dwellers in the land, when they had to give way before the Aryan invaders in pitched battles, would retaliate by sudden raids against their Aryan foe-men, so that in

the Aryan's language the name *Dasyu* came to signify 'marauder'. The importance of the *Dāsa-Dasyu* people in Vedic life cannot be gainsaid. And in the development of ancient Indian culture, the *Dāsa-Dasyu* can reasonably be regarded as having contributed some elements. From the descriptions in the Rigveda, we can see that these *Dāsas* and *Dasyus* were not mere savages—they were a well-organised people with a high culture of their own. They seem to have in later times been confused with the *Asuras*, as both were equally foes of the Aryans, and consequently of their Gods. Now, who were these *Dāsas*, and what do we know of their culture?

We have seen that the oldest objects of material culture in India that we can associate with a people of Aryan language and culture are the Maurya artifacts, which take us only to a few centuries B.C. We know that in India apart from the Aryan speech and Aryan culture, there were other families of speech and culture—the Austric, the Dravidian, and the Tibeto-Chinese. The last of these we can dismiss from a study of the origins of Indian culture and art, as it came very late in the field, after the characteristically Hindu or Indian culture had evolved, and touched only the fringes of the Indian world. The connexion or contribution of Dravidian culture to Hindu religion and culture has been generally admitted. Dravidian speakers are believed to have been absorbed in the North Indian masses. The Austric tribes at one time were spread all over Northern India, and they too have contributed very largely in the formation of the Indian people in Northern as well as Southern India. Their culture probably found an expression in agriculture in the river-valleys, and in maritime enterprise—it was rather a primitive, village type of culture, not a centralised or city culture, as it seems to have been in the case of the Dravidians. Remains of a high type of pre-historic culture have been found in Southern India, at places like Adittanallur, with bronze vessels, images, gold and bronze ornaments and pottery, burial chests of terra-cotta and other objects, in the midst of burial mounds; and these have been ascribed to the ancestors of the modern Dravidians.

Now we do not know to what linguistic and ethnic group the *Dāsa-Dasyu* people—as well as other non-Aryan peoples like the *Paṇis*, the *Asuras* of India, and the *Niṣādas*, mentioned in the oldest texts, belonged—Austric or Dravidian. The presence of the Dravidian Brahuis in Baluchistan would point at the occupation by Dravidian speakers of tracts

in N. W. India. The affinities of the Austric people are well known: they belong to the East, and they were spread all over Burma, and part of Indo-China, and Malaya and the Islands of Indonesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia. The affinities of the Dravidians we do not know for certain, but it seems to have been in the North-West, beyond the Baluch frontier—with peoples of the Mediterranean area, as it has been suggested by some. We would be tempted to connect them with the *Dāsa-Dasyu* people, and the *Paṇis*, who were spread at one times from the Panjab to Western Iran. But we cannot be definite—the question still remains open—the connexion between the *Dāsa-Dasyu* and the Austriacs or Dravidians continues to baffle us, for want of facts.

Recent discoveries at Harappa and Mohen-jo-Daro have definitely turned the orientation of our researches into the origins of Hindu culture. They show a civilization, with a complicated town life, going back to 3000 B.C. and more, long before the advent of the Aryans: and there we have a well-developed art, in stucco images, in pottery, in clay votive figures, in steattite seals with figures of animals and undecipherable inscriptions, in copper images, in faience and shell bracelets and in some other interesting objects. Similar art objects, pottery mainly, have been found at Nal in Baluchistan and at Anau to the North-East of Persia, and also in Elam in Western Iran; and the connexion of this culture with that of ancient Sumer, too, is clear. It was thus a culture which was spread from Western India to Western Persia. Now, the *Dāsa-Dasyu* would seem to be the people who were spread both in Iran and India in pre-Aryan and Early Aryan times. This culture, especially in the Indus Valley, we can tentatively associate with the people called *Dāsa* in the Vedas—without suggesting what these *Dāsas* were in *language*, whether Austric or Dravidian.

Mr. R. P. Chanda in his most suggestive monograph on the *Survival of the Prehistoric Culture of the Indus Valley* (No. 41 of the Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1929) has discussed the question of the pre-Aryan culture of India and its contributions in the formation of Hindu religion and Hindu civilization. He thinks that the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas (or Rājanyas) represent two entirely different groups of people with conflicting cultures and mentalities—the Brahmans belonging to the Aryans and the Kshatriyas to the Non-Aryans. The Kshatriyas were the native Non-Aryan ruling groups of India, and the Aryan Brahmans came over to India and were received favourably by the Kshatriyas. (In this

view he would seem in a way to support an idea of Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, published as early as 1909 in his *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras*, that the Aryan language came into India as a 'culture drift', in the wake of the Brahmanical fire cult, without any appreciable number of Aryans coming into India). The rites of human sacrifice and widow-burning were Rājanya or Kshatriya (non-Aryan) rites, abhorred by the Aryan Brahmins; and Yoga practice, with which the Yatis and the Vratyas were associated (as distinguished from the fire-worshipping Brahmins), was in its origin also non-Aryan. Two most remarkable stucco statuettes discovered at Mohen-jo-Daro—bust statuettes of bearded men with half-closed eyes—Mr. Chanda regards as busts of Yogis of the pre-Aryan period. Elsewhere, in his *Beginnings of Art in Eastern India with special reference to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum, Calcutta* (Memoir No. 30 of the Archæological Survey of India, 1927), Mr. Chanda suggests that tree and *caitya* worship formed the characteristic religion of pre-Aryan India in the East. This would accord well with the view, which receives the support of Linguistics, that the ritual of the *pūjā*, together with the name or term *pūjā*, as opposed to the *homa* or fire-cult or fire-ritual of the Aryan, is non-Aryan—in fact, Dravidian. The thesis of Mr. Chanda is further developed by Coomaraswamy, who has shown how tree and *caitya* worship really meant the worship of tree-spirits or godlings known as Yakshas, and these Yakshas were the divinities of the non-Aryan peoples of India, and the ritual observed in worshipping them was opposed to the Vedic ritual: and the idea of *Bhakti* is connected with Yaksha-worship. The worship of *Śiva* and *Śakti*, of the *Liṅga* and *Yoni*, is believed (from actual objects said to represent these symbols) to have also obtained among the Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa people.

All these above-mentioned cults and customs which we have to associate with the non-Aryan peoples of India—the *Dāsa-Dasyu*, or Dravidian and Austric, Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa peoples—were more conducive to quicken artistic treatment than the original animistic or borrowed heroic cults of the Aryans. In fact, long after Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa in 3000 B.C., we find art making a sudden reappearance in India,—to glorify the Buddha, no doubt, but it is intimately connected with Yaksha worship in trees and *caityas* as its most potent incentive or inspiration; and later on, this art becomes connected with the worship of the great Hindu Gods, who are hardly described in their later character in the Vedic literature, and who are often Gods and Yogis combined in one.

The anthropomorphic or monstrous Yakshas and Vṛkshakās, and later on the great gods Śiva and Umā, Lakshmī and Viṣṇu, and Gaṇapati and the rest, as well as the spirit of Yoga which suffuses them, thus appear to be the most important and most profound survivals of the non-Aryan culture of the period when the Vedic Aryans entered India.

We have seen that what the Aryans themselves brought was an uncertain quantity, and judging from their past history as Indo-European barbarians, this uncertain quantity was very meagre. Probably all their achievement was in some crude copies or adaptations of Assyrio-Babylonian deities, in wood or clay, or rarely in metal,—for stone they do not seem to have essayed at all, and they built in wood mostly. The gold foil images of the Earth-Goddess, so-called, if it is really the handiwork of Aryan craftsman, is inspired by the Assyrio-Babylonian images of the Mother Goddess. Some floral decoration like the rose or lotus pattern which we find in the Barhut and Sanchi railings, and possibly attempts to depict some animals like the lion and the horse (such as we find, to perfection, with fresh impetus from Persia, later on in the time of Asoka)—these might have been brought in by the Aryans in the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C.

Compared with them, the Non-Aryans of India had a great art. Before those Non-Aryans, dwelling in houses of brick and in flourishing cities, the wandering or hut-dwelling Aryan invaders, with no art worth mentioning, were barbarians, albeit splendid and powerfully organised barbarians. It might be that art in Northern India suffered a check at first when the Aryan and the Non-Aryan came in hostile contact, and the Non-Aryan had to acknowledge the supremacy of the Aryan. But their art could never die, just as their religion and ritual and their gods seemingly yielded before the gods and the fire-ritual of the Aryans but did not in reality pass away. Both of these refused to be submerged for ever, and came up once more, and became the national religion and art of India during the closing centuries of the first millennium B.C.

In the meanwhile, the Aryans who stayed on in Iran had prospered. They had learnt a great deal from them Assyrio-Babylonian and Elamitic neighbours, and possibly also from the other Non-Aryans comparable to the *Dāsas* of India. They had developed, mainly under Assyrio-Babylonian inspiration, with some influences from Asia Minor and from Greece, a great art of their own, which achieved its highest success during the Achæmenian emperors. Coming in contact with the most gifted peoples of Western

Asia, the culture of the Persians became more urban and more advanced—at least on the material side—than that of the Indians. When the Persians conquered the North-Western parts of India, c. 500 B.C., the country became exposed to the influences of the art of Persia, *i.e.* to the ancient art of Assyrio-Babylonia in a new form. The use of stone seems to have been adopted in India through Persian influence. Persian architecture, too, exerted a tremendous influence on that of India, so much so that pillared halls with animal capitals in the Persian style came to be naturalised in India. Columned halls, and proclamation or commemoration pillars with figures of lions or bulls or other animals on the capital, became a characteristic expression of the power of the great Maurya emperors, and Persia supplied the models. But in plastic treatment of themes from Indian life, legend and ritual, the Persian style could not be or would not be imitated; here the Indian artists evolved a style of their own, which we find in Maurya and Suṅga art, at Bodh Gaya and Sanchi and Barhut in its earliest extant phase, already characterised by a remarkable suppleness and grace, combined with a rare sincerity and strength, especially in some of the animal studies and in decoration; and by a noteworthy intensity of expression in some of its admirably rendered human figures.

The Greek came, and his influence has been more profound in the national Indian schools than in the hybrid or Eurasian Gandhara School. The latter was like the mediæval or modern Indian writer's Persian or English composition, while the assimilated Greek influence in the native Indian schools can be compared to the European or Persian influence in the best productions in the Indian languages. A number of *motifs* were obtained from the Greeks, and were Indianised: and the effect of Greek art in this way seems to have made itself felt in post-Christian times. Witness, for instance, the coinage of the Guptas.

All these diverse elements were indissolubly blended together during the first few centuries after Christ, and beginning from Bodh Gaya and Barhut and Sanchi and from Mathura and Amaravati, we have the final shape given under the Imperial Guptas, when Indian Art as a National Art became definitely established, to soar into its highest flights at Mahabalipuram, Ellora and Elephanta in sculpture, and at Ajanta and Bagh in painting; to develop into a number of provincial schools in the course of the mid-mediæval period, within India and outside India, in Indo-China and Indonesia; and to inspire the Buddhistic Art of Serindia and of China and Japan. And in this way, Indian Art, which existed at the time of the

advent of the Aryans in its primitive form among the non-Aryan peoples of the country, as at Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa, possibly received one or two elements from the Aryans bringing in certain things picked up from the West, attained its first completed state in the Maurya period with the abrupt use of stone for both building and sculpture in place of wood and brick; and with the example and influence of Persia, it entered into the domain of great Art; it was reinforced later by forms levied from Greek Art; and, above all, was suffused by the creative genius of a composite Indian people nurtured in the mystic and contemplative philosophy that was older than the advent of the Aryans and was evoked by thinkers for over three millenniums; and finally became in the centuries before and after the Guptas, one of the most precious and most potent heritages of man in the history of human artistic endeavour.

If we were to trace the various strata of Indian Art, we could pose the following :

(1) The Pre-Aryan Art of India, connected with Pre-Aryan religion; earliest relics found at Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa: suppressed or submerged during the centuries of Aryan supremacy in religion and culture, or perhaps existing in a flourishing state with the old religion side by side with Aryan religion and culture, and coming to its own probably in the middle (or first half) of the first millennium B.C. with the re-establishment of non-Aryan cults and ritual and religious and philosophical notions in later Hinduism (Yaksha cults, Tree-deities, *Caityas*, Siva and other Hindu Gods, Yoga practices, *pūjā* ritual: seals with animal figures, terra-cotta figures, copper figures, stucco portrait statues. This Art at its base seems to be connected with Sumerian Art.

We do not know what art the Austric people possessed: but it is quite likely that some elements of architecture and decorative art in India, South-Eastern Asia and Indonesia originated with the Austriacs.

(2) Some rudimentary art, mostly borrowed from Assyria and Babylonia, as brought in by the Aryans: probably images in wood and clay and metal, and a little wood-carving, with some Assyrian motifs. (This is rather problematical).

(3) The Art of Aryan Persia—itsself an eclectic formation, with elements from Assyrio-Babylonian Art, and Egyptian, Asia Minor and Ionian Greek Art. This exerted a profound influence on a blend of (1) and (2) which was probably taking place during the middle of the first millennium B.C., and the result was—

(4) The first crystallised expression of an Ancient Indian National Art, in which the mixed Aryan and Non-Aryan people shared, in Maurya and Suṅga times. Beginnings of Indian iconography.

(5) Advent of Greek influence: (i) Gandhara—remaining outside the Indian pale, a thing apart—unassimilated with the Indian tradition; (ii) absorbed Greek influence, leading to the strengthening of (4), which became more refined and more urban in

(6) Mathura (Kushāṇa) and Amaravati (Andhra) Art of the early centuries of the Christian era.

(7) Development of (6) through free working of the native Indian spirit, and permeation of Indian philosophical and religious conceptions, into Classical Gupta Art, on which the subsequent art history of Hindu India was broad-based.

(8) Development of Gupta Art into mid-mediæval and late mediæval local schools: Pallava (with elements from the earlier Andhra Art of the South), Rāshtrakūṭa, Pāla, Orissan, Western and Central Indian, etc., etc.

(9): (7) and varieties of (8) pass into Indo-China and Java, where modified by the local native character and contribution, this is transformed to Hindu Colonial Art of South-Eastern Asia: to wit:—

(i) Mon and Burmese; (ii) Khmer; (iii) Siamese, based on Khmer, but with modifications and refinement by contact with the Siamese race; (iv) Cham, with important modification; (v) Javanese: (a) Early or Hindu-Javanese, (b) Middle Javanese, with an increase of the Indonesian character, and (c) Late Javanese, with still greater Indonesian influence; (v) Balinese Early, Middle and Late, agreeing with Javanese.

(10) The Buddhist Art of Serindia, China, Korea and Japan in which (5 [i]) and (6) meet with fresh influences from Persia (Sasanian Art), and later on is further modified by (7) and varieties of (8). There is also profound modification by the native art and spirit of China.

VISVA-BHARATI BULLETIN.

I. DEMONSTRATION OF JIU-JITSU IN CALCUTTA.

Mr. Takagaki came to Santiniketan from Japan in November, 1929, at the request of Rabindranath Tagore, to impart instruction to the Santiniketan boys and girls, and anybody else who cared to take advantage of it, in the art of Jiu-Jitsu, the Japanese system of physical culture. Under the expert guidance of Mr. Takagaki, his pupils at Santiniketan, both boys and girls, have attained a high degree of proficiency in Judo and the demonstration they gave in December, 1930, at the Exhibition held in connexion with the All Asia Teachers' Congress at Benares, greatly impressed everybody who saw it. Another demonstration was given on the 16th of March, 1931, at the New Empire Theatre, Calcutta, by Mr. Takagaki and his pupils. There was a crowded house and a large part of the audience consisted of school and college students. The Poet was present on the occasion, and before the performance began, spoke at some length on the need of making physical culture an integral part of our educational system. Mr. Takagaki, who was introduced by the Japanese Consul in Calcutta, also briefly explained to the audience the main principles of Judo and its value both as an art of offence and defence and a system of physical culture generally*. The performance began with a choral song specially composed by the Poet for the purpose.

The programme of the actual demonstration consisted of the following features: (1) Attack and defence drill by Santiniketan boys and girls. (2) Art of overcoming a stronger opponent (demonstrations drill) by Santiniketan boys and girls. (3) Throwing exercises (kata) demonstrated by Mr. Takagaki. (4) Counter throwing exercises (kata) by Mr. Takagaki. (5) Catching, choking and breaking tactics by Mr. Takagaki. (6) Attack and defence demonstrations (kata) by Mr. Takagaki. (7) The "drill of five" (Itsutsumo kata) by Santiniketan girls. (8) Methods of receiving attack demonstrated by Mr. Takagaki. (9) Open contest (Randori) by Judo experts and Santiniketan boys.

Every part of the programme was carried out most skillfully and thoroughly enjoyed by the audience, and the performance created a strong

*A fuller exposition of Judo is given in the next article.

impression regarding the possibilities of Judo as a form of physical culture and as a practical art of self-defence. The "drill of five" and certain other portions of the programme were greatly appreciated also on account of their exquisite æsthetic value.

II. JUDO.

(THE JAPANESE NATIONAL SYSTEM OF PHYSICAL CULTURE).

I.

In our feudal times, Judo, known then more commonly as Jiu-jitsu, was practised by our Samurai, together with other kinds of martial exercises, such as fencing, archery, the use of spears, etc. Judo was the art of fighting generally without weapons, although sometimes different kinds of weapons were made use of. The kinds of attack were principally throwing, hitting, kicking, choking, holding the opponent down, and bending or twisting the opponent's arms or legs in such a way as to cause pain or fracture. There were multitudinous ways of defence against such attacks.

THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-RESISTANCE.

One main feature of the art is the application of the principle of non-resistance and the taking advantage of the opponent's loss of equilibrium ; hence the name Jiu-jitsu (literally the soft and gentle art). Now let me explain this principle by a few examples.

Suppose it is possible to estimate the strength of my assistant in units of 1. Let us say that his strength is represented by 10 units, whereas my strength is less than his, and is represented by 7 units. Then if he pushes me with all his force, I shall certainly be pushed back, or thrown down, even if I use all my strength against him. This would happen because I used all my strength against him, opposing strength against strength. But if, instead of opposing him, I were to withdraw my body, just as much as he pushed, remembering at the same time to keep my balance, then he would naturally lean forward and thus lose his balance. In this new position he may have become so weak (not in actual physical strength but because of his awkward position) as to have his strength represented for

the moment by, say, only 3 units, instead of his normal 10 units. But meanwhile, I by keeping my balance, retain my full strength, as originally represented by 7 units. Here then, I am momentarily in an advantageous position and I can defeat my opponent by using only half of my strength, that is half of my 7 units or $3\frac{1}{2}$ against his 3. This leaves one half unit of strength still available for any emergency. Had I possessed greater strength than my opponent, I could of course have pushed him back. But even in this case, it would have been better if I had first placed him in an awkward position, for by doing so I should have greatly economised my energy.

This is a simple illustration of how an opponent may be defeated by his being left unresisted. Other instances may be given.

Suppose my opponent tries to twist my body in a particular way (demonstration) intending to throw me down on the ground. If I were to resist him, I should surely be thrown down, because my strength to resist him would not be sufficient to overcome him. But, if on the other hand, I were to leave him unresisted and while so doing, I were to pull my opponent in the direction in which he was pulling me, and if I were to fall down on the ground voluntarily, I could throw my opponent very easily.

But there are circumstances in which this principle does not apply. Suppose, for example, my opponent had taken hold of my right wrist. If I do not resist him there would be no means of releasing it from his hold. The best way to release would, however, be to move my arm in such a way that my whole strength is used to counteract my opponent's hand grip. Thus in order to release my wrist I am obliged to use my strength against his, contrary to the principle of non-resistance.

Again my opponent grips me from behind. In this case, I cannot release myself by non-resistance. I must either throw my opponent, using the strength of my whole body to counteract his grip (demonstration), or slide down obliquely and release myself.

This will serve to show you that the principle of non-resistance is not sufficient in all cases.

MAXIMUM EFFICIENT USE OF MIND AND BODY.

Then, is there any principle which never fails of application? Yes, there is one such principle, and that is called the principle of the Maximum

Efficient Use of Mind and Body, and the idea of non-resistance is only one particular instance of the application of this fundamental principle.

A little consideration will show that we often make an unnecessary expenditure of energy in ordinary bodily contests and also in our daily lives. I shall show you by some examples how a small exertion of energy is often sufficient to perform some of the most marvellous feats in physical contests.

Here stands a man. He must either be standing still or moving his leg or legs. Whenever he moves, he is giving me an opportunity of throwing him down by a very slight exertion on my part. Suppose he steps forward on his right leg, in this case I shall not be able to throw him even if I push that leg from behind, so long as it is still off the ground and his body is being supported on his left leg. But if I push it (from the back near the tendon of Achilles) just as his right foot is touching the ground and at a moment when the weight of his body is in progress of being transferred to this leg, then a slight tap is enough to throw him down. And in case he steps backward, a slight kick applied to his front leg at the proper moment would also enable me to throw him very easily. Next, suppose he is standing still and neither of his legs is moving. In that case a man may be compared to a log of wood standing on end. He may be very easily pushed or pulled down unless he resists me with his bodily strength. If he resists me he can be thrown even more easily, simply by pulling or pushing him in the direction in which he himself is exerting his strength. This shows how strength properly applied can control the opponent's strength even when several times greater.

There are many opportunities of putting an opponent out of balance in the course of a contest, one such opportunity occurs when an opponent tries to hit me. Suppose he shoots out his right arm attempting to strike me in the face ; I avoid the blow by simply side-stepping, and then take hold of his sleeve or his arm near the elbow joint with my left hand, pull it forward and just at the moment he is a little out of balance, place my right arm in front of his neck and push him from the back, placing my left hand near the base of his spinal column, so that he will get entirely out of balance. I can then easily choke him with my left hand.

All these are illustrations of the Principle of the Maximum Efficient Use of Mind and Body, on which the whole of the Art and Science of Jiu-do is based.

RANDORI AND KATA.

Jiudo is taught under two methods. One is called Randori, and the other is called Kata. Randori or free exercise, is practised under conditions of actual contest. It includes throwing, choking, holding the opponent down, and bending or twisting the opponent's arms or legs. The two combatants may use whatever tricks they like, provided they do not hurt each other, and obey the general rules of Jiudo concerning etiquette.

Kata, which literally means "form," is a formal system of pre-arranged exercises, including (besides the things mentioned above) hitting, kicking and the use of weapons, practised according to rules under which each combatant knows beforehand exactly what his opponent is going to do. The use of weapons, hitting and kicking are allowed only in Kata and not in Randori, because if these practices were resorted to in Randori, cases of fatal injury could easily occur.

One great advantage of Jiudo as a system of physical culture consists in the large number of movements it contains for physical development. Another advantage is that every movement has some definite object and must be used intelligently, while in ordinary gymnastics, movements are often liable to become semi-automatic and monotonous.

Randori may be practised in various ways. If the object is simply the training in methods of attack and defence then the learners' attention should be specially directed to the most efficient ways of throwing, striking, bending or twisting, without special reference to developing the body or to mental or moral culture.

Although the exercises in Jiudo, both in Kata and in Randori, are generally conducted between two persons, and in a room specially prepared for this purpose, yet this is not always necessary. Jiudo can be practised by a large number of persons or by a single individual, in the play-ground or in the ordinary sitting room.

JIUDO FOR MENTAL TRAINING.

But the object of a systematic physical training in Jiudo is not only to develop the body, but to enable a man or a woman to have a perfect control over mind and body, and to make him or her fit to meet any emergency.

I will next explain to you how one can be mentally trained in Jiudo. This can be done by Kata as well as by Randori, but more successfully by the latter. In the contest between two persons, both must have all the resources at their command and at the same time obey the prescribed rules of Jiudo. Such an attitude of mind and its exercise in devising means of attack and defence tend to make the learner earnest and sincere, cautious and deliberative, in all his dealings. At the same time one is trained for quick and prompt action, because in Randori unless one decides quickly and acts promptly he will always lose his opportunity either in attacking or in defence.

Again, in Randori contests, none of the contestant know what his opponent is going to do, so each must be prepared to meet any sudden attack by the other. This preparedness for emergencies develops a great equanimity and composure of mind.

Powers of observation and concentration are systematically developed during training. Imagination is required in devising means of attack and defence, as well as sound reasoning and judgment.

In Randori, we teach the learner always to act on the fundamental principle of Jiudo, no matter how physically inferior his opponent may seem to him, and even if he can by sheer strength easily overcome the other, because if he acts against this principle, the opponent will never be convinced of his defeat whatever brutal strength he may use over him.

It is hardly necessary to remind you that the best way of convincing your opponent in an argument is not to push this or that advantage over him, be it from superior knowledge, superior wealth or superior power, but to persuade him in accordance with the inviolable rules of logic. Persuasion is always better than coercion, this is what we learn from Randori. Again we teach the learner, that when he uses any movement to overcome his opponent he should employ only just as much of his force as is absolutely necessary for his purpose. They are warned never to employ more force than is required by the situation. There are not a few cases in which people fail in what they undertake, simply because they go too far, not knowing where to stop.

THE MORAL SIGNIFICANCE OF JIUDO.

Besides the cultural discipline acquired by the pupils through the observance of the regular rules of etiquette, and the cultivation of courage,

perseverance, kindness, respect for others, impartiality and fair play so much emphasized in Western athletics, the training in Jiudo has a special moral significance in Japan. I have already mentioned that Jiudo, together with other martial exercises, was practised by our old Samurai who had a high code of honour, the spirit of which has been handed down to us through the teaching of this art.

In this connexion I may explain how the principle of the maximum efficient use of mind and body is helpful in promoting moral conduct. There is often a tendency for human beings to get excited and angry. Jiudo teaches us that to be excited is an unnecessary expenditure of energy, giving benefit to nobody but often doing harm to ourselves and others, and this enables us to retain our composure.

Again we sometimes feel despondent from disappointment. We are gloomy and have no initiative for work. Jiudo shows us that there is but one road to follow—to adopt what appears to be the best course for the time being. Training in Jiudo enables us to look upon the future with hope even when we are at the bottom of the trough of disappointment.

This same reasoning applies to persons who are discontented. Discontented persons are often in a sulky state of mind and blame other people without properly attending to their own business. The teaching of Jiudo will make such persons understand that such conduct is against the principle of the maximum efficient use of mind and body. Finally they may come to realize by the faithful pursuance of the principle that it would be better to work cheerfully, for that is the best way.*

III. Spring Festival in Calcutta.

It is almost exactly ten years now that Rabindranath Tagore started a new movement in art by the production of "Varsha-mangal" (Rain Festival) in Calcutta in August, 1921. An altogether new version of the Rain Festival was given in July, 1922, the "Sarodotsav" (Festival of Autumn) in September, 1922, the "Vasanta Utsav" (Festival of Spring in February, 1923). These compositions were entirely different from the ordinary 'jalsa' (musical concerts), and they could not be called dramatic plays in the accepted sense although the Poet had introduced a few

[*The above article is a translation from a lecture on the Japanese art of self-defence, Jindo, which was delivered before the Pan-Pacific Club of Tokyo. It was first published in the *Japan Times*, and is reproduced here by the courtesy of the publisher of the above journal.]

characters here and there, and in each case there was a gradual unfolding of a central theme. Songs and dances with colour harmonies in dress and decorations formed the chief ingredients which found their unity in the development of an inner idea. They constituted in fact a new form of artistic creation. The introduction of songs, dances, and decorations of the new type in the production of the dramatic pieces like the "Visarjan" in 1924, the "Natir Puja" in 1927, and the "Tapati" in 1929, marked further stages of the same movement. The "Sesh-varshan" (the Festival of the Passing Rains) was given in 1925, and "Ritu-ranga" (the Dance of the Seasons) in 1927.

This year "Nabin", a new composition with the coming and passing of Spring as its theme, was presented in Calcutta on the 17th, 18th, 19th and 21st of March, 1931, by Santiniketan boys and girls led by the Poet himself. The following account is taken from reports in the Calcutta press.

The Poet, in this musical play, opens before us the panorama of nature, heralding the pageant of Spring with its riotous glory of flowers, its exuberance of beauty in form and colour, its reckless abundance of new life. The song of invocation is a chant to this spirit of new-born joy and it introduces the first part of the play which through a magic of tunes, dances, and a sort of Greek chorus, uttered in prose by the Poet himself, brings the message of the positive manifestation of life which surrenders its wealth of youth on the altar of self-expression.

Thus it is that the day of life begins, the freshness and the intoxication of living, the joy of emergence borne in by the spring-tide of primal youth. The cycle of life however completes itself in a deeper harmony of acceptance and self-surrender, and the second part of "Nabin" reveals that other aspect of life which carries within itself the burden of 'eternal passion, eternal pain', which in the sunset glow of ripe fulfilment attains the supreme splendour of bare amplitude, rich in its dedication of the day's garnerings to the silent peace of the starry night waiting to restore the new-born day once more to the universe. This cyclic aspect of our existence, where there is no abrupt termination of our youthful activities but their gracious fulfilment in an inner realization of unity with the all through the perfection of self-surrender, is made luminously vivid in this new composition.

The songs are instinct with the pathos of parting and death, but they sing the joy of triumphant victory over death and decay through the vision of our eternal spiritual reality which far transcends the bounds

of time and place and lives serene in the peace of an eternal presence, of a harmony where life and death join together in the unending dance of Being.

The singing at the Calcutta performance, was mostly in chorus, but there were about half a dozen exquisite solo-songs. Most of the songs were accompanied by dancing by Santiniketan boy and girls. The dance-poses were based on old Indian traditions with startling innovations here and there. One thing which greatly contributed to the picturesqueness of the dances was the wonderful effect produced by the dresses worn by the dancers which were chosen with an unflinching sense of colour.

But perhaps the most striking feature of the whole performance was the contribution of the Poet himself. His part consisted in speaking a few words in prose, as a sort of a prologue, to every song. But he had a surprise for the audience. From time to time he would break off in the midst of his words and sing snatches of songs, some his own, some those of old composers, in his wonderfully rich and mellow voice, casting a spell on the whole audience.

The entire proceeds of the performances will be credited to the funds of the Visva-bharati.

IV. The Poet's Seventieth Birthday Anniversary.

Rabindranath Tagore completed his seventieth year on the 8th of May last (25th Vaisakh, 1338, B.E.). There had been a talk of taking opportunity of this event for a public expression of the love and esteem in which the Poet is held by his countrymen by a befitting celebration. But as it was found inconvenient owing to various reasons to hold the celebration on the date of the Poet's birth-day, it was decided to postpone it to some later date convenient to the Poet—a decision which was endorsed by a large body of the citizen of Calcutta at a public meeting held on the 16th May last. Celebrations on a small scale were however held in many places in Bengal including Santiniketan where the Poet's presence lent to a quiet ceremony a picturesqueness and an emotional significance, which celebrations elsewhere necessarily lacked.

The Poet delivered the following message on this occasion, through the Associated Press.

Birth-day Message from the Poet.

"The modern age, with its interlinked social and economic basis of civilisation, has brought about new values of unity in the relationship of the human races. Those races which persist in cultivating primitive habits of tribal isolation and hostile individualism must suffer and cause suffering by shunting the fundamental truth of our present civilization. Humanity must adjust itself to the spirit of the age and develop a harmonious co-operation of efforts in order that our present sufferings, born of unnatural competition and exploitation, may be alleviated."

"The immediate results of the proximity of races, made possible by the modern age, lie in increased chances for the stronger races to exploit the weaker ones by organized machinery of power and scientific utilitarianism. The weaker races, who have become a menace to the safety of the whole human civilization by attracting the greed of the powerful, have consequently to cultivate as a measure of self-defence an unwholesome attitude of national self-assertion which, in its turn, intensifies the cultural misunderstanding of the peoples of different countries."

"All these phases of maladjustment and mutual suspicion are, however, transitory, and signs are evident everywhere that a new order of co-operation will be established in the world. India must not fail to recognize this in her present effort to re-shape her destiny, and her freedom must vitally connect itself with the freedom of all humanity which comprehends the welfare of the different racial and national units that form it and give them their fulness of truth."

The following account of the celebrations at different places is taken from newspaper reports.

Santiniketan.

The seventieth birth-day of Rabindranath Tagore was celebrated by the inmates of Santiniketan and a large number of his friends belonging to the East and the West. Amidst picturesque surroundings and under the cool shade of a mango grove, Vedic prayers were chanted and songs were sung in chorus by the boys and girls of the institution. The Poet was offered 'chandan' and 'kumkum' and a Chinese artist presented him with a picture by himself. Messages wishing long life were received from friends all over the world.

The Poet in a moving speech thanked the audience for their touching demonstration of affection, and explained the central ideal of his life,

which, he said, was that of a poet who tries to reveal through self-expression the eternally youthful play of the Creator as manifested in the beauty and harmony of Nature.

The Poet then read out a few of the poems recently composed by him which gave a glimpse into his present outlook on life.

Calcutta.

A public meeting was held in Calcutta on the 16th of May, 1931, to consider what steps should be taken to celebrate the completion by the Poet of his seventieth year in a befitting manner.

The following report of the meeting is taken from the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette* of the 23rd May, 1931.

Very rarely it falls to the lot of a man to have the extreme good fortune to be the member of a vast audience as the one witnessed last Saturday (16th May, 1931). It was a cosmopolitan gathering consisting of representative people of India and outside. Men from every walk of life came to offer their greetings and respectful homage to the world-poet and world-teacher, who has made the name of India respected in every corner of the civilized world. Echoes of the voice of Will Durant who wrote to Rabindranath—"You are the reason why India should be free"—seemed to reverberate through the Hall filled with the vast representative assembly of Indians and Europeans, Hindus and Mahommedans, Sikhs, Parsis, Jews and Christians.

Every available bit of space in the spacious Hall of the Institute was fully occupied and late-comers had to go away disappointed. Men like Sir C. V. Raman, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary, Sir J. C. Coyajee and Mr. Arthur Moore squatted on the *dais* like humble students learning at the feet of and paying homage to a great teacher and leader of thought in one that they assembled to honour.

Among those present at the meeting were Mrs. Kamini Ray, Sir C. V. Raman, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, Mr. Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyaya, Mr. P. Chaudhuri, the Maharaja of Cossimbazar, Sir J. C. Coyajee and Lady Coyajee, Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary, Mr. A. P. Sen, Mr. Percy Brown, Mr. Arthur Moore, Col. Gidney, Mr. P. C. Mahalanobis, Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Mr. O. C. Gangoly, Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee, Dr. Radha Kamal Mookerjee, Rev. W. S. Urquhart, Rai Jaladhar Sen Bahadur, Sir David Ezra, Dr. D. N. Maitra, Mr. Jatindra Nath Basu, the Hon. Mr. B. K. Basu, Moulvi Mujibar Rahaman, Maulana

Akram Khan, Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitra, Mr. Atul Gupta, Mr. C. C. Biswas, Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, Rai Bahadur Nagendra Nath Banerjee, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, Mr. Padam Raj Jain, Mr. K. P. Chattopadhyaya, Mr. Surendra Nath Mallick, Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen-Gupta, Mr. Sailapati Chatterjee, Mr. Anandji Haridas, Maharani Sucharu Devi of Mayurbhanj, Principal J. R. Banerjee, Sreemati Sita Devi, Sreemati Santa Devi, Mrs. N. C. Sen, Mrs. P. Chaudhuri, Sreemati Mohini Debi, Rai P. N. Mookherjee Bahadur, Mr. Sisir Gupta, Mr. Girija Mohan Sanyal, Dr. H. W. B. Moreno, Prof. Charu Bhattacharjee, Mr. J. M. Sen, Mr. Anu Ghosh, Rai Abinash Chandra Mazumdar Bahadur, Rai Ramdeo Chokhany Bahadur, Mr. G. T. Garratt (author of *An Indian Commentary*), Mr. P. N. Tagore, Mr. Amal Home and others.

Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, M.A., D.Litt., C.I.E., presided.

On the motion of Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal seconded by Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri took the Chair.

In proposing Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri to the Chair, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal said that his heart leaped up with joy and pride when he thought that the Poet whom they met to offer homage was an international poet, thinker and missionary for peace. Rabindranath was one of the signatories to a peace manifesto issued by distinguished Europeans some time after the beginning of the Great War. Rabindranath gave expression to the life and spirit of Bengal. He unfolded them as much to his own people as to the wide world and also enriched the life and literature of Bengal. The Vaishnava poets were great sign posts in the march of Bengal's cultural progress and built up a tradition peculiar to the land. But Rabindranath made the tradition more complete and presented it to the world.

Messages were read wishing success to the movement from Dr. B. C. Roy, Mayor of Calcutta, Sir Rajendranath Mookerjee, Mr. Hirendranath Datta and Alderman Subhas Chandra Bose who were unable to attend the meeting owing to absence from town.

Among others who sent messages of regret were Mr. G. D. Birla, Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Pramathanath Tarkabhusan, Mr. E. C. Benthall, Raja Reshee Case Law, Prof. Radhakrishnan, Mr. M. A. Razzak (Deputy Mayor), the Hon. Sir Raja Manmatha Nath Roy Chowdhury of

Santosh, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Pandit Nagendra Nath Basu, Prachyavidya-maharnava, Prof. Nripendra Chandra Banerjee, Rai Rama Prasad Chanda Bahadur.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri in his presidential address said :—

I wonder why, of all men, the organisers of the Tagore Birth Anniversary have chosen me to be the President of the inaugural meeting to set the ball rolling. It is a puzzle to me, as I am a cloisterman and the Poet a man of world-wide fame. Perhaps the organisers thought that I am senior to him by several years, that he and I entered the field of Bengali Literature at one and the same time, that we both fell early under the irresistible spell of the genius of Bankim Chandra, and that he blessed both of us as rising spirits of the age.

Bankim Chandra's blessings have, however, borne abundant fruit in the case of Rabindranath whose rise has been phenomenal. And he is still rising. His fame has spread within thirty years not only from China to Peru, but also from Terra del Fuego to Alaska, and from Kamskatka to the Cape of Good Hope. He has risen higher and higher till he has soared to a height, whence the whole world unfolds its mystery.

He has tried all phases of Literature—couplets, stanza, short poems, longer pieces, short stories, longer stories, fables, novels and prose romances, dramas, farces, comedies and tragedies, songs, operas, *kirtans*, *palas*, and last but not least lyric poems. He has succeeded in every phase of Literature he has touched, but he has succeeded in the last phase of poetry beyond measures. His essays are illuminating, his sarcasms biting, his satires piercing. His estimate of old poets is deeply appreciative, and his grammatical and lexicographical speculations go farther inward than those of most of us. Blessed with noble parentage, blessed with leisure, blessed with competence, blessed with intellectual equipments of a high order and a charming presence, Nature seems to have designed him for the career he has chosen and the mission he has undertaken. He has made the best use of the gifts he has received from Nature, from society, from education and from his early associations. He has acquired fame not only for himself but for his country and his race as well. He has lived as an ideal poet as described by Raja-Sekhara a thousand years ago.

He has received his reward. The best reward of a poet is his own appreciation, his own satisfaction and his own complaisance. The world has honoured him ; the crowned heads of Europe have given him warm reception ; crowds of people have come wherever he has gone, to hear him, to appreciate him, and to admire him. Distant Scandinavia has given him a prize. But what have his countrymen done for him ? They have greedily read his books and received all the benefits of such study ; but how have they repaid the benefit ?

In ancient India, poets used to be rewarded in a variety of ways. The stories of Kalidas's ambassadorship, and even of his viceroyalty, are current to the present day. When India was parcelled out into small states, Bhavabhuti was an all-India power. But that was another India. India then had political power, and that makes the case of modern India quite different. Even in the near past, poets are known to have gained as much as six crores of rupees for a single stanza ; but these are exceptional instances. The great warrior, organiser and statesman, Sivaji, gave 52 elephants for 52 verses of Bhusana Kavi. Haranath, a wild poet, having squandered away the wealth given to his father by Akbar, gained 10 lakhs from the Raja of Baghelkhand for a single long verse ; but outside the gates of the palace, a blind poet presented him with a single short verse, and he got from Haranath a lakh of rupees out of his ten. In modern Rajputana, 'lakh-pasao' is an institution ; any poet writing smart verses gets from his Raja a lakh. I know Kaviraja Murardan received two such gifts ; his grand-father received three. The 'lakh-pasao' was a good means of rewarding poets. But we have no Rajas here in Bengal to give us lakhs. What are we to do to reward great poets or our great poet Rabindranath ?

These are democratic times. We should all read his poems. That would be his best reward, economically and intellectually, and, above all, let us show our appreciation by demonstrations like those that are going to be proposed. Let us celebrate his seventieth birth anniversary—a pretty long life in these days of famine and degeneration—with all heartiness.

BIRTH-DAY GREETINGS TO THE POET.

Mrs. Kamini Ray moved and Maharani Sucharu Devi of Mayurbhanj seconded the following resolution :—

"That this meeting offers its respectful greetings to Rabindranath Tagore and conveys to him its warm felicitations on his completing the seventieth year of his life."

Mrs. Kamini Ray in proposing the first resolution said that Rabindranath was not only a great poet but a great national worker and leader who has been an ideal to youths and a symbol of unity of the East and the West.

Maharani Sucharu Devi in seconding the resolution said that she would pay her tribute to the Poet in silence which was more eloquent than speech.

Mr. Arthur Moore, Editor of the *Statesman*, in supporting the resolution said Rabindranath Tagore was not only one of the greatest sons of Bengal, but through his writings that he had given to the world, he was one of the great citizens of the world. This magnificent meeting, added Mr. Moore, was the greatest tribute to the Poet.

Mr. A. P. Sen of Lucknow, the Hon'ble Mr. B. K. Basu, Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, Mr. Anandji Haridas, Mr. O. C. Gangoly and Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen-Gupta supported the resolution which was passed with acclamation.

BIRTH-DAY CELEBRATIONS IN CALCUTTA.

Sir C. V. Raman received a rousing ovation in moving the following resolution :—

“That this meeting is of opinion that the occasion of the Poet completing his seventieth year should be celebrated by his countrymen and all sections of the community in a fitting manner in Calcutta at a convenient time.”

Sir Chandrasekhar Raman in the course of his speech said that the award of Nobel Prize for Literature caused dissatisfaction every year ; for many questioned the justice of the award. It was a difficult task to make satisfactory award every year for poets ; for poets were rarer than scientists and good poets were rarer still. If awards for literature were made every twenty years, preferably once in a century, Rabindranath was certain to be chosen. Referring to celebration he said it should be held in *Maidan* and the ceremony should consist of having *darsan* of the Poet ; for they would be satisfied with nothing less than personal participation by the Poet in the celebration.

Mr. Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyaya, who was cheered for several minutes, said it was an impossible task to give a catalogue of Rabindranath's achievements. He suggested that the celebration should take the form of offering of heart's homage in a restrained manner. On this occasion they should remember that the two institutions with which Rabindranath was closely associated were *Visva-Bharati* and *Sri-Niketan*. Many would

say that they were mere dreams. It might be so, but they were not dreams of ordinary people but dreams of the world-poet. A fitting celebration of the seventieth birth-day anniversary of the poet should be by due recognition by his countrymen of the two institutions with which he had been so closely associated throughout the latter days of his life. It was not impossible that the poet might be nursing a grievance against his countrymen for their comparative failure so far to properly appreciate the utility of those institutions and on his birthday celebration they should do their best to make good their default.

Rev. Dr. W. S. Urquhart, Col. Gidney, Principal J. R. Banerjee, and Mr. C. C. Biswas supported the resolution which was also carried with acclamation.

Dr. Urquhart speaking as a man from Scotland said that there was no part of the civilized world in which the works of Dr. Tagore were more appreciated as in Scotland. It was peculiarly fitting that at this time when India was awakening to a sense of nationhood we should all celebrate the birthday of one who has taught us not only the value of his own nation but has taught us also the value of internationalism,—taught us to look beyond the boundaries which separate the countries and find realities and values of our common humanity.

Col. Gidney quoting a prayer of Rabindranath in verse, "Into that freedom let, my father, my country awake" said that no one could read his poems without being impressed by a sense of patriotism, a sense of duty to oneself or a sense of duty to the country.

On the motion of Mr. S. N. Mallick a representative committee with Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose as President was formed to give effect to the previous resolution.

Sir J. C. Coyajee, Maharaja Srish Chandra Nundy, Dr. Radhakumud Mookherjee, Mr. Padamraj Jain, Mr. O. C. Gangoly also spoke on the occasion.

Tribute by Newspapers.

Newspapers, both English and Bengali, gave wide publicity to the event in their news columns and paid eloquent tributes to the Poet, through editorial comments and contributed articles, featuring his portraits, and, in some cases, reproductions of some of his recent drawings. A selection of these is given below.

In the course of an article in the editorial columns, the *Statesman*, the leading European daily paper of Calcutta, observed :—

“Tagore is a great name, not only in this part of the world. An Indian who wins the Nobel Prize does not go unmarked in other countries, and Tagore has done more than win that. He has made a definite and peculiar contribution to the totality of modern English literature. He has given it something that has no exact counterpart, and English literature, as catholic in its welcome of what is valuable as Indian thought is, regards him as partly its own.”

The *Statesman* also published four portraits of the Poet representing him at four different periods of his life. In the latest of these, he is seen in the company of Einstein.

The *Advance*, which featured a magnificent portrait of the Poet covering in the whole of its front page and a full-page article about him, said, in the course of its leader :—

“The poet’s vision had gone beyond the range of sounds and colours and foreseen the future of man murdering in cold blood his brother man, ashamed of it indeed, but helpless before a relentless fate which urged them on. It is too early to judge how far the poet’s mission as an evangel of peace and friendship among nations has been successful, or whether it will ever attain measurable success. But should the present movement towards inter-nationalism bear any tangible result, Rabindranath Tagore would be counted as one of its pioneers in days when inter-nationalism was anathema to the nations of the world.”

Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, writing in the *Englishman* of May, 11, observed :—

“Tagore, though justly counted among the greatest intellectual and spiritual forces of the present world, is, however, in a special sense, a Bengalee ; and this message of his” (his birth day message) “is, therefore, also the message of the age-long culture and genius of his people.”

And again : “Tagore has been one of the prophets of our new nationalism if, indeed, he has not been *the* prophet of it. In the early years of the present century he entered a most powerful protest against the exploitation of his people by their present British masters. But though “as a measure of self-defence” he led a movement of self-assertion by his people, the clarity of his world-vision was never blurred by it, and he never consciously contributed to the ‘cultural misunderstanding’ of India and Europe.”

The literary supplement of the *Englishman* published a full-page portrait of the Poet, with a short biographical note.

Glowing tributes were also paid by the Bengali Press acknowledging the nation's debt to him and emphasising his contribution to world-thought.

The Corporation of Calcutta.

On the 22nd of May, 1931, the Corporation of Calcutta passed a congratulatory resolution. A short account of the proceedings is given below from the Calcutta Municipal Gazette of the 6th June, 1931.

At a meeting of the Corporation held on Friday, the 22nd May, 1931, Mr. Sachindra Nath Mukherjee moved a resolution congratulating the Poet Rabindranath on his completing the seventieth year. The following resolutions were passed unanimously:—

(i) That the Corporation of Calcutta expresses its cordial and respectful congratulations to India's national poet, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, on the happy event of his seventieth birthday.

(ii) That as one of the most eminent citizens of this great city who is acclaimed to-day as an outstanding world figure, the seventieth birthday of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore is a matter of special rejoicing to this Corporation.

(iii) That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Poet signed by the Mayor, wishing him many happy returns yet of the anniversary of his birthday, so that he may bring further glory to his country and nation.

The resolution was carried unanimously having been supported by Rev. B. A. Nag, and Mr. Saadatullah. The Deputy Mayor, who presided, also associated himself with the idea.

Calcutta, Dhurumtala.—The 70th anniversary of Dr. Tagore's birthday was celebrated in Collins High School. The function began with a prayer by Rev. H. M. Swan, the Principal of the School, and consisted of a varied and interesting programme. Mr. D. N. Mukherjee, a senior teacher of the school, moved a resolution on behalf of the teachers and the boys of the school wishing the poet still longer life.

Calcutta, Central Collegiate School.—The teachers and students of the Central Collegiate School, assembled at a meeting held in the school premises on Saturday, the 9th May, under the presidency of Mr. K. C. Basu, Barrister-at-Law, adopted a resolution congratulating Dr. Rabindranath Tagore on his completing his 70th birthday, and praying to the Almighty to spare him for many more years to come to continue his noble works in the cause of literature, nationalism and humanity.

North Calcutta Students' Association.—The North Calcutta District Students' Association celebrated the 70th birth-day ceremony of the

Poet at 79, Shambazar Street on the 8th May. Various papers and poems on Rabindranath and his works were read.

The Sangha, a literary society, celebrated 'Rabindra Jayanti' at the Shyambazar A. V. School on Friday, the 8th May. S. J. N. Basu presided. The programme that was gone through included music, vocal and instrumental and recitation of a number of the poet's verses. Two sweet songs sung by two tiny girls added special charm to the function. Interesting papers on the life and teachings of Rabindranath were read and the poet's drama "Shesh Biksha" staged by members of "Amrita Chakra."

Celebrations in other places.

Celebrations were also held in many other places. The following notes have been compiled from the daily press.

Brahmanbarria.—In an atmosphere of deep solemnity and calm serenity Rabindra Jayanti Utsav was celebrated by the Friends' Union Club at Brahmanbarria. The newly opened club room was gaily decorated and a portrait of the poet was mounted on a raised platform. A prayer for the good health and peace of the "Rishi" was offered by the members.

Mymensingh.—The 70th birthday of Rabindranath was duly celebrated at Mymensingh under the auspices of the Rabindra Samsad. S. J. Mohit Lal Majumdar presided over the function. The programme included some songs of the poet, recitations of some poems of Rabindranath and some articles and poems composed for the occasion. The elite of the town joined to make the function successful in spite of extremely inclement weather.

Rajshahi.—Under the auspices of the Deshbandhu Kalyan Samity, Rajshahi, the birth anniversary of Rabindra Nath Tagore was performed with S. J. Provash Chandra Lahiri in the chair. S. J. Manash Govinda Sen and Suprakash Chakravarty spoke on S. J. Tagore's life and writings and several papers were also read.

Hooghly.—Under the auspices of the Hooghly Chandrama Sammilani the 70th birth anniversary of poet Rabindranath was celebrated on Friday the 8th May, at the Hooghly Arya Library Hall, S. J. Subodh Chandra Roy, ex-editor of the "Naba Sakti" presiding. There was a very large gathering of either sex representing the culture of the town. Speakers including S. J. Promatha Nath Sarkar, Professor of the Calcutta University College, and Pundit Gispathi Bhattacharji addressed the meeting.

Hooghly-Serampur.—Serampur Bani Mandir celebrated Rabindra Jayanti on Sunday the 10th May in their own premises.

Bansberiah.—Rabindra Jayanti was celebrated with great eclat by the people of Bansberiah, Hooghly, at the Bansberiah Public Library Hall

under the presidency of Kumar Manindra Deb Roy Mahashaya of Bansberiah Raj. The president in a neat little speech dwelt on the outstanding features of the illustrious poet's life.

Dhubri.—The 70th birth-day anniversary celebration of poet Rabindra Nath Tagore was observed in a meeting at the local High School Hall, Dhubri, on the 8th May, S. Chakravarty presiding. There was a good attendance of ladies and gentleman of the town with a number of school boys and the proceeding began with an opening song sung by the ladies, after which there were recitations from the poet's well-known poems by boys and girls. Essays dealing with the life and literature of the poet and his contributions to the world's culture were read.

Netrokona.—The 70th birth-day of the Poet was celebrated on the 9th May by a musical entertainment performed by young boys and girls under the guidance of S. Sailajaranjan Majumdar. Mr. B. N. Chakravarty, I.C.S., the popular S.D.O. with many officials were present and gave some donations to the fund.

Barisal.—Rabindra Joyanti was celebrated in Chandrahar H. E. School, Barisal, with due solemnity where people from neighbouring villages gathered. Songs were sung, poems recited, essays read and prizes given to successful competitors in recitations and lectures given by Hari Prasad Guha Roy, Suresh Chandra Gupta and Durga Mohan Sen.

Cuttack.—Under the auspices of the Cuttack Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, the 70th birth-day of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore was observed on the 8th May. Mr. M. S. Das, C.I.E., presided and the programme included songs, recitations and dramatic performances selected from the poet's works. Songs by Mrs. Malati Choudhury, an ex-student of Santiniketan, and by Miss Parul Sen were much appreciated. A congratulatory address has been sent to the Poet.

VISVA-BHARATI

Founder-President—RABINDRANATH TAGORE.



ANNUAL REPORT, 1930.

THE PRESIDENT.

Early in January the President visited Gujrat and delivered a course of lectures at Baroda.

The President's Visit to the West.—In the Autumn of 1928 the Hibbert Trustees had invited him to deliver the Hibbert lectures in England but owing to continued ill health he could not proceed to England that year and it was decided to postpone his departure for England until a later date. This year he accepted the invitation, and accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Rathindra Nath Tagore, Mr. E. W. Ariam and Mr. A. C. Chakravartty, left Calcutta for England in February, 1930. After a short stay in France he proceeded to England, and delivered the Hibbert Lectures in Oxford, which attracted a good deal of notice and were highly appreciated. He then went to Berlin where he stayed for some time with Dr. and Mrs. Mendel at Wannsee.

After an extensive lecture tour in Germany he went to Geneva for a short time where he discussed problems of international co-operation with notable men of many nationalities.

Visit to Moscow.—For a long time the Poet had been anxious to visit Russia but continued ill health prevented him from doing so. This year he accepted the invitation of the Soviet Government, and arrived in Moscow on the 11th of September. He was warmly received by the representatives of various scientific and literary societies of Moscow, and had opportunities of coming into close personal contact with the leaders of thought and action in Russia. He visited many educational and cultural institutions of the Soviet Republic, and personally observed the cultural, social and educational work undertaken by the Soviet Republic

for the betterment of the condition of the peasant masses. A detailed account of the President's visit to Russia has been published in the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* Vol. 8, 1930-31, Parts I and II, and has been reprinted as Bulletin No. 15, "Rabindranath Tagore in Russia" issued in November, 1930.

Visit to America.—On the 25th of September the Poet left Moscow, and started for the United States of America on the 3rd of October. There he fell ill and was compelled to cancel all engagements for some time. After a few week's rest his health improved slightly, and he again started a strenuous lecturing tour. At the end of November a big reception attended by more than 2,000 persons was arranged in his honour in New York.

He left the United States on the 18th of December, and reached England on the 23rd of December.

Exhibition of Drawings.—A notable feature of the present tour has been the Exhibitions of the Poet's Drawings which were held in Paris, London, Berlin, Munich, Moscow, New York, Philadelphia and other important art centres in Europe and America.

The Drawings aroused great interest among artists and art critics, and competent judges are of opinion that they are likely to have a permanent influence on future movement of art in Europe. A fuller account will be found in the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* Vol. 8, 1930-31, Part III.

The Future Programme. In spite of his indifferent health and physical weakness the President made strenuous efforts to raise funds for the *Visva-bharati*. We earnestly hope that he will succeed in placing his institution on a secure financial basis, so that there will be no need of his going out on arduous tours for collection of funds in future.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Office-bearers.—Narendranath Law worked as the Artha-Sachiva (Treasurer), upto the 16th September, 1930. On his departure for England, Indubhushan Sen was elected temporary Artha-Sachiva in his place from the 17th September, 1930. Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis was the Karma-Sachiva (General Secretary) throughout the year. Kishori Mohan Santra worked as Assistant General Secretary and was in charge of the General Office in Calcutta.

The Samsad (Governing Body) and Karma-Samiti (Working Committee).—There were 5 meetings of the Samsad (Governing Body) and 13 meetings of the Karma-Samiti (Working Committee) during the year.

In addition to the usual work of administration several items of importance were considered and committees were appointed to carry them out.

(i) *Land Settlement.*—We are glad to report that the Government of Bengal have finally accepted the proposed modification in the terms of the Land Acquisition Agreement which will allow us to lease out, on suitable conditions, plots of land at Santiniketan to members of the Visva-Bharati. After a careful consideration of various alternative schemes, a draft form of agreement was prepared in September. It has been approved by the Karma-Samiti and the Samsad, and on being confirmed by the Varshika Parishat will furnish a basis for the development of a Land Settlement Scheme. Our best thanks are due to Mr. Saroj Kumar Mukherji, Solicitor, and Mr. Sudhi Ranjan Das, Barrister-at-Law, for the ungrudging help accorded us in this connexion.

(ii) *Rules and Bye-laws.*—Departmental rules and bye-laws were framed by local Samitis in 1929. Other rules and bye-laws were added, and a consolidated body of rules was prepared and arranged in two parts, one of which would apply generally to all departments, and the other to particular institutions. They were considered at a meeting of the Karma-Samiti on the 16th September, approved by the Samsad on the 23rd December, and finally confirmed by the Varshika Parishat on the 24th December, 1930.

(iii) *Birthday Celebration Committee.*—A Committee consisting of Kalidas Nag, Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis, Jyotish Chandra Ghosh, Charu Chandra Bhattacharya, Indubhushan Sen, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Amiya Chandra Chakravarty, Nanda Lal Bose, Kshiti Mohan Sen and Amal Home (Convenor) with powers to add to its number was appointed to take necessary steps for organizing the celebration, in a suitable manner, of the 70th birthday of the President in May, 1931. The Committee met several times during the year and drew up a programme for the purpose.

Re-organization Scheme.—Early in January, 1930, the President drew the attention of the Karma-Samiti to the unsatisfactory financial condition of the Visva-Bharati. Accordingly the Karma-Samiti at its meeting of the 29th January, 1930, appointed a sub-committee consisting

of Rathindranath Tagore, Promoda Ranjan Ghose, Charuchandra Bhattacharya, Debendra Mohan Bose, Jitendra Mohan Sen and Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis (Secretary) to draw up a scheme of re-organization. The Committee met several times and submitted a report which was considered by the Karma-Samiti on the 26th March and by the Samsad along with a note by P. C. Mahalanobis (Karma-Sachiva) on the 30th March, 1930.

On the financial side the Samsad issued definite instructions that in future the Visva-Bharati will not be liable for any expenditure incurred in excess of the amount sanctioned by the Samsad, and any officer incurring any such excess expenditure will be held personally liable for the same. It was decided that all donations, not otherwise disposed of in the Budget Estimates would be applied in future towards the liquidation of the liabilities of the General Fund.

The system of a Block Grant for current expenditure at Santiniketan was also definitely brought into effect from April, 1930 and the Budget for 1930-31 was framed on the same basis.

Removal of the General Office from Calcutta to Santiniketan.

In 1922 when the Visva-Bharati was formally organized the central office was situated at Santiniketan with a small branch office in Calcutta. With the rapid development of the work of the Visva-Bharati Sammilani and of the Publishing Department, the Calcutta Office also had to be enlarged considerably. Owing to the increasing association of members resident in Calcutta with the work of the Samsad and the original Finance Committee (which was later transformed into the present Karma-Samiti) it was found convenient to deal with all committee and constitutional work and general correspondence from Calcutta, while the finance and accounts section continued to be located in Santiniketan. This arrangement continued till the end of 1924. Early in 1925 it was decided to remove the accounts section also to Calcutta and in May, 1925 the change was effected. Since then for nearly 6 years the whole of the work of the General Office has been conducted from Calcutta.

There has always been a feeling among many members of the Visva-Bharati, especially among those resident at Santiniketan, that it would be more in keeping with the history of the institution to locate the General Office at Santiniketan. Up till now it has been thought advisable, however, to secure the active co-operation of the Calcutta group workers by retaining the General Office in Calcutta. The period of building up the administrative machinery may now be considered to have been definitely concluded. The Statutes and Regulations have been supplemented, this year, by a comprehensive set of Rules and Bye-laws. The

separation of all Capital and Trust Funds has also been completed, and detailed procedures have been drawn up for financial administration and audit.

The removal of the General Office to Santiniketan at this stage is likely to lead to a more unified administrative control. It is also likely to make it possible for the Karma-sachiva, who will be resident at Santiniketan, in future, to take a larger initiative in the management of the different institutions at Santiniketan and Sriniketan. The termination of the triennial term of office of the present incumbent makes it extremely convenient to effect this change this year, and the Samsad kept this purpose in view in nominating Rathindranath Tagore for the office of the Karma-sachiva.

Islamic Studies.—Dr. Julius Germanus continued to hold the Nizam Chair for Islamic Studies during the year under review. He delivered courses of lectures on Islamic culture, and wrote a series of four articles on Modern Movements in Islam for the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*. He is engaged in a detailed study of recent movements of Islam in India.

Mr. Bogdanov worked as a Lecturer in Persian up to June, 1930.

Zoroastrian Studies.—Dr. Michael Collins and Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala held the two Zoroastrian Professorships under the Zoroastrian Fund up to the end of September, 1930. Dr. Collins, who was the resident Professor at Santiniketan, participated in the works of the Vidya-bhavana (Research Institute) and of the Santiniketan College. Dr. Taraporewala delivered no lectures at Santiniketan during the year under review.

The appointments under Zoroastrian Fund having terminated in September, 1930, the provisional trustees in Bombay were requested to communicate their views regarding future arrangements, and also to take necessary steps for placing the future administration of the fund on a permanent basis.

BARODA GRANT.

Quinquennial Report.—During the year under review we received, for the sixth time, Rs. 6,000/- from H. H. the Gaekwad of Baroda. A short account of the work done with this grant during the last five years is given below.

Two Research Professorships in the Vidya-bhavana (Research Institute) at Santiniketan, held respectively by Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya,

Sastri, and Pandit Kshitimohan Sen, M.A., Sastri, were maintained from this grant. A whole-time Tibetan Research Assistant, Mr. Sonam-Ngo Drub, has also been employed for helping the Professors in their work.

The work done by the Research Professors can be most conveniently described under the following heads:—(1) Teaching work, (2) Research, (3) Supervision and direction of research work by advanced students.

Teaching Work.—Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya delivered advanced lectures on the following subjects in the years noted within brackets.

Vedic Sanskrit: (1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929).

Tibetan: (1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929).

Buddhist Philosophy: (1926, 1927, 1928, 1929).

Buddhist Logic: (1928, 1929).

Jainism: (1927).

Prakrit: (1924, 1927, 1928).

Pali: (1926, 1927).

Vedānta: (1924).

Pandit Kshitimohan Sen delivered lectures on:—

Mediaeval Indian Religions: (1926, 1927, 1928).

Indian Mysticism: (1928).

Nāthism and Yogī Cult: (1926).

Sanskrit Literature: (1925, 1929).

Research Work.—Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya completed the following pieces of original researches:—

(1) A Critical Edition of the *Āgamasāstra of Gauḍapāda*.

(2) A Comparative Tibeto-Sanskrit Edition of *Dīnāga's Nyāyapraveśa* (published in Gaekwad's Oriental Series).

(3) *Mahāyānaviṃśaka* by *Nāgārjuna* from Tibetan and Chinese sources (*Visva-Bharati Quarterly* Vol. 8, Parts I & II, 1930-31).

(4) *Dīnāga's Akṣara-Sāhita* from Tibetan sources.

(5) *Ārya-deva's Catuṣṣāhita* from Tibetan sources, (*Visva-Bharati Studies* No. 1).

(6) Buddhist *Tāntrik Sādhana* in the Tibetan version.

(7) A paper on "the Doctrine of Ātman and Anātman," (Proceedings, Indian Oriental Congress, 1929).

(8) A paper on "*Sandhā-bhāṣā*."

(9) Jointly with Prof. G. Tucci :—A critical edition of *Madhyānta-vibhāga-vṛtti-ṭīkā* by Sthiramati.

(10) Several papers on Avesta and other subjects.

Since 1923 Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya has also been engaged in the systematic collation of the Mahabharata Mss., in collaboration with the Bhandarkar Research Institute of Poona.

Pandit Kshitimohan Sen has completed the following works :—

(1) A comprehensive account of the Life and Works of *Dādū* (to be published in the *Visva-Bharati Studies*).

(2) An account of the the *Bāuls*.

He has started writing a History of the Religious Movements in Mediaeval India (an outline of which was given in a course of lectures delivered by him in 1929 as the Adharachandra Mukherjee Lecturer of the Calcutta University), and also a book on *Rajjabī's Vāṇīs*. He made extensive tours in Western India and collected the songs and works of Indian Mystics.

Supervision of Research.—Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya has worked as the *Adhyaksa* of the *Vidya-bhavana* (Director of the Research Institute) since the foundation of the institution, and has directed and supervised the advanced studies and researches carried on in the institution.

The following researches were completed under his direct supervision and guidance.

(1) H. R. Rangaswami Iyenger, M.A. (now working in the Mysore University) : *Diñnāga's Pramāṇa-samuccaya* from Tibetan sources.

(2) N. Ayyaswami (now working in Madras) : *Buddhacarita* from Tibetan sources.

(3) Durga Charan Chatterji, M.A. (Bengal Government Research Scholar, now Professor of Sanskrit at Krishnagar College) : *Yogāvatāra* from Tibetan sources.

(4) Durga Charan Chatterji, M.A. : *Hetutattvopadeśa* of *Jelāri* from Tibetan sources.

(5) Durga Charan Chatterji, M.A. : A short paper on *Pustaka-paṭhoṇāya* (existing only in Tibetan translation).

(6) Sujitkumar Mukherjee : *Nairātma-paripṛcchā*, restored from Tibetan with notes and introduction. (*Visva-bharati Quarterly*, Vol. 8, 1930-31, Parts I & II).

- (7) Sujitkumar Mukherjee : Introductory part of *Mūlamādhyamika-Vṛtti* of Buddha-pāli from Tibetan.
- (8) Sujitkumar Mukherjee : *Tri-svāva-nirdeśa*, an edition comparing Sanskrit and Tibetan version.
- (9) Prabhubhai Patel : Āryadeva's *Citta-Viśuddhi-prakaraṇa* with comparison of Tibetan translations.
- (10) Prabhubhai Patel : Nāgārjuna's commentary on *Mūla-madhyama Kārikā* from Tibetan versions.
- (11) Prabhubhai Patel : *Subhāsita-saṃgraha*, a new edition.
- (12) Kapileswar Miśra : A critical edition of the *Brahma-sūtras*.
- (13) Manubhai Patel : The Kāṇva and Mādhyandina rescensions of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.
- ((14) Manomohan Ghosh : An Index of each pada of the *śloka*s in *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*.
- (15) Amulya Chandra Sen, M.A. : Schools and Sects in Jaina Literature (*Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, Vol. 7, April and Vol. 8, Parts I & II).
- (16) Amulya Chandra Sen, M.A. : Translation of Nyāya-dīpikā.
- (17) Amulya Chandra Sen, M.A. : A short treatise on Indian Logic.
- (18) Rakesh Chandra Sarma, M.A. : The Yogācāra system of Buddhist Philosophy.
- (19) Dulare Sahai : A Hindi translation of the Pali work *Dīgha-Nikāya*.
- (20) Anathnath Basu, B.A. : *Tattva-svabhāva-dṛṣṭi-gītikā-dōā* of Luipāda, with comparison of Tibetan and Old Bengali Texts.
- (21) Anathnath Basu, B.A. : *Vimalaratnalekhā*, with Sanskrit and English translations, from Tibetan sources.
- (22) Anathnath Basu, B.A. : *Sīlaṭparikathā* of Vasubandhu, reconstructed from Tibetan with notes and introduction.
- (23) Anathnath Basu, B.A. : Some Old Bengali songs in Tibetan.
- (24) Nitaibinod Goswami : *Vibhāvanī Ṭikā* on the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*.
- (25) Nagendranarayan Chaudhuri : A critical edition of the *Ḍārṇava* with the help of its Tibetan version.
- (26) Haridas Mitra, M.A. : A monograph on Gaṇapati.
- (27) Premasundar Bose, M.A. : A critical edition of *Sarvasiddhānta-sārasaṅgraha*.

Pandit Kshitimohan Sen supervised the following researches:—

- (1) Anathnath Basu : A paper on *Mīrābāi* (*V.-B. Quarterly*, Vol. 7).
- (2) Sudhir Chandra Sen, M.A. : *Nāthism*.
- (3) Srimatī Ibhā Devi : A critical edition of the *Dharma-maṅgala*.

Conclusion.—The outstanding feature of the work done with the help of the Baroda grant has been the initiation for the first time in India of the systematic study of Tibetan source of the History of Indian Philosophy and Culture. Tibetan studies are now being carried on outside Bengal by H. R. Rangaswami Iyengar, M.A., in Mysore, N. Ayyaswami in Madras, V. Gokhale in Bombay, and Prabhubhai Patel in Gujarat, all of whom received their training at Santiniketan.

An account of the work done during the year 1930 found on pages 12—15.

Society of Friends.—We gratefully acknowledge receiving an earmarked donation of Rs. 2,132-7-10 during the year under review from the Friends Service Council of England for maintaining a Fellowship at Santiniketan held by Mr. Nalin Chandra Ganguly, M.A. (Birm.), a member of the Society of Friends. Mr. Ganguly worked as the Principal of the Santiniketan College and reorganized it in a very efficient manner.

Our best thanks are also due to members of the Society of Friends who accorded an enthusiastic welcome to the Poet in England, and to Mr. Harry G. Timbres, M.D., another member of the Society of Friends, who accompanied the Poet to Russia and the United States of America.

Publications.—The following research memoirs of the Vidya-bhavana (Research Institute) are nearly ready for publication :—

- (i) *Schools and Sects in Jaina Literature*. By Amulya Chandra Sen.
- (ii) *Mahāyānavimśaka of Nāgārjuna*. By Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya.
- (iii) *Nairatmyāparipṛcchā*. By Sujitakumar Mukhopadhyaya.
- (iv) *Aryadeva's Catuḥśataka*. By Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya.
- (v) *Modern Movements in the World of Islam*. By Dr. Julius Germanus.

Some of these memoirs were published in the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* and arrangements have also been made to publish regularly the research studies of the Vidya-bhavana in the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* in future.

(i) Issued in book form in April, 1931.
 (ii) Issued in book form in April, 1931.
 (iii) Issued in book form in April, 1931.
 (iv) Issued in book form in April, 1931.

The following Bulletin was published during the year.

No. 15. Rabindranath Tagore in Russia. An account of the Poet's visit to Moscow. Edited by P. C. Mahalanobis. The members of the Visva-bharati get these Bulletins free or at a nominal price.

Membership.—The total number of members on the roll was 767 at the end of the year 1930, of whom 226 were Life Members. The following persons were elected ordinary members during the year: *Suchindranath Bose, Asha Adhikari, Nagendra Narayan Chaudhury, Kumudbihari Ray, Profulla Chandra Mitter, Asoke Banerji, Kiriti Kumar Mukherji V. A. Subramanian, R. A. Harman.*

FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION.

Donors.—A complete list of donations received during the year is given at the end of the report in Appendix A.

Budget Estimates for 1930-31.—The financial question was very carefully considered by the Karma-Samiti and the Samsad during the year under review. The Re-organisation Sub-Committee appointed by the Karma-Samiti was instructed to make a thorough survey of the financial situation of the Visva-Bharati and make suggestions for adopting a balanced budget. The Sub-Committee recommended a system of block-grants to Santiniketan for the period April to September, 1930. The same principle was adopted for framing the Budget Estimates for 1930-31 and a budget framed on this basis was passed by the Samsad at its meeting held on the 16th September, 1930.

Audited Accounts.—The Balance Sheet and the Audited Accounts for the financial year ended 30th September, 1930 were prepared in proper time, and were considered at a meeting of the Samsad held on the 23rd December, and were adopted by the Varshika Parisat, (Annual General Meeting) on the 24th December, 1930. They are attached hereto as Appendix M.

Permanent and Earmarked Funds.—Capital and Revenue accounts were maintained separately for all permanent and earmarked funds. Full details are given on pages 388—396 of the Audited Accounts.

New Funds.—Three new funds were created during the year under review.

No. C-3/28. *Friends Service Council Fund.*—The donations received from the Society of Friends were constituted into a fund and were earmarked in accordance with the wishes of the donors for meeting

the expenses for maintaining a fellowship at Santiniketan to be held for the present by Mr. Nalin Chandra Ganguly.

No. B-13/30. Cheap's Kuthi Fund.—The sum of Rs. 5,000/- received from Mr. L. K. Elmhirst was constituted into a fund and was earmarked for a well and a shed at Cheap's Kuthi in accordance with the wishes of the donor.

No. C-4/29. President's Fund.—The donations received by the President have been constituted into a fund to be administered by the President.

Old Funds.—In accordance with a resolution of the Samsad dated the 30th March, 1930, all outstanding loans to the General Fund were fully repaid.

B-2/22. Sriniketan Fund. The Government of Bengal sanctioned an annual grant of Rs. 3,000/- for 3 years, and the sum of Rs. 3,000/- was received during the year under review for agricultural development

Miscellaneous.—Pandits Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya, and Kshitimohan Sen, Dr. Julius Germanus, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, and Mr. P. C. Mahalanobis attended the Oriental Conference held at Patna in December, 1930, as delegates from the Visva-Bharati, and Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya presided over the Vedic section of the conference.

SANTINIKETAN

SANTINIKETAN.

Pramada Ranjan Ghosh remained in charge as Santiniketan-Sachiva throughout the year under review.

General Progress.—In 1929 the President had formulated a detailed programme of work for the different institutions at Santiniketan. The workers, although lacking the inspiration of his personal guidance, made every effort to carry out the President's directions. The financial administration of the different departments were on the whole stabilized, and the internal organization was improved in many respects.

Santiniketan Samiti.—The Santiniketan Samiti met 12 times during the year and directed the ordinary work of administration through the usual Standing Committees for the Vidya-bhavana, Siksha-bhavana, Patha-bhavana, the Library, Sanitation, Sports, Up-keep, Hospital etc.

Festivals.—The “Varsh-Mangal and Briksha-ropana” (Rains and Tree planting Festival) was celebrated in August, and a performance of “Dak-ghar” was arranged in September.

VIDYA-BHAVANA (RESEARCH INSTITUTE).

Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya worked as Adhyaksha of the Vidya-bhavana (Director of the Research Institute) throughout the year.

Staff.—In the year under review the staff consisted of Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya (Director) ; Kshiti Mohan Sen, M.A. ; M. Collins, Ph.D. ; L. Bogdanov ; Ten Yen Shen ; Sonam Ngo Drub ; Julius Germanus, Ph.D. (Nizam Professor of Islamic Studies).

Students.—Besides 10 regular students, 2 teachers and 28 students of other departments attended the advanced courses of lectures. Among them 4 came from China, and one, a girl from Japan.

Stipends.—Two students enjoyed stipends, and the work done by them was satisfactory. Both of them were studying Tibetan and Chinese.

Courses of Lectures.—The following courses of lectures were given during the year. The number within brackets shows the number of students attending the course.

Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya: *Tibetan* (2), *Buddhism* (2) *Buddhist Logic* (2), *Vedic Sanskrit* (1), *Prakrit* (4).

Kshitimohan Sen: *Sanskrit* (3).

M. Collins: *Indo-Iranian Philology* (2).

Julius Germanus: *Turkish* (1), *Arabic* (2), *German* (8). He also delivered a series of general lectures on the history of Turkey.

I. Bogdanov: *Persian* (1), *French* (16).

Ten Yan Shen: *Chinese* (2).

Sonam Ngo Drub: *Tibetan*. He was specially engaged in copying and collating Tibetan Xylographs.

Research Work by Students.—Seed Ansari made a special study of the Anthro-po-geographical Conception of History of Ibn-i-khaldun.

Prabhubhai Patel continued the work begun last year: (1) a critical edition of *Cittavisuddhiprakarana* with the Tibetan text, and (2) a critical and new edition of the *Subhasitasamgraha*.

Sujit Kumar Mukhopadhyaya finished (1) a new edition of the *Trisvabhāvanirdeśa* of Vasubandhu with the Tibetan version, and (2) a restoration in Sanskrit of *Tarkamudgarika* of Jayananda of Kashmir from its Tibetan version. He was also engaged in (3) restoring in Sanskrit from the Tibetan text, the *Pāṇinivṛtyākaranaśūtra*, arranged in a different order.

Research Work by the Members of the Staff.—Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya: (1) continued the work begun last year jointly with Prof. Dr. G. Tucci, viz., editing the Tika of Sthiramati on Vasubandhu's commentary on the *Madhyanta-vibhaga* of Maitreyanatha. The first chapter has been sent to the press. (2) He has started preparing an edition of the *Yuktisastikārikā* by Nāgārjuna, an important work of the Madhyamika school, in its Tibetan version together with the restored Sanskrit text. (3) He also wrote a number of papers on various subjects, one of them being the Presidential Address for the Vedic Section of the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference, Patna.

J. Germanus wrote the following papers: (1) New Movements in the World of Islam, (2) Glossary to *Majani-Adat ti hadark ul-Arab*, (3) Eighty years of Turkish culture, (4) The Dervishes of the Janissaries, (5) Arabic and Latin script in Turkey.

M. Collins continued his work on the Indus Seals.

Kshitimohan Sen was engaged in preparing: (1) The Life and Sayings of Kabir in which he is incorporating a good deal of rare and hitherto

unpublished material; (2) The Life and Sayings of Anandaghana, a Jaina mystic of the 17th century; (3) The work of Rajjab, a disciple of Dadu, which was begun last year, did not progress much owing to lack of material, a good deal of which is lying scattered in different parts of Rajputana.

Work by the Members of the Santiniketan Staff.—Nagendra Narayan Chaudhuri continued the work of preparing an edition of the *Aṣabhramsa* portion of the *Dākarnava* with the Tibetan text.

Publications.—During the year under review a new series of research memoirs was started under the name of Visva-Bharati Studies. The following numbers are nearly ready for publication.

No. 2. *Mahāyānaviṃśaka* by Nāgārjuna. Tibetan, Chinese, and Restored Sanskrit Text with Notes by Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya.

No. 3. *Schools and Sects in Jaina Literature* by Amulya Chandra Sen.

No. 4. *Nairātmapariṣṭchā* with Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts by Sujit Kumar Mukhupadayaya.

The two following studies will be published almost immediately :

No. 1. *The Brahma-Sutras* with different commentaries by Kapileswar Bhattacharya.

No. 5. *Catuh-Sataka*. Sanskrit and Tibetan text with copious extracts from *Chandrakirtti's* Commentary with restorations of lost texts by Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya.

Collation of the Mahabharata MSS.—The work was continued throughout the year in collaboration with the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona.

Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya writes in his sectional report : “We have been greatly handicapped for the lack of scholarships without which it is not possible to attract advanced students. In fact, there was only one student in the Islamic branch, and no student at all for the special subject, mediaeval Indian Mysticism. It is absolutely essential to provide a certain sum of money for the award of a few scholarships to serious students.

“While Tibetan Studies are progressing steadily, Chinese studies have declined to some extent. This is mainly owing to the fact that Mr. Ten Yan Shen, the Chinese teacher, to whom we must remain ever grateful for his kind and faithful services, went back to his country after the first half of the year. A Chinese student of this Col-

lege department helped us, however, to some extent. But this arrangement was not satisfactory at all. In this connexion I should like to suggest that something should be done to secure the services of a permanent Professor who knows not only Chinese but also Sanskrit very well. The want of books was keenly felt throughout the year."

SIKSHA-BHAVANA (SANTINIKETAN COLLEGE).

Nalin Chandra Ganguly was in charge throughout the year as Principal.

The College worked this year under the general unfavourable conditions prevailing all over the country. Strenuous efforts were made to raise the standard of teaching and appreciable progress may be recorded in the activities of this department.

Staff.—In Economics Thakur Bhalchandra Banerji joined in the place vacated by Dhires Chandra Roy Choudhury. Amiya Chandra Chakravarty was called away to Europe by the Society of Friends ; his absence for about a full year has been felt very keenly. Miss Asha Adhikary and Mrs. Sudhamoyee Mukherjee have rendered valuable services to the College in teaching Sanskrit and Bengali. Sri Chandra Sen resigned his post in the course of the first term.

The present Staff consists of :—Nepal Chandra Roy, B.A., B.L. ; Probhat Kumar Mukherjee ; Promada Ranjan Ghosh, M.A., B.T. ; Boyd W. Tucker, M.A. (Chicago) ; Aimiya Chandra Chakravarty, M.A. ; Nalin Bihari Mitter, M.A. ; Sailes Chandra Chakravarty, M.Sc. ; Thakur Bhalchandra Banerji ; Nitai Binode Goswami, Kavyatirtha, Sutravisharad ; Nagendranarayan Choudhury, M.A. ; Kshitimohan Sen, Shastri, M.A. ; Asha Adhikary, M.A. ; Sudhamoyee Mukherjee, B.A. ; Rai Saheb Jagadananda Roy ; Sachindranath Mukerjee, M.Sc. ; Santosh Bihary Bose, L.Ag. ; Gour Gopal Ghosh, B.Sc. ; Trigunananda Roy, B.Sc. ; Monomohan De ; Nalin Chandra Ganguly, M.A. (Birm.).

Chemistry Classes.—Early in the year the Chemistry Laboratory at Sriniketan was equipped for teaching work up to the Intermediate Science standard, and a first year Intermediate class was opened in July, 1930. As there is already provision for teaching Mathematics and Botany it will be now possible for our students to appear in the I.Sc. examination of the Calcutta University.

Arrangements for Science teaching cannot, however, be considered satisfactory until we are in a position to open classes in Physics. We are hoping to be able to do so in 1931.

Students.—In December, 1929, the number on the roll was 50 (37 boys and 13 girls) as against 15 in 1928. In December, 1930, the total number rose to 76 (60 boys and 16 girls). Class by class the total is distributed as follows :—1st year Arts 20, 1st year Science 9, 2nd year 21, 3rd year 13, 4th year 13.

The various student societies, the Economic, the Historical, the Philosophical, the Literary, and the Debating, were liberally helped with guidance and encouragement by the members of the staff. The Economic Society has done excellent work regarding village survey and village reconstruction, both boys and girls having taken prominent part in their own spheres. An educational tour and classes in camps were other interesting features of student activities.

Three students have nearly finished the Visva-Bharati course, and they expect to receive the College Final Certificates at the end of the academic year. There are 12 students for the Visva-Bharati Mid-collegiate course.

The result of the last I.A. examination of the Calcutta University was satisfactory. All the candidates passed ; one girl was placed in the 1st, three in the 2nd and a boy in the 3rd division respectively.

PATHA-BHAVANA.

E. W. Ariam was in charge of the Santiniketan School up to February, 1930. After his departure from India Jagadananda Roy has been in charge.

General Progress.—In the year under review the members of the staff have been trying to work out the educational programme laid down by the Founder-President. The relation between the teacher and the pupil has been one of great cordiality, and the spirit of mutual help and understanding has pervaded the atmosphere of the institution. Attempts have been made to make education a matter of joy through such activities as excursions, picnics, and festivals, and to foster a sense of responsibility by entrusting the students with various duties of communal life.

Self-government has been made the key-note of discipline among the pupils. The girl students have also started their own committees for

participating in the privileges of self-government. It is hoped that both boys and girls, before they go out of the institution, will have their sense of responsibility sufficiently developed to enable them to face the realities of life with confidence.

Staff.—There have been a number of changes in the personnel of the teaching staff. Satyajiban Pal, Visvanath Mukerjee, Anath Nath Bose, Jagannath Prosad Millind and Narendra Nath Nandi left us during the year. We acknowledge with gratitude the devoted service they rendered to the institution. Manindra Nath Das Gupta, Mohit Chandra Banerjee, Hazari Prosad Dwivedi and Anukana Das Gupta joined the institution at different times of the year under review.

The present staff consists of :—

Jagadananda Roy, Nagendra Nath Aich, Tejes Chandra Sen, Hari Charan Banerjee, Tanayendra Nath Ghose, Manindra Nath Das Gupta, Nitai Binode Goswami, Profulla Das Gupta, Mohit Chandra Banerjee, Probhat Kumar Mukerjee, Nepal Chandra Roy, Promoda Ranjan Ghose, Dharendra Mohon Sen, Nripendra Nath Dutt, Hem Bala Sen, Asha Adhikari, Anukana Das Gupta, Rama Devi, Sukumari Devi, Bhakti Devi, V. Masoji, Dinendra Nath Tagore, J. N. Sen, Binode Bihari Mukherjee, Ranjit Singh, Santimoy Ghose, Baidyanath Ghose, and Hazari Prosad Dwivedi.

Sreejukta Asha Adhikari, M.A., joined the institution in March, 1930 at great personal sacrifice and took charge of the junior section. The enthusiasm and single-minded devotion which she brought to her work has gathered a group of earnest workers round her, and the Sisuvibhaga has become a real home for the younger children.

Students.—The session began on the 3rd January, 1930, with 126 students on the roll against 140 in 1929. The number of students on the 30th November, 1930, came up to 142 of which 99 were boys and 43 girls. The number of admissions was 82 against 66 withdrawals. 13 candidates were sent up for the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University (1930). Among them 3 passed in the First, 3 in the Second and 1 in the Third Division. One of the girl students, Amita Sen, stood first in Bengali, and won two medals awarded by the Calcutta University.

Health.—The health of the students was on the whole good. A resident physician kept them under constant observation, and gave them suitable advice whenever necessary. The management of the kitchen

was transferred to the Lady Superintendent assisted by a matron. This led to a considerable improvement in the quality of the food.

As usual the boys took great interest in football, cricket, volley ball, badminton, etc. Provision was also made for certain indigenous games. Several visiting teams came to Santiniketan in the football season and the inmates had the opportunities of witnessing a number of interesting games.

Through the beneficence of the Founder-President Mr. S. Takagaki, a great exponent of Judo (the Japanese system of physical culture), was brought out to India last year. He continued to train both boys and girls in the "gentle art of Judo" with all possible care and attention.

Cultural Activities.—The students actively participated in the different seasonal festivals and in a successful performance of the Poet's "Dak-ghar" (Post Office). Cultural subjects like painting, music, and dancing were very popular. Special efforts were made to arouse the interest of the school children in Carpentry and Weaving. Jujitsu has been a new attraction and many students have enthusiastically availed themselves of this privilege.

Jagadananda Ray writes: "We acknowledge with gratitude the services rendered by S^j. Dinendranath Tagore in connexion with the teaching of music and the successful celebration of the different festivals and musical performances which formed a distinctive feature of the institution. Our thanks are also due to the other members of the Music School for their ungrudging help. Finally we offer our sincere thanks to other departments at Santiniketan and Sriniketan for their willing co-operation."

KALA-BHAVANA (SCHOOL OF ART).

Nanda Lal Bose was in charge of the department for the year under review.

Staff.—The present staff consists of Nandalal Bose, Surendranath Kar, V. Masoji, Binode Bihari Mukherjee and Sukumari Devi.

Students.—The total number of whole-time art students was 22 out of which 8 were girl students. A few casual girl students from the College also attended the art classes besides the school students, both boys and girls from the 2nd class downward, who came for Drawing and Embroidery.

Exhibitions.—Works from our school were sent as usual to different annual exhibitions in various places in India and Ceylon. In Santi-

niketan, several small exhibitions were organized from time to time in which exhibits of embroidery, batik work, wood block printing, painting and sketches of various artists were shown. A special exhibition of toys of various countries was also arranged.

New Crafts.—Batik work was introduced in the Crafts Section and was enthusiastically taken up by some of the students who attained a high standard of production.

Other Activities.—The members of the staff and the students of the Kala-bhavana helped in organizing the different festivals in the Asrama such as the New Year Festival, *Dol Purnima*, (Spring Festival), *Varsha Utsav*, (the Festival of the Rains), *Briksha-Ropan*, (the Arbour Day), *Sita-Yajna* (the Ploughing Day) and also in decorating exhibitions and pandals, and in staging dramatic performances.

Old Students.—Among the old students, Birbhadra Chitra has been appointed Superintendent of the Madras School of Art; P. Hariharan has proceeded to Japan for learning pottery; Anukana Das Gupta is serving in the school department and Indusudha Ghose at Sriniketan. Manindrabhusan Gupta and Ramkinkar Bacj have been living in Santiniketan for some time and have assisted in the work of the art school. Some of the older students have organized a guild called "Karu-Sangha" with the object of supplying to the general public various artistic works such as Designing, Fresco-painting, Terra-cotta work, Embroidery, Batik etc., and also for publishing art works. It is hoped that the "Karu-Sangha" will enable us to keep some of the old students actively connected with the Kala-bhavana.

Visitors.—A large number of people visited the Museum and the Art School during the year, and their keen interest and sympathy were deeply appreciated by the workers. Two Hungarian lady artists stayed in the Asram for seven months.

Gifts.—The Founder-President wrote a New Bengali Primer in two parts, *Sahaj Path* Parts I and II, and arranged that the entire sale-proceeds should be credited to the Kalabhavana Fund so as to enable the Kala-bhavana to provide training in Art-crafts. We acknowledge with thanks the receipt of various publications on art from some of our friends.

Urgent Needs.—The Endowment Fund is not adequate to meet the growing needs of the institution. Rs. 12,000/- is urgently required for building a hostel to accommodate at least 20 students, and Rs. 2,500/- for constructing a shed for housing the craft section. It is also necessary to provide a few scholarships to enable deserving students to continue

their work at Santiniketan a little longer, and also to make it possible for them to visit important art centres in India. We earnestly appeal to all lovers of art for donations.

KALA-BHAVANA : MUSIC SECTION.

Dinendranath Tagore was in charge of the Music School, and was assisted by Rama Devi, Ranjit Sinha, and Santimaya Ghosh.

The average number of students in this section was about 70 during the year. The Music School is very seriously hampered for want of funds. The teacher of instrumental music works 6 hours a day and yet cannot give individual attention to all the students. Formerly all the younger children used to be thoroughly trained in singing. We cannot do so any longer ; and this is the reason why it has become so difficult to find good singing voices among the younger pupils. In spite of difficulties a number of successful music festivals were held in 1930, and the members of the staff and students actively co-operated in arranging Asram festivals on many occasions.

LIBRARY.

General.—The Visva-Bharati Library comprises the following sections :—

(1) General Library at Santiniketan, (2) Manuscript Library, (3) Art Library, (4) Sriniketan Library, (5) Tibetan Library, and (6) Children's Section.

Probhat Kumar Mukherjee was in charge as Librarian throughout the year.

Number of Books.—The total number of books in the library was about 38,000 at the end of October, 1930.

The general accession was particularly poor in 1930.

Issues.—There was a big increase in the number of issues during the year owing to the expansion of the college classes. The total number of books issued during the year was over 15,000, out of which nearly 10,000 were issued to the students.

SREE-BHAVANA.

Miss Hembala Sen worked as the Lady Superintendent throughout the year.

The average number of girl boarders was 48. Three girls passed the I.A. and four girls the Matriculation examination of the Calcutta

University. One of the Matriculates, Amita Sen, stood first in Bengali.

Besides the ordinary school subjects, the girls learn embroidery, needle-work, alpana etc.; two girls attended the weaving school at Sriniketan. Special stress is laid on music, and every girl is required to learn singing and playing at least one instrument. In the Kala-bhavana a number of girl students are working whole-time on drawing and painting; some of them have also taken up batik-work.

The unique feature of the Sree-bhavana is, however, its community life. The girl students, under the supervision of the members of the staff, are entrusted with the entire responsibility of managing the Sisuvibhaga (Children's Section). In this way they obtain training in cooking, domestic economy, household management, and the care of children in intimate contact with life.

The health of the students continued to be satisfactory throughout the year. They play outdoor games regularly, and go out for long walks. Many of them are learning dagger and lathi play, and Jujitsu.

Healthy outdoor activities, cultural studies and community life offer opportunities of education not available in other institutions, and it is gratifying to note that there has been a rapid but steady growth of this branch of the Visva-Bharati.

SRINIKETAN.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Rathindranath Tagore was in charge of the Institution during the first four months of the year under review. He left for Europe in March, and Gour Gopal Ghose was appointed to act as Sriniketan-Sachiva during his absence.

Sriniketan-Samiti.—The Sriniketan-Samiti met 11 times during the year and the attendance of local members was satisfactory.

Kalimohan Ghose, Santosh Bihari Bose and Gour Gopal Ghose were elected respectively Superintendents of Village Welfare, Agriculture, and Industry Departments. Premchand Lal having left for England last year on study leave, Kalimohan Ghose remained in charge of Education Department during the year.

Appointments, Resignations and Leave.—The appointment of Dhirendramohan Sen M. A., Ph. D. (Lond.) by Mr. L. K. Elmhirst after consulting the Samiti, as a Research Psychologist for one year from March, 1930, was a great help to the Institution. He took special charge of the Siksha-Satra boys and carried on certain experiments in Rural Education.

P. Hariharan of the 'Crafts' section resigned for going to Japan for further study in Wood Block Printing and Commercial Art, and Srimati Indusudha Ghose of Kalabhavana (Santiniketan) was appointed in his place.

The following new appointments were also made during the year :—Mrs. K. Kasahara (Education), Trigunananda Roy (Laboratory), T. Kono (Carpentry), Santosh K. Roy (Dispensary).

The services of Santosh Bihari Bose of the Agricultural Department of the Government of Bengal were retained for a further period of one year on the same terms.

Kalimohan Ghose of the Village Welfare Section was granted leave with full pay for four months from November, 1930, for going to England on Visva-Bharati work. He intends to visit various centres of Rural Reconstruction work in foreign countries.

General Progress.—Owing to the absence abroad of the Founder-President and of Rathindranath Tagore, Sriniketan-Sachiva, the activities of the Institution suffered to a very great extent. On the whole, how-

ever, appreciable progress was made in all the departments as will be evident from the departmental reports. It is gratifying to note that the number of students and apprentices increased beyond expectations ; in fact we are finding it difficult to provide them with proper accommodation.

Land Development.—The Demonstration Farm has been extended on the northern side by about 12 acres, and has been properly laid out and fenced. Its present area will be about 100 Bighas. On the north of the Dairy Buildings one big embankment over 600 ft. in length has been erected to regulate the water course of the Fodder Farm and to store the surplus water in the farm tank. The waste lands on the east of Cheap's Kuthi and on the south of Surul Danga Santhal villages have now been brought under cultivation and properly laid out in acre plots. A further area of about 80 Bighas of waste land on the east and south of Balimajhipara has been similarly laid out. It is estimated that about 60 or 70 acres of new paddy land have thus been added to the Farm. These fields are expected to yield a fairly good return within the next few years. Erection of Boundary Pillars on the borders of the newly acquired land have been completed.

Roads.—The road which was started last year has been completed. Various other minor roads were also constructed in different parts of the Institution.

Orchard and Gardens.—Successful attempts were made to grow certain fruit trees on the southern and western banks of the tank within the compound, and over 200 lemon grafts were planted in the plot on the south of the office building. Crafts of flowering trees and plants have been planted along the roads and at suitable places within the compound.

Buildings.—A new house was erected for which a donation of £200 was received from Mr. L. K. Elmhirst. It has been named after Kasahara who served the Institution with devotion and loyalty till his death in 1927. The well at Cheap's Kuthi was also completed at a cost of Rs. 1,372-4-0 which was met from an earmarked fund of Rs. 5,000/- created by a donation from Mr. L. K. Elmhirst.

Sriniketan Library.—Sudhindra Kumar Sen was in charge of the Sectional Library at Sriniketan which contains about 1,000 books and reports on agriculture and allied subjects. A number of Indian and foreign newspaper and journals are also kept in the reading rooms.

Sriniketan Laboratory.—The Sriniketan Laboratory which was started last year has now been fairly equipped for holding both Practical and Theoretical classes in Chemistry and Botany. Besides the Inter-

mediate Science students of the Santiniketan College, the Farm and Workshop apprentices are receiving instructions in Chemistry, Botany and Elementary Physics. Popular lectures on Elementary Sciences for Siksha-Satra and other village boys of the weaving section were also given. Sachindranath Mukherji, M. Sc., was in charge of the Laboratory and he was assisted by Trigunanda Roy, B.Sc. Mr. Mukherji has been carrying on certain researches on the "Variation of the Electric Charge on Colloid Particles" for which he brought the necessary apparatus at his own risk from the Science College, Calcutta.

Sriniketan Observatory.—Manindra Chandra Roy, who has been recognized by the Meteorological Department as an Auxiliary Observer, was in charge of this section; he was assisted in his work by another member of the staff. A number of valuable instruments was lent to us from the Alipore Observatory, and "The Daily Weather Report" of the Calcutta Meteorological office was supplied free of charge. On the advice of the Inspector of Observatories minor changes were made in the enclosure where the Rain Gauge and other instruments are kept and also in placing of the new Barometer. Our station is now equipped with all the necessary instruments and charts, and we hope it will soon be made permanent and recognized as a second class Observatory. Our best thanks are due to Dr. S. N. Sen, Meteorologist, Calcutta for his kind help and co-operation.

Foundation Day.—The Foundation Day Ceremony on the 6th of February last was a very successful function. The presence of both Mr. and Mrs. Elmhirst was a source of inspiration to the workers. Eight years ago on the same day Mr. Elmhirst with a batch of six students from Santiniketan had come over to Surul and settled down in an inhospitable surrounding to give a start to this Institution against great difficulties. In spite of indifferent health he did not spare himself in any way, and living and toiling with his fellow-workers built up the foundation of the institution. Although he left for Europe after some time, both he and Mrs. Elmhirst continued to take an active interest in the welfare of the institution. All the workers and friends of the institution therefore felt very happy to see them in Sriniketan this year.

An Exhibition illustrating the activities of the different sections of the institution was arranged at the same time, and was opened by Mrs. L. K. Elmhirst.

Co-operative Conference.—On the 10th and 11th of February, a Conference of the representatives of Co-operative Societies was held to

discuss the possibilities of introducing Rural Reconstruction Work in villages. The Conference was opened by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, and was presided over by Mr. L. K. Elmhirst. The delegates number over 270, and took great interest in the proceedings of the Conference.

Ploughing Day.—The “Hala-Karshana Utsava”* was held on the 12th of September near the Surul Danga Santhal villages. Sj. Ramananda Chattopadhyaya and Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya conducted the ceremony. All the inmates of Sriniketan and Santiniketan and most of the village people in the surrounding villages joined in the Utsav. About 100 pairs of bullocks with ploughs formed a beautiful procession which was a prominent feature of the festival. Prizes were distributed to the three best pairs to encourage the improvement of draught cattle in the villages. The Santhals and the Koras of our five labour colonies numbering over two hundred danced and arranged a picnic for themselves after the ceremony was over.

Visitors.—Among the many visitors to the Institution the following names arranged according to the date of their visit may be specially mentioned :

Officials : Mr. R. Kato, Japan; Rev. Kobayashi, Japan; Mr. S. N. Goode, Commissioner, Burdwan Division, Chinsurah; Mr. C. G. B. Stevens, District Magistrate and Collector, Birbhum; Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya, Vice-President, Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, Delhi; Lt.-Col. Chopra, School of Tropical Research, Calcutta; Mr. Vishnu T. Korke, Central Research Institute, Kasauli; Dr. N. Gangulee, Professor of Agriculture, Calcutta University; Mr. T. Viraraghavan, Cocanada; Florence Forrester, Washington D. C.; His Excellency Sir F. Stanley Jackson, Governor of Bengal, Lady Jackson and Party; Mr. S. K. Halder, I.C.S. and Mrs. Halder, Rampurhat; Mr. J. A. Hyde, Civil Surgeon, Birbhum, and Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., District Magistrate and Collector, Birbhum.

Non-officials : Mr. H. G. Timbres, Baltimore, U.S.A.; Mr. Arthur E. Holt, Chicago, U.S.A.; Mr. John B. Holt, Chicago, U.S.A.; M. Azizul Haque, Krishnanagar; Mr. J. M. Robert, Mission Hospital, Madura; Mr. H. M. Smith, Mission Medical School, Vellore; Mr. Promodenath Roy; Dr. Birendranath Dey, Chief Engineer, Calcutta Corporation; Dr. Kenyon L. Butterfield, New York, U.S.A.; Mr. and Mrs. Robert E. Bruce, Boston Mass, U.S.A.; Mr. J. S. Edstream and party, Vesteras,

Sweden; Mary H. Y. Remfry, Calcutta; Baba Mithuji, Bombay; Mr. David Howard, Moradabad, U.P.; Dorothy E. Johnston, London; Mr. N. Sankara Aiyar, Calcutta; Mr. N. Seshadinathan, M.B., Mylapore, Madras; Mr. Mehta Uddhodas, Retired Chief Judge, Bahmalpur State; Mr. Jamshed Cowasji Patel, Bombay; Mr. Kaiku Sorabji Buchia, Calcutta; Mr. H. Majumdar, Advocate, Sylhet; Martha L. Root (International Bahai Speaker), New York, U.S.A.; Mr. A. K. B. Bakhtiar, Karachi; Mr. J. C. Gadiwala, Calcutta; Mr. M. P. Mehta, Calcutta; Mr. Manek Jamshedji Deshai; J. R. Darumela, M.B.B.S., Calcutta; Mr. K. Kapadia, Calcutta; Mr. Rama Deva, Principal, Gurukul Kangri, Hardwar.

VILLAGE WELFARE DEPARTMENT.

Kalimohan Ghosh was in charge of this department up to November when he left for Europe to visit important centres of welfare work. He met other workers of this department almost once in every week and discussed the village problems with them. Reviewing the work of the year he writes: "We, who are in constant and close touch with all the workers, can without any reservation say that most of our workers in this department have sincerely striven to serve the people in the right spirit."

The ten villages in which intensive work has been started have been organized into two groups: 6 villages round Ballavpore under Hemanta Kumar Sarkar assisted by 3 part-time workers, and 4 villages under Usharanjan Dutta assisted by 3 other part-time workers.

Conferences.—At the time of the Sriniketan Anniversary two Conferences, one of the representative of Co-operative Credit Societies and the other of the Depressed Classes people, were held. These two conferences were presided over respectively by Mr. L. K. Elmhirst and Mr. C. G. B. Stevens, I. C. S., Collector of Birbhum. Two meetings with Purdah ladies and three mass meetings were also organized during the year.

Gardening.—Special attention was given this year for the development of vegetable gardening in the villages. Villagers were induced to plant fruit trees and grow vegetables in their homes. A common plot was kept apart for cotton growing near Santhal villages. The Santhals contributed their labour on co-operative basis, and the result achieved was satisfactory.

Brati-Balaka.—Last year the total number of Brati-Balaka troops in the surrounding villages was 10. Two new troops, one in a Santhal village near Ballavpore and another in Adityapore, were organized this year. The total number of Brati-Balakas in the 12 troops is 250. These twelve troops are divided into four main groups namely—(i) Bolepore, (ii) Laldaha, (iii) Ballavpore and (iv) Sriniketan.

Annual Rally: The Annual Rally was held along with the Anniversary on the 6th of February last, and was attended by 300 Brati-Balakas from Suri, Sultanpore, Labpore and also from all local troops. In the annual sports the "Brati-Balaka Pataka" (The Championship Flag) was won this year by the Bolpore Troop. A large number of spectators from all classes were present during the annual sports and took keen interest in the proceedings. The prizes were very kindly given away by Mrs. Elmhirst.

General Activities: An exhibition of Brati-Balaka Handi-work and collections was also arranged at the same time along with the departmental exhibition.

During the last anti-malarial season Brati-Balakas of the village troops helped their parents in kerosinizing tanks and dobas, distributing quinine and in some cases in clearing jungles. One night school in each of the four local centres is efficiently run by the respective leader in charge with the help of local troops. The students of these schools come from the so-called depressed classes.

Weaving training centres, one in Ballavpore and another in Laldaha, have been organized by the respective workers of the villages, where a number of Brati-Balakas are regularly receiving training.

The store which was organized on co-operative basis by the Bolpore Brati-Balakas is progressing steadily. A branch has been recently started in Laldaha, which is run and supervised by the local Brati-Balakas.

Special attention was given to the Physical Culture of the boys. Lathi and dagger play have been introduced along with drill, games and sports. The Brati-Balakas did useful work in sanitation and policing during Kankali and Mulluk Melas.

Excursions: Seven excursions were organized during the year under report. The boys were taken to distant villages and were given facilities to study the different problems of the villages, mix with the local boys, play with them and thus establish personal contact with one

another. During excursions the boys cooked their own food, washed their utensils, and kept detail accounts of expenditure. These excursions were very popular and were helpful for the development of a healthy spirit of comradeship amongst the village boys.

Night School.—The village boys of the Poor and depressed classes scarcely get any time to read in the village day schools, because most of them have to help their parents in their work. The primary aim of the night schools is to give opportunity to these boys to learn reading and writing to a certain extent. At present the number of these schools under our supervision is 9, and the total number of students in them is 198. One school had to be closed for want of funds.

Along with elementary reading, writing, and arithmetic, the boys are taught nature-study, weaving, gardening, games and sports. Most of these schools have their own plots of flower and vegetable gardens. Both the agricultural and the educational departments of Sriniketan co-operated with the teachers in this work.

Circulating Library.—The total number of books in our Circulating Library is at present 385 distributed under the following heads:—Poetry 47; Drama 43; History and Biography 39; Fiction 25; Science 31; Religion and Social 45; Children's literature 37; and Miscellaneous 66.

Besides the above, 52 volumes of books of different popular writers have been secured. 5 monthly magazines, dealing with health, social and economic problems are also kept in this section.

The total number of books issued during the year to individuals and to village societies was 709.

Training Camp.—As usual a training camp was arranged during the Puja holidays and was availed of by the apprentices of our Institution and some people from outside who were desirous of starting village welfare work in their villages. The subjects taught were: (i) Brati-Balaka Organisation, (ii) Village Sanitation and First Aid, (iii) Rural Reconstruction and Rural Education, (iv) Cottage Crafts and (v) Elementary Agriculture. The total number of workers trained so far is 140.

Mahila Samity.—Two Mahila Samities of Surul and Ballavpore villages are progressing satisfactorily under the able guidance of Mrs. Nanibala Roy, who visited both the centres regularly and gave instructions in Sewing, Cutting, Child Welfare and Maternity Work. The

number of members in the Surul Samity is 20 and in Ballavpore 23 as against 12 and 6 respectively of the last year. Attempts are now being made to organize a new Samity in Bandgora village.

Rural Survey.—After completing the Rural Survey of Raipore village which was published recently, Kalimohan Ghose undertook the survey work of Bandgora. A start was made, but unfortunately due to his departure for England, the work could not be completed. A Rural Survey of Bhubandanga, Benuri and Islampore has also been started.

Sriniketan Dispensary.—Jitendra Chandra Chakravarty, M.B., was in charge of the Dispensary and the Health Work in villages. The number of patients this year has much increased in comparison with that of the last year.

Patients from 150 villages came for medical relief and were satisfied with the care and help they received here. The Dispensary is becoming very popular and it is difficult with our resources to meet the requirements of most of the neighbouring villagers. At present we have no arrangement for in-door patients and therefore many medical, surgical and midwifery cases which require constant and careful attention, had to be refused.

We were fortunate to have Dr. H. G. Timbres, M.D., of the American Friends Society amongst us last year in November. He undertook a general survey from the medical point of view of the surrounding villages and submitted it to his society for consideration. Some portions of that report was published in the Visva-Bharati Quarterly last year.

The inadequate or rather want of any proper medical relief in our countryside so much moved Dr. Timbres, that he himself decided to undertake to build up a centre of Health Work at Cheap's Kuthi with arrangements for in-door and out-door patients. He is now travelling with our Founder-President to raise funds for the purpose.

Malaria this year took an epidemic form throughout the district. The prevalence of Malaria began from August last and it increased in October. In October, 1929, the total number of patients was 870, and Malaria Cases were 541; this year October, (1930) the total number of patients was about 1,500, of which about 1,000 were malaria cases.

In spite of Anti-Malarial measures, the suffering from Malaria cannot be properly solved if the economic condition of the people are not improved to a great extent.

Aruna & Amita Nursing work.—Mr. Sisir Kumar Basu of Sabour, Economic Botanist to the Government of Bihar and Orriṣa, gave a donation of Rs. 10,000/- in 1927 to form an endowment in memory of his two daughters to be called after them the "Aruna and Amita Endowment." The donor desired that the income out of this fund should be utilized for providing medical relief in the villages by free distribution of medicine and diet, and if possible, by free nursing of the sick, and also such relief as may be given at the homes of those sufferers whose sense of self-respect prevents them from attending Charitable Dispensaries and hospitals. During the year our worker attended 713 patients in their own homes in 25 different villages. Most of the Patients suffered from pneumonia, bronchitis, typhoid, gangrene, pthisis etc. Besides nursing he looked after the feeding of the patients. 74 demonstrations in nursing were also arranged in different villages.

Owing to serious illness of our worker, Abani Kinkar Mukherji, the nursing work suffered to a great extent during the months of October and November last.

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION WORK AT BALLAVPORE.

The Ballavpore Co-operative Health and Rural Reconstruction Society was formed in July, 1925 and it was registered on the 10th of November of that year.

Last year we published a detailed report of the work of the Society from 1925 to 1929. Below is given a record of the work in 1930.

Public Health and Anti-Malarial Works. Over 500 feet of new roads were constructed, and 1,800 feet of old roads were repaired during the year ; 2,000 feet of roads were made *pucca* with Kankars. Nearly 7,000 feet of drains have been cleaned twice, and 800 feet of new drains have been opened. One big manure pit has been removed from the side of the road to a distant place. Up till now nearly 3,000 feet of roads have been constructed and 7,600 feet of drains opened. Every year the roads are repaired and the drains are cleaned.

One big *doba* was partly filled up ; one little tank and one big *doba* were cleaned ; about half a *bigha* of jungles by the side of 5 big *dobas* were cleared.

Throughout the malaria season *i.e.* from July to November: all the

dobas numbering about 40 were kerosinized once a week. The amount of Quinine distributed was 5,381 grs.

Up till now 12 *bighas* of jungles have been cleared and 48 *dobas* have been filled up.

Malaria. Malaria broke out in this and the neighbouring villages in an epidemic form. The total population of the village was 99 of whom 2 members were absent from the village throughout the whole malaria season. Of the remaining 97, 67 persons suffered from Malaria this year, giving a Malaria percentage of over 69 per cent.

Maternity Work. Four *dhais* of the village (who were trained up in maternity work by the doctor at Sriniketan in 1927) are successfully attending calls from 8 villages within 5 miles.

Primary Schools. A night school was started in 1926 with 10 students. This year the number of students was 18 against 12 in 1929.

Morning School. The morning school was started in 1929 with 17 students. This year the number rose to 43, of whom 11 were girls, 28 boys, and 4 adults. The students come from four other neighbouring villages, *viz.*, Dangapara, Sadipur, Khejurdanga and Santalpara, and belong to Brahmin, Sadgop, Weaver, Saha, Muchi, Dom, Kora, and Santal families. All the students, irrespective of caste, sit and read together.

The object of this little school is to train up the boys in a way that, when grown up, they can live well, earn well, and can improve the village life to make it as it was in olden times, the centre of life of the country at large.

The method of teaching in this school is a little different from other schools. We never try to whip out the intelligence of the little boys nor do we set for them a heavy burden of task to be done in their holidays. Besides reading and writing, the students are taught to sing. They have learnt some of the songs of Rabin-dranath.

Almost every month, the teacher and the boys sing simple songs in tune with *khol*, *karatal*, *kanshi* and *bell*, all moving in a circle round the *Nim* tree in the *Asram*.

The boys have a vegetable garden. This year they have made another garden of plantain. The products of the garden are distributed among them.

On two evenings the night school boys had their garden festival. They plucked vegetables from their garden, prepared their food in the *Asram* and dined together.

Adult Education. 16 meetings of the reconstruction society were held this year. A good portion of the Ramayana was read out to the members.

Evening and mid-day talks were given on the following subjects: Ancient and present economic condition of the district; Educational problems of the country; The cattle and the milk problem of villages; Medical properties of herbs and plants; Utility of having a holiday in every week and how it should be spent; Value of music and festivals in a village community; Duties of the people of Ballavpore and how they can co-operate with and serve other villages; Cottage Industry in its economic aspect; Readings from selected books of standard authors.

Hari Sava. A *Hari Sava* was started at the end of June. It was settled that after one hour of the setting of the sun, the bell would be rung in the house of the society, when every member would come and join the Sava. At first Ramayana, Mahabharata, Gita or some other such sacred book would be read and explained, and afterwards Sankirtan be held.

Ever since that date the work of the Sava is going on regularly. All the people, irrespective of caste and creed, sit together and join in the *kirtans* in the spacious verandah of the Samiti's house." Weather permitting, the party goes round the village streets touching the quarters of the people.

This *Hari Sava* has created a new life in the village producing other festivals in its turn.

Janmastami. The *Janmastami* or the festival of the birthday of Srikrishna was observed by the Samiti. The house of the Samiti and its precincts were decorated with leaves, flowers and *alpanas*. Every member cleaned his own house and the street nearby, and made decorations with *alpanas*.

The people of Sriniketan, Santiniketan, Dangapara, Khejurdanga and Santalpara, the teachers and students of the night schools under Sriniketan, the Brati-Balakas of Bolpur, Santalpara and the Siksha-Satra with their troops were invited to attend the festival.

The Ballavpore men held Nagar Sankirtan round the village before sunrise. The guests assembled by 8 o'clock in the morning, and a meeting was held presided over by Kali Mohan Ghosh, who briefly narrated the life and works of the Lord Krishna. The lecture was highly apprecia-

ted by the people. After the lecture he read and explained 5 verses of the Gita in simple Bengali.

Afterwards there was a Takli competition of yarn spinning in which 30 Brati-Balakas representing the Bolpur, Surul, Santalpara, Siksha-Satra and Ballavpore troops took part.

This was followed by a display of Lathi and Dagger play. The Brati-Balakas of Bolpur, Siksha-Satra and Ballavpore played very well, and attracted much notice.

Next there was a grand *kirtan* with *khol* and *kartals*. All the village people, the students and the teachers sang together, and the party came half round the village. Light refreshments were served after the *kirtan* was over.

In the evening there was again *nagar sankirtan* round the village ; then the *puja* was held in proper form. The priest, the Assistant Secretary of the Society, narrated the life history of Sri Krishna, and explained two important verses of the Gita. This was recited by all present, Brahmin, Sadgop, Weaver, Potter, Hari, Muchi, Dom joining in the chorus with the priest. After this the *prasad* was distributed amongst all, and was sent to all the members who were absent.

Nandotsava. Next day there was the *Nandotsava* i.e., the Utsava that Nanda held after the birth of Sri Krishna.

All the people, young and old, joined together and held *kirtan* in the house of the Samiti. It had been settled the previous night that the *kirtan* party would go into the house of all the people irrespective of caste. The idea came from the people themselves without any outside prompting. The party first entered into the house of a Brahmin ; the owner of the house offered a coin. In this way the party moved on from house to house. Then it entered the house of a Muchi, and tears came to the eyes of the inmates. Everyone was moved and the *kirtan* became sweeter. In this way the party visited the house of every Muchi, every Dom and every Hari.

In the evening there was a '*narikel karakari*' in which people from four villages took part. After the function was over, there was a meeting of all the people in which the object and methods of work of the Samiti was explained ; and they were asked to do the same in their own villages. This was followed by a *kirtan* in which even the Santals joined. After the *kirtan*, all people recited in a chorus two verses of the Gita.

Radhastami. On the *Radhastami* day, there was another festival. People of three other villages were invited. This day it was *Hari-Basar*. Throughout the whole day and night, the *kirtan* and the *puja* went on.

The women suggested that next day there should be a Mahotsav and they took the initiative. They collected rice, dal, and vegetables, and started cooking from early morning. All the village people including those that were invited from outside joined in the feast.

In the evening there was '*narikel kara-kari*' which was won by Santals of Ballavpore.

The month of Kartik is regarded as holy. In this month every evening the people gathered in the Sevasram. Five slokas of the Gita were read and explained every day, and then there were verses recited in a chorus by all assembled. Afterwards a portion of the Ramayana was read and explained, followed by *kirtan*.

One member performed *hom* and *Satyanarayana puja* continually for three days. Every day after the *hom* and the *puja* were finished, portions of the Gita and the Ramayana were read and explained and then *kirtan* was held.

Brati-Balaka. The students of the two schools formed the Brati-Balaka troop last year. This year another troop has been formed at Santalpara. The girls of Ballavpore, Santalpara and Dangapara are also combining to form a troop of Brati-Balaka.

That there is a necessity and possibility of introducing the industry into the neighbouring villages, we have explained in our last year's report. We also gave an idea therein of the requirements of the section for the purpose.

Khadi Work. The Ballavpore people are extremely poor. They are almost entirely dependent on agriculture, and more than 95% of the fields yield only one crop, paddy. Most of the irrigation tanks are silted and monsoon rainfall is extremely uncertain in its character. The people are under a heavy burden of debt, so that famine conditions are practically chronic. They have, however, a good deal of leisure at their disposal; practically more than half the year they sit idle without any occupation. Charka which requires but little capital can therefore give them some relief, however small it may be.

In our survey of 1926, it was seen that the villagers require more than Rs. 800 every year for clothing. A good portion of this amount may be saved by the substitution of home-spun clothes.

We are trying to make the village self-supporting in clothes in the near future. 4 village boys have learned to weave,—and we also have an expert in Khadi-work. Work was begun from the middle of September. The villagers took it up in earnest, but progress was hampered by the outburst of malaria. With the exception of 5 or 6 boys who had received some training before, all the workers were novices. At first the work was concentrated at Ballavpore, but as usual it gradually spread to other villages. The record of 3 months work (September to November, 1930) is given below :—

	Ballav- pore.	Danga- para.	Ken- danga.	Santal para.	Total.
No. of people trained.	27	12	2	7	48
No. of Charkas working.	13	5	1	0	18
Yarn spun.	3 Srs. 1 Ch.	2 Srs. 11 Ch.	12 Ch.	0	6 Srs. 8 Ch.
Khadi woven.	14	0	0	0	14 yds.

A donation of Rs. 100 was received from Sj. Prabhat Mohan Bando-padhyaya, an old pupil of Sj. Nandalal Bose, and a small donation from the President's Fund.

Mahila Samiti (Women's Association). Members of the association have learnt tailoring and needle work. They are making their household articles themselves.

The visit of Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., the District Magistrate and Collector of Birbhum, on the 4th of November gave a great impetus to the work of the Samiti. Mr. Dutt gave a donation of Rs. 40 and several books to the association which has been affiliated with the Sarojnialini Narimangal Samiti.

Irrigation & fishery. All the four tanks were filled with rain water, which was used for irrigation in October. Fish spawn to the value of Rs. 40, Rs. 15, and Rs. 15 were put in the tanks in 1928, 1929 and 1930 respectively.

Co-operation with Neighbouring Villages. We reported last year that three villages had combined together in the matter of Co-operative

Bank, Brati-Balaka activities and schools. In 1930, the people of Ballavpore, Dangapara, Sadipur, Khejurdanga and Santalpara performed the Janmastami festival with their united efforts. They were 2 joint meetings of Ballavpore, Dangapara, Khejurdanga and Santalpara to draw up a plan of combined welfare work; 3 meetings of Dangapara and Ballavpore to discuss plans for the development of the work of Dangapara Society; joint meetings of Khejurdanga and Ballavpore to consider ways and means for the education of boys and girls; and a joint meeting at Santalpara with the headmen of Dangapara, Ballavpore and Santalpara. In 1930, Dangapara, Khejurdanga and Santalpara co-operated with Ballavpore in making and repairing roads, in opening and cleaning drains and in clearing jungles.

Extension Centre. S. J. Fanibhusan Ghosh, one of the teachers of the weaving school, is a resident of the village Bogdoura, 8 miles away from Ballavpore. He lived in the Sevasram for nearly 3 years and learnt rural reconstruction work in all its aspects. In May, 1930 he went back to his village to start welfare work.

He is earning his livelihood by working a loom. He takes yarn from the Sevasram, weaves clothes which are sold from the Sevasram and the sale proceeds are given to him without charging any commission. He has introduced 2 Charkas and 5 Taklis and is teaching one student to weave. He is also forming a local Brati-Balaka Troop. Fanibhusan is keeping himself in intimate touch with Ballavpore, and Bogdoura may be called the first Extension Centre of the Ballavpore Rabindra Sevasram.

The Ploughing Day. 5 cultivators of Ballavpore and Khejurdanga, and more than 60 pairs of bullocks from the Ballavpore centre participated in the "Hala-Karshan Utsav" (the Ploughing Day Ceremony) at Sriniketan. All the prizes were won from the Ballavpore centre; Khejurdanga winning the first prize and Ballavpore the other two prizes.

Other activities. In 1929, an arbitration Panchait was formed and 5 litigation cases were settled. In 1930, 4 cases came up before the committee and were all settled.

It has been arranged that whenever there is any emergency a bell will be rung in the Sevasram, when all the villagers should gather together for concerted action. In 1930 the alarm bell was rung 4 times, and the system proved to be highly beneficial to the people.

Co-operative Credit Society. The working capital of the co-operative credit society which was registered on the 10th January, 1928, was Rs. 1,964-4-6 on 6-11-1928, Rs. 5,617-5-4½ on 31-12-1929, and Rs. 5,955-12-4½ on 30-11-1930.

Gardening. One member is drawing a decent income from banans cultivation. Banana, Brinjals, Tomato and Chillies are being grown in 7 new plots in 7 families:

Visitors. Their Excellencies Sir and Lady Stanley Jackson visited the Sevasram on the 10th February, 1930. An exhibition of the products of the Mahila Samiti, of the weaving and spinning sections, and of the collections of the Brati-Balakas was arranged for the occasion, and the Brati-Balaka troop gave an impressive demonstration of fire-drill.

We give below a few extracts from the Visitor's Book. Mr. L. K. Elmhirst wrote on the 8th February, 1930:—"Dorothy, Michael and I visited the village and were delighted to find so many signs of happiness, health and self-help apparent. Compared with the darkness and poverty that I remember eight years ago when I was first entertained by the headman, it is not difficult to see that a real new birth has taken place, that new light has come in, and behind the very significant movement in roads, in health, in surroundings and in general well-being, somehow a new force is apparent which seems to inspire the hearts and minds of villagers of all classes. The new force once released cannot be held in and during the next few years I hope to hear of it spreading through the whole neighbourhood. The spirit of the workers and their scientific attack upon rural conditions, these are the weapons which the whole rural world is waiting for. Only in this way can we approach a balance between the life of town and village."

Mrs. L. K. Elmhirst wrote on the same day:—"This has been a joyous visit. Everyone has been most wonderfully kind and hospitable and we take away with us a happy memory of all the good work that is being done and of the warm generous spirit that is apparent in everyone."

H. E. Sir Stanley Jackson wrote:—

"I was much impressed with what I saw during my visit to Ballavpore. There appears to be a good system of organization and the spirit of Co-operation is in evidence. I was particularly pleased with the Boys Scouts—who seemed keen and enthusiastic and I appreciate the value of

the lesson to be learnt from the movement. I wish the co-operative Societies success."

Mr. Guru Saday Dutt, who visited the Sevasram on the 4th November, made the following remarks:—

"It was a very great pleasure to me to see the excellent rural reconstruction work which is being shown in this village and the wonderful transformation which has taken place in the mentality of the people."

Bandgora. Sj. Usharanjan Dutta was in charge.

The total population of the village is 181 in 43 families (males 49, females 65, boys 40, girls 27) out of which only 31 are literate.

The Samiti was organized in 1926 ; 14 meetings were held in 1930 to discuss various problems of the village.

General Activities. A night school was established last year, but had to be discontinued for want of funds. Evening talks for adults on different subjects were regularly given for three evenings every week, and 5 lantern lectures were organized on Health and Sanitation; Ramayana and other sacred books were also read occasionally. A purdah meeting was arranged to explain the usefulness of a 'Mahila Samiti.'

Health and Sanitation. A Homeopathic Dispensary was established and was conducted efficiently by the worker Usharanjan Dutta. There were 50 patients in the dispensary during the year under report. The Malaria percentage was higher than the last year, but in comparison with surrounding villages, Bandgora suffered less. The total number of malarial patients in the Samiti area was only 25.

Agriculture. There was more extensive cultivation of sugarcane, potato and onion; cotton also was grown in a small plot. Vegetable gardening was taken up by 5 families, and different kinds of fruit trees worth about Rs. 25 were purchased by the villagers.

Industry. 6 members of the village were spinning Charka this year. The preparation of 'Sathi' had been introduced in the village. The villagers were interested in this and they have decided to grow 'Sathi' plant in the uncultivated land next year.

Miscellaneous. One litigation case was settled by arbitration.

The main festival of the village is Kali Puja. All the villagers without any distinction of caste and creed joined this festival in 1930.

Accounts. The Samiti's account was audited by the Auditor of the Co-operative Department. He was thoroughly satisfied with the accounts, an abstract of which is given below:—

<i>Income.</i>			<i>Expenditure.</i>		
Subscription from the Members ...	39	12 0	Jungle cleaning ...	20	0 0
Grant from District Board ...	68	0 0	Road repairing ...	82	8 0
'Musti-Viksha' ...	5	0 0	Opening Drains ...	8	0 0
Temporary loan taken ...	70	0 0	Subscription (Newspaper) ...	7	12 0
Last year's Balance ...	20	15 9	Purchasing fruit plants ...	28	0 0
	<u>Rs. 203</u>	<u>11 9</u>	Upkeep ...	5	0 0
			Travelling ...	1	0 0
			Miscellaneous ...	0	4 0
				<u>Rs. 152</u>	<u>8 0</u>
			Cash in hand ...	51	3 9
				<u>Total Rs. 203</u>	<u>11 9</u>

The members worked energetically for improving sanitary condition of the village. There were other activities also which were supervised by the Santiniketan students.

The average attendance in the Girls' Night School was 14, and in the Boys' Night School 25. Sick nursing was given to about 45 patients. Charka and Takli were introduced in many families.

The funds were chiefly raised by the Santiniketan students themselves and through occasional contributions of sympathetic visitors, and the work was supervised by the students in their spare time.

The Samiti is old and very active. The total population is 283 in 72 families, of whom 184 in 45 families are members. There were 12 meetings of the Samiti during the year under report.

At the beginning of this year the villagers concentrated on repairing roads, opening drains, clearing jungles etc. so that in rainy season they

might be able to devote their whole energy to anti-malarial work. It was a very bad year as regards malaria. In spite of all possible precautions that had been taken against malaria, the villagers did not escape from it; 45 persons among members and 70 persons among non-members suffered this year.

Mr. L. K. Elmhirst visited the village in February, and was very pleased to find the improved condition of the village. The District Board granted Rs. 100/- for anti-malarial work in 1930.

Benuri. Sj. Saktipada Sarkar was in charge.

The total population of the village is 165 in 72 families of whom 79 in 28 families are members of the Samiti. 12 meetings of the society were held during the year. In spite of vigorous anti-malarial measures, 21 persons among members and 42 persons among non-members suffered from malaria.

Special attention was given this year to vegetable gardening, which has been taken up by 15 different families who were supplied with 100 Banana, 250 Papaya and 10 Lemon plants free of charge from Sriniketan Farm. These 15 families prepared their own plots, and do not any longer feel it beneath their dignity to work in the garden with their own hands. Other villagers became gradually interested and have prepared their plots for the next year crop.

Mr. L. K. Elmhirst visited the place in February and expressed his satisfaction with the work done by the Samiti.

Islampur. Sj. Adhir Kumar Majumdar was in charge.

The total population is 176 in 42 families. A Health Society was organized in May, 1930 and the total number of members of the Samiti at the end of the year was 159 from 33 families. 9 meetings of the Samiti were held during the year.

134 society members were treated with quinine regularly while 25 members refused to take quinine. During malaria season 35 members (26%) among quinine-takers and 11 members (44%) among non-takers suffered from malaria.

The Birbhum District Board granted Rs. 70/- to this Samiti for anti-malarial work. Along with the Health Society the villagers also organized one Co-operative Credit and one Co-operative Irrigation Society in this village.

Santal Village. Sj. Baidyanath Ghose was in charge.

The total population is 172 in 37 families. All the members are Santal. The members of the Samiti thoroughly repaired the main road of the village and also opened all the drains of the village during rainy season. 7 *Dobas* had been regularly kerosinized. The members took quinine regularly during the malaria season. But owing to the virulent out-break of malaria throughout the whole district, the malarial percentage rose very high.

Plantain and Banana plants were introduced in the Santal houses. A common plot was also selected for cotton and most of the Santal villagers tried their utmost to make it a successful one.

A credit society which had been organized in 1929 with 24 Santal members worked satisfactorily. The members of the society met 11 times during the year to discuss about the society's business. The members saved Rs. 20/7/6 in their Home Saving Boxes which were distributed by the society.

A primary school was also run by the worker in this village. The total number of students in this school was 22. Besides reading and writing, the boys were also taught weaving, nature study, observation, and gardening. A Brati-Balaka troop was organized with Santal boys.

Tape, Durry and Carpet making were introduced in 10 families. The standard of production was high, and some of the families are making a decent income out of it. 7 Charkas were also distributed among them for spinning.

Mr. G. S. Dutt, I. C. S., Collector of Birbhum, who visited the Santal School, was much pleased with its work, and gave a donation of Rs. 10/-.

AGRICULTURAL SECTION.

Santosh Bihari Bose was in charge of the Agricultural Department throughout the year. He also helped as a teacher of Botany in the Santiniketan College.

Farm.

Paddy.—In the Paddy Section green-manuring with *Dhanchia* at the rate of 3 seers per bigha was continued as in previous years, but was supplemented with AmmoPhos at the rate of 2½ seers per bigha, applied at the time of puddling. This had a beneficial effect on the yield of grain and straw. Instead of nine stalks to a branch normally, it tillered

fifteen stalks to a single branch on an average. There were 153 fully developed grains to a ear on an average in the place of 121 normally.

Sugarcane.—In the Sugarcane section, the CO (213) gave promising results. On an actual area of $\frac{1}{2}$ bigha harvested, an outturn of 23 maunds of fine 'Gur' was obtained and a sum of Rs. 203-9-9 was actually received by selling it. A mixture of Castor cake 3 mds. and Amphos $7\frac{1}{2}$ seers was used as manure. A noticeable feature was the complete absence of any mosaic disease; the number of arrowing of flowerheads was also extremely small.

Potato.—In the Potato section, the same manure was used as in the case of Sugarcane with similar results, so far as the yield and the prevention of Fungus diseases are concerned.

Potato Storing.—In the Potato storing section a further decrease in the total loss of weight as well as loss from damages caused by fungi and insects, and the maintenance of the colour of the skin of the tubers had been noticed. It is also gratifying to note that under the direction of the Director of Agriculture and the Deputy Director of Agriculture, Burdwan Division, our Potato seeds had been widely consumed specially for early sowing throughout the province of Bengal as well as in other provinces like Bihar and Orissa, and the United Provinces.

Agricultural Education.—Systematic classes were held both in the laboratory and in the field. The total number of students was 10, of whom 2 had read up to the B.A., 1 up to the I.Sc., and 6 up to the Matriculation Standard, and 1 was a stipend-holder from Hyderabad.

Queries from different parts of the country were attended to, and a scheme of agricultural training for college students was drawn up for the Hindu Academy, Daulatpore.

Farm Extension.—The soil of most of the plots of the newly acquired area is sandy in nature, and is deficient in organic as well as in colloid matters. About 200 acres are being laid out for the present for crops, and a few apprentices are being trained in Tractor ploughing in this area.

Cowpea was sown in all the plots, about half of which were also green-manured with Dhanchia. Heavy showers of rain in July and August hampered the growth of the crop, and practically the whole of it was destroyed by fungus disease. But whatever remained gave very fine quality of seeds, which have been kept for next year's sowing.

In certain villages early paddy seeds and plantain suckers were supplied to almost every householder, while Leghorn and Chittagong eggs and cocks were also given to them for grading purposes.

The Bengal Sericulture Department planted 500 Mulberry cuttings on an area of about 3 bighas of land.

Dairy.—In the year under review practically the whole of the old stock of cows purchased from the Calcutta market was disposed off. Only four cross-bred heifers were retained. The average yield of milk was about 3 maunds per month, *i.e.*, four seers per day, for an average period of nearly five months, that is, a total output of about 15 maunds. There was no provision for green feeds except in September, when a mixture of green Juar and Cowpea was fed in addition to usual concentrates. The total yield of the green weight of the fodder (Juar and Cowpea) was 103 maunds on an area of about half an acre of land.

Poultry.—In this section two separate new Breeding Pens, one for Chittagongs and one for White Leghorns, have been started. Arrangements have also been made for trap-nesting these birds. Chittagongs have hitherto been considered for weight, meat and hardiness, but attempts are now being made to increase the egg-laying capacity. A system of grading of birds have been introduced in two Santal villages. In one village 'Deshi' cocks have been replaced entirely by Chittagongs, and in the other by Leghorns. About 300 White Leghorn eggs and 30 Chittagong eggs for setting purpose were supplied to about forty-two families in 3 other Santal villages.

Attempt is being made to grow different kinds of feeds in the Farm, and villagers are being encouraged to do so on their own plots. The main idea is to encourage mass production of eggs on a commercial scale, while our Breeding Pens will produce birds that will keep up the strain.

A large number of Chittagong and White Leghorn pullets and laying hens were sold this year in different parts of India, and a number of orders could not be complied with for shortage of stock.

EDUCATION SECTION.

The number of students and apprentices who have been receiving instruction during the year in the various departments of the institution is shown below:—Agriculture (9), Poultry (5), Lacquer Work (2), Tan-

nery (1), Village Welfare (1), Carpentry (1), Weaving (18), Girls' School (42), Siksha-Satra (32).

The Girls' School is non-residential and in the Weaving section and the Siksha-Satra there were 8 and 12 day-students respectively. The Hyderabad State has sent a scholar for training in village work.

Besides practical work, the advanced students are required to attend two periods of class work daily distributed among the following subjects: agriculture, hygiene, rural economics, Brati-Balaka movement, social and educational psychology. They have a free access to a fairly well-equipped library.

The students have formed a Chhatra-Sangha (Students' Union) which has added a great deal to the social life of the institution. Social gatherings are held every fortnight. The students assist in the sanitation and anti-malaria work of the institution. For their less advanced fellow-students, they hold regular evening classes, in which a few of the members of the staff join as visiting teachers. A Students' Fund for helping the needy has been started through their own initiative. The sports record is encouraging, the Volley Ball team defeated Serampore, Y.M.C.A., etc., and remains unbeaten hitherto.

Siksha-Satra.—There were 32 Pupils of whom 12 were day-students. Coming from very poor homes and an environment where life is at its lowest ebb, neglected, repressed, misguided, on the one hand, diseased, ill-nourished and with poor vitality on the other, their mind as well as their body have been demanding our constant attention. What we have been able to offer towards their physical nourishment, though perhaps much better than what they get at home, is far from adequate. It has been our effort to make their minds alert to the environment and rouse in them initiative and sustained efforts for useful activities.

As most of the boys are below the average "mental age," emphasis is being laid on manual work. Also it is our aim to find out how far the boys can contribute towards the cost of their education and maintenance. The boys spend the whole morning in manual work. Fourteen of them are in the Weaving section working on saris, towels, carpets and tapes. Three of the boys are apprentices in Carpentry, while four of them are in the Santiniketan Press. One is making good progress in tailoring, and two of them can manage our 'Tractor.'

The manual training is supplemented with general education in the afternoon and evening. Project method is largely used thereto. The

sports record of the boys, in the last annual rally, has been promising. The boys are also helping in the sanitation of the institution.

The group consciousness is gradually emerging and we have been able to transfer a certain portion of the responsibility to the boys themselves. We are trying to keep in touch with the attainments and aspirations of the guardians in order to steer clear of the difficulties, through which the institution, in the past, has had to pass. We hope to give back to the rural communities boys healthier and more serviceable than we received from them. It is, however, too early yet to say anything regarding the results of our endeavours.

Girls' School.—The school provides free education to 42 girls from the neighbouring villages. Schooling is given up to the Upper Primary Standard, but special stress is laid on practical training in sewing, embroidery, other forms of needle work, weaving and gardening. Four girls completed the training in Weaving, and one of them obtained a scholarship in the Lower Primary examination of the district.

All the girls are day scholars, their age varying from six to twelve. Unlike most of the rural boys they are very keen on their school and most regular in attendance. They are encouraged to be free and easy, to play various games, and lead a cheerful life in school.

WEAVING SECTION.

Manindra Chandra Sen Gupta was in charge throughout the year. The work of this department has been steadily progressing.

Charka and Takli.—We have not been behind hand in taking advantage of the enthusiasm of the local people who were eager to learn spinning and weaving. In fact, at present spinning by 'Takli' and 'Charka' has so much captured the imagination of the people of the neighbouring town and the surrounding villages, and yarn is produced in such great quantity that it is difficult to cope with production. During the last few months about 150 lbs. of hand-spun yarn was received from the locality and over 40 lbs. from Burdwan and Calcutta for being woven into 'Saris' and 'Dhotis.' No charge was made for this work.

Carpets and Durries.—Attention was also paid to the production of better qualities of articles with fine cotton and silk yarn and Carpets and Durries of original designs supplied by the artists of the Kala-Bhavana.

Training Classes.—Regular classes were held for the instruction of boys and village apprentices. The number of students in this department during the last 12 months is shown below :—

Students from Birbhum District 23; from other districts 8; Ushagram Mission, Asansol 1; Pakur Mission 6 (including 5 girls); Azimganj Co-operative Bank 1; Santiniketan Kalabhavana 6 (including 2 girls); and Sriniketan Siksha-satra 10.

Old Students.—It is gratifying to note that some of the students trained by us have obtained appointment in different Institutions in various districts of Bengal. Two of our old boys are now engaged as demonstrators in the "Swadeshi Bastra Pratisthan" in Calcutta, and one is working as the weaving teacher in the "Maha-Nirvana Matha" at Nalhati. The American Mission at Ushagram, Asansol, has engaged one of our workers. The girls from Pakur Mission after finishing their short course here are now working in the Santal Pargannas. Another girl has been engaged by Saroj Nalini Women's Association.

Extension Work.—Weaving centres started by us in different villages were regularly inspected. Five women in Santalgram and six in Surul have been producing beautiful carpets and 'saris' in their home. Yarn was also supplied to seven village weavers who worked under our direction and produced articles according to our designs. Fifteen *Charkas* were distributed in five villages on condition that the yarn produced would be sold to our department.

TANNERY.

Sachimohan Bhowmic was in charge of this section. The experiments that were started last year for the manufacture of leather articles such as handbags, sandals, portfolios, cushions with embroidery work etc. proved very successful, and found a ready market. It is encouraging to find how women from even Brahmin families in villages are now eagerly learning and actually doing leather embroidery work according to designs supplied by us, and are earning from 10 to 12 rupees per month. We have at present 11 such village workers connected with us. Three students, one from Ballavpore and the remaining two from Santiniketan and Bogra, are learning the methods of tanning raw hides.

Village tanning centres were regularly supervised, and every possible help was given to local muchis who after finishing their training here desired to start small tanneries in their own villages. Enquiries

were also received from outside regarding a suitable scheme for starting small tanneries.

CRAFTS DEPARTMENT.

P. Hariharan, who was in charge, left for Japan last March and Miss Indusudha Ghose, a girl student of Santiniketan Kalabhavana, was appointed in his place. Sachimohan Bhowmic of the Tannery Section looked after the business side and the general management of this section. Tile making and Pottery which were started last year had to be closed temporarily for want of funds.

Lacquer Work.—The work of this department suffered to a great extent due to the frequent absence of the workers on account of illness. One of them unfortunately has not yet been able to join.

Attention was given to the training of young students and the progress made was satisfactory. Most of the articles produced were of high order and found a ready market in Calcutta.

Book-Binding.—The Demand for artistic Book-binding is very limited, and in order to keep the whole-time worker of this section fully engaged we have been undertaking job work from private people. The total number of students in this section was 10, among whom 8 were boys from the Siksha-Satra.

Tailoring & Embroidery Work.—About 50 girls from the neighbouring villages who attend the Girls' School at Sriniketan are given regular instruction in cutting, sewing and embroidery. About a dozen women of the three Mahila Samitis at Ballavpore, Surul and Goalpara respectively, are also making good progress in embroidery work on silk and leather articles. The village Samitis are visited regularly and the members are helped with new designs and suggestions. The marketing of finished articles is undertaken by the institution.

WORKSHOP.

The present workshop which occupies the entire Northern and Eastern portion of the Hall of Industry has been fitted up with necessary equipments for undertaking job works, and also for imparting elementary training to boys who come for the purpose. At present there are 5 apprentices in this department.

The following courses of training are proposed to be introduced for the students of this department from the next session.

(a) *Practical Classes*.—Carpentry, Smithy, Lathe Work, Polishing, Grinding, Fitting, Mechanical Drawing, and Surveying. Opportunities will be given to students to attend Power House, and to learn driving the Tractor, and Oil Engines.

(b) *Theoretical Classes*.—Elementary Mechanics, Elementary Physics, Library Work and Night Schools for village apprentices.

Machine Shop.—In the Machine Shop proper, the following machines have been fitted up with proper line shaft and counter shafts and all of them are now in working order:—

1 Metal Lathe; 1 Wood Lathe; 1 Drill; 1 Polishing Machine; 1 Grinding Machine; and 1 large Hack-saw Machine.

Power House.—At present we have two Oil Engines, one 8 H. P. and the other 17 H. P. The smaller one is now used daily to supply light while the installation of the bigger one has recently been completed. The two Dynamos that we possess are very old, and give trouble almost every day. In fact the smaller Dynamo (3.5 K. W.) needs thorough repair and rewinding.

Carpentry Shop.—T. Kono is looking after this department and is taking regular classes for Siksha-Satra and other boys.

Considering the financial difficulties, the department has on the whole made good progress. The workshop is now being run by Subodh Chandra Sarkar, who is an experienced foreman, with the help of a smith and a few apprentices that we have been able to secure from the neighbouring villages. The need of a good lathe mistry is keenly felt; one was practically appointed at the beginning of the year, but had to be retrenched for want of funds.

PUBLISHING DEPARTMENT.

Charuchandra Bhattacharya was in charge as Secretary, Publishing Department, throughout the year.

New Publications.—Two new books, *Vanusingher Patrabali* (a collection of letters written by the Poet), and *Gitamalika Part II* (a collection of songs with music), and a large number of reprints were issued during the year. Another book published on behalf of the Kalabhavana (School of Art), *Sahaj Path* Parts I and II, written by the Poet as an introductory primer in Bengali for children and illustrated by Nandalal Bose, has attracted considerable public notice. A notable feature of the year under review was the publication of a series of Text Books written by the Poet himself:—*Pathaprachaya* Parts II, III and IV, *Ingraji Sahaj Siksha* Parts I and II, and *Ingraji Srutisiksha*; 3 of these have been approved as Text Books by the Education Department of Bengal.

Sales.—The sale of publications has shown steady progress, the gross sale in 1929-30 amounting to Rs. 32,402-7-3 against Rs. 29,108-10-6 in 1928-29, and Rs. 27,906-10-6 in 1927-28. The direct sales from the Book-shop increased considerably and thereby a large amount of additional profit was earned. After deducting all working expenses, interest on the loan from the Kalabhavana Fund (Rs. 1,720/-), temporary loan to Kalabhavana (Rs. 248-10-10) and Royalty paid to the General Fund and others (Rs. 7,666-6-0), the net cash profit carried over to the Balance Sheet was Rs. 8,567-13-11 against Rs. 4,345-12-11 in 1928-29, and Rs. 1,826-15-4 in 1927-28. The net value of the stock has increased by Rs. 1,774-0-2 (or the retail value by Rs. 7,096-0-8).

Santiniketan Press.—The financial position of the Press remains practically unchanged. After deducting Rs. 360/- paid as interest to the Indian Studies Fund (on account of a capital loan of Rs. 6,000/-) and Rs. 525/- spent in non-recurring charges, there was a working loss of Rs. 194-8-0. This loss was mainly due to the irregular supply of electric current which interfered considerably with proper working of the press machine. It may be noted in this connexion that an oil-engine has been purchased for the Press which will not be dependent in future on any outside agency for the supply of power.

VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY.

Owing to financial stringency no provision had been made for the Visva-Bharati Quarterly in the Revised Budget Estimates adopted in

March, 1930, and no arrangements were therefore made for its publication after the completion of Volume 7 with the issue of January, 1930. It was, however, decided at a meeting of the Samsad (Governing Body) in September that the Visva-Bharati Quarterly should not cease publication, and should continue to be supplied free of charge to all members of the Visva-Bharati. The Karma-Samiti decided that future issues of the journal would be published in parts, four to the year reckoned from October to September in conformity with the financial year of the Visva-Bharati, and Parts I and II of Volume 8 were published in December. A definite policy of publishing systematically research studies of the Vidya-bhavana (Research Institute) has been adopted, and 4 memoirs have already been published in the Quarterly. Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis has been working as the Editor from Volume 7 (1929-30)

APPENDIX A.

List of Donations received during 1929-30.

B. Earmarked Fund.

B/1. Santiniketan Trust Fund.

					Rs.	A.	P.
Tagore Estate	...	...	...	...	4,609	15	0
<i>B/2/22. Sriniketan Fund.</i>							
Mr. L. K. Elmhirst	...	...	...	...	41,323	13	3
National Council of Education	...	...	...	...	1,000	0	0
National Fund	...	...	...	...	325	0	0
Government of Bengal	3,000	0	0
					45,648 13 3		

B/12/25. Zoroastrian Fund.

Through Mr. D. J. Irani	4,200	0	0
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B/13/30. Cheap's Kuthi Fund.

Mr. L. K. Elmhirst	5,000	0	0
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C/3/28. Friends Service Council Fund.

Society of Friends	2,132	7	10
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C/4/28. President's Fund.

Mr. H. E. Wheeler	50	0	0
Mr. C. H. Juner	10	0	0
Mr. E. C. Benthall	50	0	0
Collection through Founder-President	...	...	...	...	90	0	0
Manager, Bank of India Ltd., Amritsar	...	...	...	...	11	8	0
Mr. S. W. Goode	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
Collection through Mr. S. C. Kar	...	...	...	...	3	0	0
H. H. The Rajah of Dhenkanal, Orissa	...	...	...	...	1,000	0	0
Mr. Amarendranath Mitter	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Mr. A. P. Sen	...	...	...	...	500	0	0
Capt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Ahmed Syed Khan	...	...	...	...	250	0	0
Dr. Bhagirath Ghose	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Mr. B. M. Risbith	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Mr. N. Bakshi	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
Mr. A. W. Henry	...	...	...	...	10	0	0

				Rs.	A.	P.
Mr. Srinivash Malgujar	...	...	...	5	0	0
Mr. Harikisen Das	...	...	...	20	0	0
Mr. & Mrs. Ambalal Sarabhai	...	...	...	1,500	0	0
Seth Manuklal Masukbhai	...	...	...	1,000	0	0
Seth Lalbhai Dalpatbhai	...	...	...	1,000	0	0
Sir Chunibhai Madholal	...	...	...	700	0	0
Seth Hiralal Tricamlal	...	...	...	700	0	0
Girdharidas Hariballav Das Trust Fund	...	...	...	500	0	0
Seth Gopal Das Mambhai	...	...	...	501	0	0
Seth Maranbhai Manibhai	...	...	...	500	0	0
Messrs. P. M. Hathising & Co.	...	...	...	500	0	0
Seth Sankerlal Ballavbhai	...	...	...	300	0	0
Dr. Ramanlal Patel	...	...	...	50	0	0
Mr. S. Ganguly	...	...	...	1,000	0	0
Mr. Saneal Bachhar	...	...	...	200	0	0
Mr. Chottelal B. Patel	...	...	...	100	0	0
Mr. D. Hora	...	...	...	25	0	0
Principal, St. John's College, Agra	...	...	...	115	0	0
Principal, Agra College	...	...	...	200	0	0
Mr. P. C. Mukherjee	...	...	...	65	0	0
Raja Said Md. Loadatali Khan	...	...	...	50	0	0
Rev. U. Ottama	...	...	...	15	0	0
H. H. Maharajah of Awagarh	...	...	...	9,975	0	0
H. H. Maharaja of Pithapuram	...	...	...	1,000	0	0
Mr. Mehta Udhadas	...	...	...	20	0	0
Dr. N. N. Sen	...	...	...	1,000	0	0
Mr. J. P. Sreevastava	...	...	...	1,000	0	0
„ R. B. B. Vikramajit Singh	...	...	...	250	0	0
„ A. Grezo	...	...	...	300	0	0
„ L. Ramcswara Prasad Bag,a	...	...	...	250	0	0
„ Lakshminarayan Girdharilal	...	...	...	250	0	0
„ Kasiram Kanuhailala	...	...	...	200	0	0
„ Lala Chunilal Maheswari	...	...	...	131	0	0
„ Nehalchand Baldeosahai	...	...	...	250	0	0
„ Hiralal Khanna	...	...	...	50	0	0
A Friend	...	...	...	50	0	0

	Rs.	A.	P.
Mr. S. S. Gill	51	0	0
„ Narayan Prasad Nigam	51	0	0
„ Jagadish Prasad	25	0	0
„ P. C. Kapoor	15	0	0
„ S. C. Chatterjee	71	2	3
Baroda State	383	8	0
Received through Mr. C. F. Andrews	3,500	0	0
„ „ „ S. N. Kar	110	0	0
„ „ „ Susil Kumar Ghosh	2	0	0
„ „ „ S. N. Kar	738	6	0
Jujitsu fees from Students	270	0	0
Sale of autographed photos	95	0	0
Sale of Poems & Pictures	12	8	0
Sale of Canvas	1	8	0
Interest on Investment	148	10	6
Miscellaneous Donation Collected by the Founder- President	3,375	0	6
Total... ..	34,666	2	9

C. General Donations.

Date.

4-1-30.	Mr. F. Armstrong	...	...	54	3	3
30-6-30.	Mrs. Reba Sarkar	...	...	50	0	0
2-7-30.	Mr. Hiran Kumar Sanyal	...	...	25	0	0
23-7-30.	Bansda State	...	...	500	0	0
24-9-30.	Miss F. Bompus	...	...	6	15	0
	Theosophical Publishing, Madras	...	...	7	0	0
	Mr. V. J. Scrutiniot	...	...	20	14	0
	Rabindranath Tagore	...	...	1,900	0	0
	Do. Do.	...	...	4,888	13	0
27-9-30.	Mr. Nandalal Kalidas	...	...	50	0	0
				7,502	13	3

				Rs.	A.	P.
D. Earmarked Donations.						
Government of Bengal	...	...	...	5,000	0	0
Mr. Jagadananda Roy	...	...	...	125	0	0
Bhandarkar Research Institute	...	...	...	600	0	0
Malay Donation	...	...	...	7,725	12	9
Proceeds of 'Tapati'	...	...	...	3,942	0	0

 17,392 12 9

E. Annual Grants.

1-5-30. Tipperah State	1,000	0	0
23-7-30. Baroda State	6,000	0	0
	7,000	0	0

Summary.

B. Earmarked Funds	...	96,257	6	10
C. General Donations	...	7,502	13	3
D. Earmarked Donations	...	17,392	12	9
E. Annual Grants		7,000	0	0
		1,28,153	0	10

APPENDIX B.

MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

Rabindranath Tagore, Nilratan Sircar, Hirendra Nath Dutta, Pramatha Choudhury, Surendranath Tagore, Rathindranath Tagore, Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis (*Karma-Sachiva*), Narendra Nath Law (*Artha-Sachiva*, upto 16-9-30) and Indubhushan Sen (*Artha-Sachiva*, from 17-9-30 to Dec., 1930).

APPENDIX C.

MEMBERS OF THE SAMSAD (GOVERNING BODY), 1930.

Ex-Officio Members.

Acharya (Founder-President) : Rabindranath Tagore.

Upacharya (Vice-President) : Surendranath Tagore.

Artha-Sachiva (Treasurer) : Narendranath Law (upto 16-9-30).

Indubhushan Sen (from 17-9-30 to Dec., 1930).

Karma-Sachiva (General Secretary) : Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis.

Santiniketan-Sachiva (Local Secretary, Santiniketan) : Pramadaranjan Ghose.

Sriniketan-Sachiva (Local Secretary, Sriniketan) : Rathindranath Tagore.

Secretary, Publishing Board : Charuchandra Bhattacharya.

Ordinary Members.

For 1930 : Debendramohan Bose, Amal Home, Jagadananda Ray, Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya, Nepalchandra Ray, Mrs. Kiranbala Sen.

For 1930 and 1931 : Pramathanath Banerjee, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Kshitimohan Sen, Kalidas Nag, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Jitendra Mohan Sen, Sisir Kumar Mitra, Indubhushan Sen.

Members from outside Bengal (for 1930) : A. P. Sen, Ambalal Sarabhai, R. Uchida, M. R. Jayakar.

Elected under Statute 14 (i) (for 1930) : Miss Hembala Sen, Nandalal Bose, Prabhat Kumar Mukherjee, Nalin Chandra Ganguly, F. Benoit, C. F. Andrews.

Representatives.

Santiniketan-Samiti (for 1930) : E. W. Ariam, Gourgopal Ghose, Surendranath Kar.

Sriniketan-Samiti (for 1930) : Santoshbihari Bose.

For 1930 and 1931 : Kalimohan Ghose.

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Co-opted Members.

For 1930 : A. C. Banerjee, Surendranath Mallik, Jatindranath Basu, Amiya Kumar Sen, Susobhan Chandra Sarkar.

APPENDIX D.

MEMBERS OF THE KARMA-SAMITI (EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE), 1930.

Ex-Officio Members.

Acharya (Founder-President) : Rabindranath Tagore.

Upacharya (Vice-President) : Surendranath Tagore.

Artha-Sachiva (Treasurer) : Narendranath Law (up to 16-9-30).

Indubhushan Sen (from 17-9-30 to Dec., 1930).
Karma-Sachiva (General Secretary) : Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis.

Ordinary Members.

Charuchandra Bhattacharya, Debendramohan Bose, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Surendranath Kar, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Nepal Chandra Ray, I. B. Sen, Jitendramohan Sen, Rathindranath Tagore.

APPENDIX E.

MEMBERS OF THE SANTINIKETAN SAMITI, 1930.

Rabindranath Tagore, Narendranath Law (upto 16-9-30), Indubhushan Sen (from 17-9-30 to Dec., 1930), Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Rabindranath Tagore, Pramodaranjan Ghose, Sisir Kumar Mitra, Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Jagadananda Ray, Prabhat Kumar Mukherji, Satyajiban Pal, Surendranath Kar, Nagendranarayan Choudhury, Manomohan De, Hemabala Sen, Nalin Chandra Ganguly, Nepal Chandra Ray, E. W. Atiam, Gour Gopal Ghose, Tanayendranath Ghosh, Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya, Kalimohan Ghose.

APPENDIX F.

MEMBERS OF THE SRINIKETAN-SAMITI, 1930.

Rabindranath Tagore, Narendranath Law (upto 16-9-30), Indubhushan Sen (from 17-9-30 to Dec., 1930), Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Rathindranath Tagore, Pramodaranjan Ghose, Jagadananda Roy, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Sisir Kumar Mitra, Gour Gopal Ghose, Kalimohan Ghose, Santosh Bihari Bose, Jitendra Chandra Chakravorty, Dhirananda Roy, Manindra Chandra Roy, Manindra Chandra Sen, Surendranath Kar.

APPENDIX G.

MEMBERS OF THE PUBLISHING BOARD, 1930.

Charuchandra Bhattacharya, Ramananda Chatterji, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Apurva Kumar Chanda, Amal Home, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Hiran Kumar Sanyal, Rathindranath Tagore, Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya, Kishorimohan Santra.

APPENDIX H.

MEMBERS OF THE SAMSD (GOVERNING BODY), 1931.

Ex-Officio Members.

Acharya (Founder-President) : Rabindranath Tagore.

Upacharya (Vice-President) : Surendranath Tagore.

Artha-Sachiva (Treasurer) : Indubhushan Sen.

Karma-Sachiva (General Secretary) : Rathindranath Tagore.
Santiniketan-Sachiva (Local Secretary, Santiniketan) : Promada Ranjan Ghose.
Sriniketan-Sachiva (Local Secretary, Sriniketan) : Gourgopal Ghose.
Secretary, Publishing Board : Charuchandra Bhattacharya.

Ordinary Members.

For 1931 : Pramathanath Banerjee, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Kshitimohan Sen, Kalidas Nag, Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, Jitendra Mohan Sen, Sisir Kumar Mitra.
For 1931-1932 : Debendramohan Bose, Amal Home, Surendranath Mallik, Jyotish Chandra Ghosh, Kishorimohan Santra, Amiya Kumar Sen, Susobhan Chandra Sarkar.
Members from outside Bengal (for 1931) : Atul Prosad Sen, Ambalal Sarabhai, M. R. Jayakar, Martin Bodmer.
Elected under Statute 14 (i) (for 1931) : Hembala Sen, Nandalal Bose, Prabhat Kumar Mukherjee, Nalin Chandra Ganguly, Jagadananda Ray, Jatindra-nath Bose.

Representatives.

Santiniketan-Samiti (for 1931-1932) : Surendranath Kar, Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya, Nepal Chandra Ray.
Sriniketan-Samiti (for 1931) : Kalimohan Ghosh.
(for 1931-1932) : Santosh Bihari Bose.

Co-Opted Members.

For 1931 : A. C. Bauerjee, Bijoy Bihari Mukherjee, Asha Adhikari.

Nominated Member.

For 1931 : G. S. Dutt, Prasantachandra Mahalanobis.

APPENDIX I.

MEMBERS OF THE KARMA-SAMITI (EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE), 1931.

Ex-Officio Members.

Acharya (Founder-President) : Rabindranath Tagore.
Upacharya (Vice-President) : Surendranath Tagore.
Artha-Sachiva (Treasurer) : Indubhushan Sen.
Karma-Sachiva (General Secretary) : Rathindranath Tagore.

Ordinary Members.

Promodaranjan Ghosh, Gourgopal Ghosh, Charuchandra Bhattacharya, Debendramohan Bose, Sunitikumar Chatterjee, Sudhirkumar Lahiri, Nepalchandra Roy, Jitendramohan Sen.

APPENDIX J.

MEMBERS OF SANTINIKETAN-SAMITI, 1931.

Rabindranath Tagore, Indubhushan Sen, Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Gourgopal Ghosh, Pramadaranjan Ghosh, Kshitimohan Sen, Sunitikumar Chatterjee, Asha Devi, Tanayendranath Ghosh, E. W. Ariam, Surendranath Kar, Nandalal Bose, Nepalchandra Roy, Jagadananda Roy, Rathindranath Tagore, Vidusekhara Bhattacharya, Nalinchandra Ganguly, Hembala Sen, Kalimohan Ghosh.

APPENDIX K.**MEMBERS OF THE SRINIKETAN-SAMITI, 1931.**

Rabindranath Tagore, Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Indubhushan Sen, Promodaranjan Ghosh, Gourgopal Ghosh, Kalimohan Ghosh, Santosh Bihari Bose, J. Chakravarty, Sudhirkumar Lahiri, Joytishchandra Ghosh, Jagadananda Roy, Rathindranath Tagore, Surendranath Kar, Dhirendranath Roy, Manindra Chandra Roy.

APPENDIX L.**MEMBERS OF THE PUBLISHING BOARD, 1931.**

Charuchandra Bhattacharya, Ramananda Chatterjee, Sunitikumar Chatterjee, Amal Home, Sudhirkumar Lahiri, Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Hiran Kumar Sanyal, Rathindranath Tagore, Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya, Kishorimohan Santra, Debendramohan Bose.

APPENDIX M.

VISVA-BHARATI
BALANCE SHEET
AND
ACCOUNTS

For the year ending 30th September, 1930.

RAY & RAY
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS
6, Church Lane,
CALCUTTA.

Dated the 13th December, 1930.

The Secretary,
Visva-Bharati,
Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

We have compiled the attached Balance Sheet and Accounts of Visva-Bharati for the year ending 30th September, 1930, from the books and vouchers presented to us and from the information and explanations supplied, and we have signed the Balance Sheet subject to the following report:—

1. *Kalabhavana Fund*.—The Kalabhavana Income and Expenditure account has been incorporated in the Santiniketan Income and Expenditure account and the deficit on this account has been carried to the General Revenue Account.

In this connexion, we think that the old deficit on this account amounting to Rs. 7,180-4-9 should be written off against the General Revenue Account, if it is now decided that no separate Income and Expenditure account need be prepared for this fund.

2. *Limbdi*.—The whole of Rs. 10,000/- of this Fund has been drawn by the General Fund, and the General Fund has allowed interest at the rate of 6% to this fund.

3. *Caution Money*.—Rs. 1,113-8-0. This amount is included in the General deposit at Santiniketan. We have not been able to verify the exact liability under this head for want of detail information. In our opinion a detailed list should be prepared containing the names of students to whom the amounts are due.

4. *Government Paper & Port Trust Debenture*.—The Government Paper and Port Trust Debenture have been shown on the Balance Sheet at their face value, except in the case of the Government Paper held on account of the Nizam's Fund, which is shown at cost and includes the interest paid for on the date of purchase.

5. *Outstanding at Santiniketan*.—This includes a sum of Rs. 7,425-3-9 being Tuition Fees outstanding which we could not verify and we are not sure how far the same is realisable. In this connexion we would like to

draw your attention to our remarks under the head of Tution Fees in our previous report.

6. *General Notes (Santiniketan).*—All the departmental bills must be checked and signed by some responsible person and the work certificate duly signed by the heads of the departments before the same is passed for payment.

No voucher was produced for detail payments made by Secretary, Sanitation Committee for Sanitation work.

7. *The amount of Rs. 118-14-9* was paid to Director, Kala-bhavana as royalty by Publishing Department but has not been credited to Kala-bhavana Fund.

8. *Interest on Investment.*—Except Nobel Prize Fund no outstanding interest have been taken into the accounts.

9. *Capital Expenditure.*—We find from the budget that Capital expenditure whether at Santiniketan or Sriniketan can only be made under the authority of the General Secretary at Calcutta, but during this year Rs. 2,444-13-9 has been spent at Santiniketan for Hostel Furniture, and also Rs. 2,153-1-9 has been spent by Sriniketan out of Revenue for Capital expenditure kept in suspense for which we have seen no proper authority.

10. *President Fund.*—We have not vouched any payments or Receipts of President Fund which has been incorporated to General Account as per statement of Santiniketan and also could not verify its balance with Visva-Bharati Central Co-operative Bank. It appears that out of Rs. 3,118-2-6 shown in the Balance Sheet under Visva-Bharati Central Co-operative Bank, Rs. 425-5-6 belongs to General Fund.

Yours faithfully,

RAY AND RAY.

VISVA-BHARATI.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1930.

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.		Rs. A. P.		PROPERTY AND ASSETS.		Rs. A. P.	
GENERAL FUND—				LAND AT SANTINIKETAN—			
As per last Account	...	5,57,088	2 3	As per last Account	...	...	50,778 4 8
Add—Malay Donation	...	6,886	6 9	BUILDING AT SANTINIKETAN—			
„ Surplus from Total Revenue Account	...	9,877	5 11	GENERAL	...	2,20,938	11 5
				TUBE WELL (Kadoorji Water Works)	...	6,484	1 0
				STUDENTS DORMITORY—	Rs. A. P.		
PERMANENT FUND—				Dormitory Fund	10,000	0 0	
Nobel Prize Fund	...	1,12,000	0 0	General Fund	884	14 0	
Prosad Night School Fund	...	1,000	0 0				10,884 14 0
Indian Studies Fund	...	10,000	0 0	HIRA BAI PANTHASALA—			
Pestonji P. Pocha Fund	...	5,903	0 0	Hira Bai Fund	6,200	0 0	
Sharman History Fund	...	2,000	13 4	General Fund	1,077	11 9	
Library Fund	...	2,000	0 0				7,277 11 9
Aruna Amita Endowment Fund	...	10,000	0 0	RATAN KUTHI	...	30,344	7 9
Nizam's Fund	...	1,01,145	1 2	BIRLA KUTHI	...	28,684	10 0
				PEARSON HOSPITAL	...	18,559	3 6
				KALABHAVANA	...	33,018	2 3
							3,56,191 13 8
EAR-MARKED FUNDS—				MACHINERIES—			
Kalabhavana Fund (Art)	...	1,13,000	0 0	As per last Account	...	86,608	14 0
Pearson Hospital Fund	...	20,141	2 9	Less—Depreciation	...	6,495	4 6
Ratan Kuthi Fund	...	30,000	0 0				80,108 9 6
Birla Kuthi Fund	...	20,000	0 0	Since Added.	...	422	0 0
Limboi Sanatorium Fund	...	10,000	0 0				80,530 9 6
Kadoorji Water Works Fund	...	11,642	0 9	FURNITURE—			
Bai Hira Bai Fund	...	15,200	0 0	As per last Account	...	16,856	5 6
Kalabhavana Fund (Music)	...	1,000	0 0	Less—Depreciation	...	842	13 0
Dormitory Fund	...	10,000	0 0				16,018 8 6
							1,25,000 0 0
				COPY RIGHT—			
				As per last Account	...		77,969 1 9
				LIBRARY BOOKS—			
				As per last Account	...		
Carried over		10,47,486	0 11	Carried over		7,05,833	5 8

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BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.		Rs.	A. P.	PROPERTY AND ASSETS.		Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
Brought forward		Brought forward		...	...	7,05,883	5 8
SURPLUS OF FUND INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT—				SUNDRY FUND INVESTMENTS—					
Prosad Night School Fund		...	93 4 0	WITH BENGAL PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK LTD.—					
Pestonji P. Pocha Fund		...	199 4 0	Kalabhavana (Art)		...	8,900 0 0		
Aruna Amita Fund		...	872 13 6	Indian Studies Fund		...	4,000 0 0		
Limbd Sanatorium Fund		...	1,498 3 6	Prosad Night School Fund		...	1,000 0 0		
Bai Hira Bai Fund		...	806 2 0	Sharman History Fund		...	2,000 0 0		
Society of Friends		...	646 5 2	Library Fund		...	2,000 0 0		
President Fund		...	2,692 13 0	Kalabhavana Fund (Music)		...	1,000 0 0		
								18,900	0 0
LOAN TO GENERAL FUND (AS PER CONTRA)—			6,308 13 2	WITH IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA—					
Limbd Sanatorium Fund		...	10,000 0 0	Pearson Hospital Fund		...		231	10 11
Sriniketan Grant Fund		...	12,245 13 1	WITH PATISAR KRISHI BANK—					
Publishing Department		...	10,054 7 7	Nobel Prize Fund		...	1,12,000 0 0		
				Kadoorji Water Works Fund		...	5,269 9 6		
			32,300 6 8	Pearson Hospital Fund		...	1,291 3 4		
				Kalabhavana		...	14,310 7 8		
								1,32,371	4 6
DEPOSIT AT GENERAL OFFICE (AS PER CONTRA)—				IN GOVERNMENTS PAPER AND PORT TRUST DEBENTURES—					
Pestonji P. Pocha Fund		...	204 4 0	Nizam's Fund		...	1,01,145 1 2		
Sharman History Fund		...	0 13 4	Kalabhavana Fund		...	81,200 0 0		
Aruna Amita Endowment		...	782 13 6	Aruna Amita Endowment		...	10,000 0 0		
Limbd Sanatorium Fund		...	1,498 3 6	Bai Hira Bai Fund		...	9,000 0 0		
Bai Hira Bai Fund		...	806 2 0	Pestonji P. Pocha Fund		...	5,000 0 0		
Society of Friends		...	646 5 2					1,56,345	1 2
Prosad Night School Fund		...	93 4 0						
Pearson Hospital Fund		...	59						
				LOAN TO DEPARTMENTS (AS PER CONTRA)—					
			3,680 14 6	Kalabhavana Fund to Publishing Department		...	26,000 0 0		
				Indian Studies Fund to Printing Press		...	6,000 0 0		
								32,000	0 0

Carried over

10,39,776 3 3

Carried over

10,46,231 6 8

VISVA-BHARATI.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.		Rs. A. P.		PROPERTY AND ASSETS.		Rs. A. P.	
Brought forward ...			10,89,776 8 8	Brought forward ...	...		10,46,231 6 8
ADVANCE FROM GENERAL OFFICE (AS PER CONTRA)—				LOAN TO GENERAL FUND (AS PER CONTRA)—			
Sharman History Fund	15 4 3			Limbdi Sanatorium Fund ...	...	10,000 0 0	
Kalabhavana Fund	7,608 14 8			ADVANCE FROM GENERAL OFFICE (AS PER CONTRA)—			
Santiniketan Trust	3,708 6 9			Sharman History Fund	15 4 3		
Ratan Kuthi	344 7 9			Kalabhavana Fund	7,608 14 8		
Birla Kuthi	8,684 10 0			Santiniketan Trust	3,708 6 9		
Nizam Fund	3,284 15 2			Ratan Kuthi	344 7 9		
Kadoorji Water Works	111 9 9			Birla Kuthi	8,684 10 0		
		23,758 4 4		Nizam Fund ...	3,284 15 2		
BENGAL NATIONAL BANK LTD. (IN LIQUIDATION)—			95 11 0	Kadoorji Water Works ...	111 9 9		
IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA (GENERAL OFFICE)—				DEPOSIT AT GENERAL OFFICE (AS PER CONTRA)—		23,758 4 4	
DEPOSIT—			14,972 7 0	Pestonji P. Pocha Fund ...	204 4 0		
At Santiniketan (as per last Account) ...	2,204 9 1			Sharman History Fund ...	0 13 4		
„ General Office ...	65 11 0			Aruna Amita Endowment ...	872 13 6		
		2,270 4 1		Limbdi Sanatorium Fund ...	1,498 3 6		
LIABILITY—				Bai Hira Bai Fund ...	306 2 0		
At General Office ...	125 0 0			Pearson Hospital Fund ...	59 1 0		
„ Santiniketan ...	3,224 9 11			Society of Friends ...	646 5 2		
				Prosad Night School Fund ...	93 4 0		
SUSPENSE AT GENERAL OFFICE ...						3,680 14 6	
				LOAN FROM GENERAL FUND TO PRINTING PRESS—	...	14,524 15 8	
				GENERAL INVESTMENTS—			
				Government Paper ...	100 0 0		
				Bengal Provincial Co-operative Bank, Ltd. ...	1,500 0 0		
				Shares in Santiniketan Samavaya Bhandar ...	170 0 0		
				Shares of Co-operative Bank ...	300 0 0		
				Postal Savings Bank ...	16 9 7		
						2,086 9 7	
Carried over		11,84,258 13 11		Carried over	...	11,00,282 1 11	

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BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	PROPERTY AND ASSETS.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
Brought forward	11,34,253	13 11	Brought forward ...	...	...	11,00,282	1 11
					Paddy Stock at Santiniketan ...	...	...	135	0 0
					Stock of Manual Training Production (Santiniketan) ...	...	...	48	8 0
					Live Stock at Santiniketan ...	...	...	315	0 0
					Outstanding at Santiniketan ...	...	...	9,019	11 3
					Outstanding at General Office ...	...	...	3,518	9 3
					Suspense at General Office ...	...	...	998	11 6
					CASH AT BANKS—				
					Imperial Bank of India (Treasurers) ...	217	0 1		
					Visva-Bharati Central Co-operative Bank (Santiniketan) ...	1,545	13 9		
					Visva-Bharati Central Co-operative Bank ...	3,118	2 6		
								4,881	0 4
					CASH IN TRANSIT (SANTINIKETAN) ...	...	...	699	9 3
					CASH IN HAND (AS CERTIFIED BY SECRETARY)—				
					General Office ...	117	11 10		
					Quarterly Office ...	48	15 8		
								166	11 6
					DEFICIT FROM INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT OF FUNDS				
					Kalabhavana Fund (as per last Account) ...	7,180	4 9		
					Sharman History Fund ...	15	4 8		
					Santiniketan Trust ...	3,708	6 9		
					Nizam's Fund ...	3,284	15 2		
								14,188	14 11
Carried over			11,34,253	13 11	Carried over	11,34,253	13 11

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BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.			PROPERTY AND ASSETS.		
	A. P.	Rs.		A. P.	Rs.
Brought forward ...			Brought forward ...		
SRINIKETAN—			SRINIKETAN—		
CAPITAL FUND			LAND AT SRINIKETAN		
As per last Account ...	1,56,487	13 8	As per last Account ...	17,342	10 3
Add—Excess of Income over Ex-			Since Added ...	2,009	11 0
penditure from Income and Ex-					19,352 5 3
penditure Account ...	5,008	5 11	BUILDING AT SRINIKETAN		
Add—Capital Grant from Mr.			As per last Account ...	1,14,980	12 0
Elmhirst ...	5,000	0 0	Since Added ...	5,600	7 6
Add—Capital Grant from Gov-					1,20,581 3 6
ernment of Bengal ...	5,000	0 0	WELL (AT CHEAP'S KUTHI)		1,872 4 0
LIABILITIES ...			MACHINERIES		
			As per last Account ...	5,392	3 11
			Less—Depreciation ...	404	6 7
					4,987 13 4
			Since Added ...	693	4 9
			LIBRARY AND MUSEUM (AS PER LAST		5,681 2 1
			ACCOUNT) ...		262 7 0
			LABORATORY		
			As per last Account ...	304	11 9
			Since Added ...	740	7 3
					1,045 3 0
			FURNITURE AND FITTINGS		
			As per last Account ...	1,569	10 8
			Less—Depreciation ...	78	7 9
					1,491 2 11
			Since Added ...	571	10 9
					2,062 13 8
			ADVANCE (AS PER LAST ACCOUNT) ...		371 6 6
			CARPENTRY AND SMITHY		
			As per last Account ...	663	13 6
			Since Added ...	424	14 0
					1,088 11 6
Carried over			Carried over		12,86,071 6 5
	18,06,058	1 6			

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BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	PROPERTY AND ASSETS.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
Brought forward ..			13,06,058	1 6	Brought forward ..	...		12,86,071	6 5
					Live Stock ...	...		1,187	4 0
					Stock (Materials) ...	...		1,941	8 6
					Outstanding ...	...		1,892	2 8
					Loan to General Fund ...	...		12,245	15 1
					Suspense ...	...		2,153	1 9
					CASH AND OTHER BALANCES ...	...		567	0 6
					In Hand ...	21	15 9		
					AT BANK ...	493	2 9		
					American Express Co. ...	127	8 9		
					Visva-Bharati Co-operative Bank ...	365	10 0		
					Imprest to Department ...	51	14 0		
			13,06,058	1 6					
PUBLISHING DEPARTMENT—					PUBLISHING DEPARTMENT			13,06,058	1 6
CAPITAL (LOAN FROM KALABHAVANA FUND) ...			26,000	0 0	Furniture ...	...		120	0 0
PROFIT (AS PER LAST ACCOUNT) ...	21,819	9 0			Stock ...	...		33,156	5 8
Since Added ...	8,567	13 11			Outside Publication ...	...		95	7 8
			30,367	6 11	Outstanding ...	...		1,548	15 3
					Loan to General Fund (as per last Account) ...	...		10,054	7 7
					Loan to Director, Kalabhavana	...		248	10 0
					CASH AND BANK BALANCES				
					Cash in Hand ...	166	5 0		
					With American Express Co. ...	10,297	10 10		
					With Bengal Central Bank, Ltd.	699	9 9		
								11,163	9 7
Carried over ..			13,62,445	8 5	Carried over		13,62,445	8 5

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6, CHURCH LANE,
Calcutta the 13th December, 1930.

RAY & RAY,
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS,
Auditors.

VISVA-BHARATI.

Total Revenue Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930.

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	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
To Deficit from Santiniketan			13,293	9	11	By Donation		14,113	14	3
Deficit from Visva-Bharati							„ Nobel Prize Fund (Interest) ...			7,840	0	0
Quarterly			51	12	3	„ Royalty on Books ...			5,781	2	9
Contribution to Visva-Bharati							„ Royalty on Outside Publication			4,361	2	0
Quarterly			1,167	1	0	„ Annual Grant, Tipperah State			1,000	0	0
Contribution to Provident Fund				551	0	6	„ Subscription ...			862	5	0
Publication			1,498	10	9	„ Life Members Fund ...			591	18	0
Audit Expenses			377	15	6	„ Mahabharat Collation ...			600	0	0
Rates and Taxes			665	5	0	„ Contribution from President ...			2,058	0	9
Travelling			189	2	0	„ Sale Proceeds of Tapati ...			3,942	0	0
Postage			265	15	3						
Printing			124	12	0						
Stationery			167	12	9						
Rent			332	0	0						
Light			36	0	0						
Establishment			1,068	4	6						
Sundries			467	8	0						
Interest			1,708	12	2						
Calcutta Exhibition			20	1	0						
Land Acquisition Charges			1,309	9	3						
Mahabharat Collation			341	5	6						
Annual Meeting			90	0	0						
Settlement Expenses			125	13	0						
Advertisement			7	8	0						
DEPRECIATION												
On Machinery @ 7½%			6,493	4	6						
„ Furniture @ 5%			842	13	0						
							7,338	1	6			
Old Advance Written off						30	0	0			
Net Surplus to Balance Sheet	..						9,877	5	11			
TOTAL			41,100	5	9	TOTAL			41,100	5	9

VISVA-BHARATI. SANTINIKETAN.

Total Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930.

	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.		Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
To NET DEFICIT AT—				By NET SURPLUS FROM—				
Kalabhavana	1,191	3		Vidyabhavana	1,471	0 6		
Siksha-Bibhaga	1,984	0		Hostel	441	4 9		
Pathabhavana	2,921	15		Sports	321	8 0		
Sreebhavana	204	11		Kitchen	921	11 7		
Library	2,434	1						
Swasthyabhavana	400	14		„ ADMISSION FEE	2,538	8 0		
Power House	1,933	11		Less—Disbursement for				
Up-Keep	2,847	12		Hostel Furniture	2,444	13 9		
Office	2,677	15					138	10 3
Contribution to Asram Sam-				„ Transfer Fee and Fine			34	0 0
milani	14	6 3		„ Interest from Bank			4	13 6
Bank Charges	15	15 0		„ Net Deficit transferred to Total			13,293	9 11
				Revenue Account				

TOTAL

16,626 10 6

TOTAL

16,626 10 6

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VISVA-BHARATI. SANTINIKETAN.

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930.

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				VIDYABHAVANA—									
				Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.			
To Establishment	6,330	0	0	By Baroda Grant	6,000	0	0	
„ Scholarship	360	0	0	„ Zoroastrian Fund	4,650	0	0	
„ Books and Journal	164			„ Interest from Pocha Fund	...	...	250	0	0	
„ Zoroastrian Professor	3,000			„ Interest from Indian Studies Fund	...	...	657	8	0	
„ Contingencies	140									
„ Contribution to Provident Fund	91	14								
„ Net Surplus to Total Income and Expenditure Account	1,471	0	6							
TOTAL				11,557	8	0	TOTAL				11,557	8	0
				KALABHAVANA (ART)—									
To Establishment	5,508	0	0	By Tuition Fees	...	...	1,205	8	0	
„ Miscellaneous	376	14	9	„ Hostel Fees	...	...	262	4	0	
„ Hostel Expenses	179	12	3	„ Interest from Funds	...	...	4,784	11	3	
„ Net Surplus to Kalabhavana (Music)	187	12	3							
TOTAL				6,252	7	3	TOTAL				6,252	7	3
				KALABHAVANA (MUSIC)—									
To Establishment	1,140	0	0	By Interest	...	...	62	8	0	
„ Scholarship	240	0	0	„ Transfer from Kalabhavana (Art)	...	...	187	12	3	
„ Miscellaneous	61	8	0	„ Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure Account	...	...	1,191	8	9	
TOTAL				1,441	8	0	TOTAL				1,441	8	0
				SIKSHAVIBHAGA—									
To Establishment	5,422	13	6	By Tuition Fees	...	...	3,492	0	0	
„ Books and Apparatus	109	11	9	„ Hostel Fees	...	...	732	4	0	
„ Contingencies	120	11	0	„ Sharman History Fund	...	...	125	0	0	
„ Hostel Expenses	239	1	9	„ Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure Account	...	...	1,984	0	6	
„ History Allowance	63	1	6							
„ Contribution to Sriniketan (Laboratory fees for Science Students)	250	0	0							
„ Contribution to Provident Fund	27	13	0							
TOTAL				6,333	4	6	TOTAL				6,333	4	6

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VISVA-BHARATI, SANTINIKETAN.

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

				PATHABHAVANA—			
				Rs.	A.	P.	Rs. A. P.
To Establishment	...	...	...	12,701			By Tuition Fees
" Books and Maps	...	...	...	73	3		" Contribution from Hostel
" Weaving	...	...	...	50	0		" Contribution from President Fund
" Laboratory	...	...	...	200	0		" Income from Manual Training Department
" Manual Training	...	...	...	144	11		" Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure
" Equipment	...	...	...	150	9		Account
" Contingencies	...	...	...	235	13		
" Contribution to Provident Fund	...	...	...	167	8		
TOTAL				13,722	15	3	TOTAL 13,722 15 3
				PATHABHAVANA HOSTEL—			
To Establishment	...	...	...	1,005	6	6	By Fees 2,355 0 0
" Miscellaneous	...	...	...	268	4	9	
" Contribution to Pathabhavana	...	...	...	640	0	0	
" Surplus to Total Income and Expenditure	...	...	...	
Account	...	...	...	441	4	9	
TOTAL				2,355	0	0	TOTAL 2,355 0 0
				SREEBHAVANA—			
To Establishment	...	...	...	1,026	0	9	By Tuition Fees 2,691 8 0
" Fees to Kalabhavana	...	...	...	425	0	0	" Hostel Fees 1,261 4 0
" Fees to Sikshabhavana	...	...	...	497	8	0	" Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure
" Fees to Pathabhavana	...	...	...	1,769	0	0	Account 204 11 3
" Hostel Expenses	...	...	...	428	6	6	
" Contingencies	...	...	...	11	8	0	
TOTAL				4,157	7	3	TOTAL 4,157 7 3
				LIBRARY—			
To Establishment	...	...	...	2,032	13	0	By Interest from Fund 125 0 0
" Books	...	...	...	370	9	6	" Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure
" Binding	...	...	...	55	0	0	Account 2,434 1 9
" Contingencies	73	8	3	
" Contribution to Provident Fund	27	3	0	
TOTAL				2,559	1	9	TOTAL 2,559 1 9

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VISVA-BHARATI. SANTINIKETAN.

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

				SWASTHYABHAVANA—				(Contd.)					
				Rs. A. P.		By Students' Fees				Rs. A. P.			
To Establishment				2,068	11 3	" Fees from staff	...	...	...	1,831	8 0
Drugs	...			336	3 9	" Sale of Medicine	...	...	...	44	8 0
Sick Diet	...			183	6 3	" Net Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure	...	...	...	8	7 0
Segregation Ward	...			13	4 0	Account	...	...	...	400	14 9
Contingencies	...			83									
Contribution to Provident Fund	...			1									
TOTAL				...	2,683	5 9	TOTAL				2,688	5 9	
				SPORTS—									
To Sporting Goods, etc.	...	...	...	724	4 0	By Fees				1,045	12 0
" Net Surplus to Total Income and Expenditure	...	...	...	321	8 0						
Account	...	...	...	1,045	12 0						
TOTAL				...			TOTAL				1,045	12 0	
				KITCHEN—									
To Establishment	...	...	...	1,878		By Fees from Students	...	...	...	17,532	12 0
Food	...	...	...	16,634		" Boarding charges from Staff and Others	...	...	...	2,380	6 3
Utensils	...	...	...	78		" Dairy Income	...	...	...	447	3 3
Contingencies	...	...	...	98							
Light and Water Supply	...	...	...	172							
Dairy	...	...	...	577	10						
Net Surplus to Total Income and Expenditure	...	...	...	921	11 7						
Account	...	...	...							
TOTAL				20,360	5 6	TOTAL				20,360	5 6		
				POWER HOUSE—									
To Establishment				1,695	0 0	By Students' Fees	...	...	...	1,797	8 0
Fuel				2,195	14 9	" Fees from Staff and Others	...	...	...	746	8 0
" Repairs				1,141	10 9	" Charges from Department	...	...	...	790	0 0
" Kerosene Oil				231	10 9	" Workshop Income	...	...	...	65	2 0
" Contingencies				58	8 9	" Net Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure	...	...	...	1,933	11 0
						Account	...	...	...	
TOTAL				5,332	13 0	TOTAL				5,332	13 0		

VISVA-BHARATI, SANTINIKETAN.

Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

		UP-KEEP—			
To FARM—	Rs. A. P.	Rs.	By Rent from Staff and Others	...	Rs. A. P.
„ Establishment ...	144 0 0		„ Farm and Garden Produce	...	860 0 0
„ Maintenance of Bullocks	21 0 9		„ Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure	...	125 13 3
„ Miscellaneous ...	61 11 9		Account ... ..	...	2,847 12 0
		226 12 6			
To REPAIRS—					
„ Establishment	480 0 0				
„ Materials	670 12 6				
„ Labours	1,154 5 3	2,305 1 9			
To GARDEN—					
„ Establishment	288 0 0				
„ Miscellaneous	47 19 0	335 10 0			
To NIGHT WATCH—					
„ Watchmen	395 8 0				
„ Miscellaneous	18 2 0	413 10 0			
To SANITATION—					
„ Sweepers	480 0 0				
„ Miscellaneous	72 7 0	552 7 0			
TOTAL		3,833 9 3	TOTAL		3,833 9 3
To ESTABLISHMENT—		1,797 14 6	OFFICE—		
„ Postage and Telegram		440 10 6	By Net Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure		
„ Stationery and Printing		224 10 9	Account	2,677 15 0
„ Contingencies ...		144 11 3			
„ Travelling ...		70 0 0			
TOTAL		2,677 15 0	TOTAL		2,677 15 0

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VISVA-BHARATI. SRINIKETAN.

Total Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930.

	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	
TO NET DEFICIT TRANSFERRED FROM—							BY ANNUAL GRANTS—						
Village Welfare Work ...	...			7,613	9	0	„ Mr. L. K. Elmhirst ...	41,323	13	3			
Education ...	...			5,521	12	0	„ National Fund ...	325	0	0			
Agriculture ...	...			9,710	5	3	„ National Council of Educa-						
Industry ...	...			5,358	14	6	tion ...	1,000	0	0			
Crafts ...	...			1,271	7	3					42,648	13	3
Workshop ...	...			923	2	0	LOCAL DONATION—	...			75	0	0
Power House ...	...			766	3	3	INTEREST CREDITED BY BANK—	...			4	13	0
Up-Keep ...	...			3,635	2	3	GOVERNMENT GRANT—	...			3,000	0	0
Office ...	...			4,360	10	6							
Land Settlement charges ...	...			571	4	0							
DEPRECIATION—													
On Machinery @7½%	404	6	7										
	78	7	9										
				482	14	4							
„ EXCESS OF INCOME OVER EX- PENDITURE—	...			5,008	5	11							
TOTAL	...			45,728	10	3	TOTAL	...			45,728	10	3

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	Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.
To Establishment	4,030	0	0	By Games Fees	31 8 0
Library ...	325	7	0	„ Laboratory Fees	500 0 0
Laboratory	919	6	0	„ Boarding Charges	...	...	67 8 0
Games ...	213	8	3	„ Students Fees	...	...	197 7 0
Students Mess	592	3	3	„ Girls Fees	...	...	72 11 0
Contingency	287	14	6	„ Miscellaneous	...	...	8 9 0
				„ Net Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure Account ...	...	...	5,521 12 0
TOTAL	6,399	7	0	TOTAL	...	...	6,399 7 0

	Rs.	A. P.		Rs.	A. P.
TO GENERAL ESTABLISHMENT—			4,950 0 0	BY INCOME FROM FARM DURING THE	
„ FIRM (DEMONSTRATION)—			2,747 9 3	YEAR	985 3 3
Opening Live Stock	600	0 0			
„ Stock of Straw	80	0 0			
Establishment ...	264	0 0			
Labour ...	1,203	1 6			
Seeds and Manure	409	7 6			
Cattle Feeds ...	123	14 3			
Repairs and Contingencies	71	2 0			
Carried over			7,697 9 3	Carried over	985 3 3

VISVA-BHARATI. SRINIKETAN.

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Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930- (Contd.)

AGRICULTURE.

	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.		Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
BROUGHT FORWARD.	...		7,697	9 3	BROUGHT FORWARD.	...		985	3 3
FARM (EXTENSION)—	...		2,182	9 6	BY INCOME FROM DAIRY DURING THE				
Labour	120	12 9			YEAR—	...		1,655	2 6
Seeds and Manure	99	12 0			„ INCOME FROM POULTRY DURING				
Contingencies	11	5 0			THE YEAR—	...		352	10 3
Oil and Fuel	743	15 9			„ CLOSING LIVE STOCK—	...		1,187	4 0
Establishment	431	6 0			Dairy ...	330	0 0		
Repairs to Tractor	373	12 6			Poultry ...	357	4 0		
Experiment	396	9 6			Farm ...	500	0 0		
DIARY EXPENSES—	...		1,895	6 9	„ NET DEFICIT TO TOTAL INCOME				
Opening Stock	520	0 0			AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT	...		9,710	5 3
Establishment	192	0 0							
Feeds	1,039	3 9							
Contingencies	144	3 0							
POULTRY EXPENSES—	...		2,114	15 9					
Opening Stock	205	0 0							
Establishment	1,056	0 0							
Feeds	356	2 3							
Incubator running	27	10 6							
Extension Work	304	6 6							
Repairs and Contingencies	165	12 6							
TOTAL	...		13,390	9 3	TOTAL	...		13,890	9 3

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Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

INDUSTRY.

	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.		Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
TO GENERAL ESTABLISHMENT—			1,800	0 0	By Income from Weaving during				
„ WEAVING EXPENSES—			4,998	10 0	the year			2,399	8 6
Opening Stock ...	973	1 0			„ Income from Tannery during				
Establishment ...	1,140	0 0			the year			509	15 6
Labour ...	860	2 9			„ Income from Smithy during				
Raw Materials ...	1,229	12 6			the year			13	5 6
Travelling ...	66	13 9			„ CLOSING STOCK—			1,129	12 6
Experiment ...	72	14 6			Weaving	615	1 6		
Contingencies ...	33	1 0			Tannery	514	11 0		
Extension Work ...	622	12 6							
					Net Deficit to Total Income				
„ TANNERY EXPENSES—			2,231	9 9	and Expenditure Account ...			5,858	14 6
Opening Stock ...	434	13 0							
Establishment ...	1,332	0 0							
Raw Materials ...	182	8 6							
Tanning Materials and									
Chemicals ...	157	5 0							
Contingencies ...	78	6 9							
Extension Work ...	46	8 6							
„ CARPENTRY EXPENSES—			362	12 6					
Establishment ...	360	0 0							
Contingencies ...	2	12 6							
„ SMITHY EXPENSES—			520	8 3					
Establishment ...	489	15 3							
Raw Materials ...	17	14 3							
Contingencies ...	12	10 6							
TOTAL			9,913	8 6	TOTAL			9,913	8 6

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Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

CRAFTS.

	Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.	
TO GENERAL ESTABLISHMENT—				600	0	0	By Income from Lacquer Works ...	...	1,001	0	6	
„ LACQUER WORK EXPENSES—							„ „ „ Book Binding ...	...	132	5	6	
Opening Stock ...	400	8					„ CLOSING STOCK—					
Establishment ...	659	15					Lacquer Works ...	395	14	0		
Materials ...	534	1					Book Binding ...	415	9	0		
Contingencies ...	105	5								811	7	0
Scholarship ...	59	8					„ Net Deficit to Total Income					
Fuel ...	14	8					and Expenditure Account ...	...	1,271	7	3	
				1,773	14	0						
„ POTTERY EXPENSES—												
Establishment ...	20											
Fuel ...	4											
				24	8	0						
„ BOOK BINDING EXPENSES—												
Opening Stock ...	129	12	0									
Establishment ...	168	8	0									
Materials ...	170	12	0									
Books ...	317	8	0									
Contingencies ...	31	6	3									
				817	14	3						
TOTAL				3,216	4	3	TOTAL	...	3,216	4	3	

WORKSHOP.

„ ESTABLISHMENT—	986	0	0	By Income from Workshop ...	...	95	12	6
„ CONTINGENCIES—	37	14	6	„ NET DEFICIT TO TOTAL INCOME	...	928	2	0
				AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT	...			
TOTAL	1,023	14	6	TOTAL	...	1,023	14	6

POWER HOUSE.

Establishment ...	370	5	3	By Income from Power House ...	...	114	0	0
Materials ...	374	5	0	„ Net Deficit to Total Income	...	766	3	3
Contingencies ...	106	7	0	and Expenditure Account ...	...		
„ Lubricating Oil, etc.	29	2	0					
TOTAL	880	3	3	TOTAL	...	880	3	3

VISVA-BHARATI. SRINIKETAN.

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Detail Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

UP-KEEP.

	Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.
To Establishment	1,497	8	0	By Rent	61	0	0
„ Repairs	1,499	10	0	„ Net Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure			
„ Light	56	7	6	Account	3,635	2	3
„ Tube Well Running	15	6	0				
„ Road Repairs and Cleaning	273	5	0				
„ Disinfectant	30	3	6				
„ Contingencies	27	6	9				
„ Contribution to District Board for Road Repairs	150	0	0				
„ New Road	146	3	6				
TOTAL	3,696	2	3	TOTAL	3,696	2	3

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OFFICE.

	Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.
To Establishment	1,620	0	0	By Sale of Stationery	26	10	0
„ Stationery and Printing	322	10	0	„ Exhibition	4	0	0
„ Postage and Telegram	131	9	6	„ Miscellaneous	11	3	0
„ Travelling	408	11	3	„ Net Deficit to Total Income and Expenditure			
„ Publication	18	1	6	Account	4,360	10	6
„ Anniversary and Festival	1,320	0	3				
„ Guest Entertainment	33	12	6				
„ Exhibition	75	0	3				
„ Contingencies	185	5	9				
„ Contribution to Provident Fund	213	9	6				
„ Advertisement	13	4	0				
„ Law Charges	60	7	0				
TOTAL	4,402	7	6	TOTAL	4,402	7	6

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VISVA-BHARATI. PUBLISHING DEPARTMENT.

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Trading and Profit and Loss Accounts for the year ending 30th September, 1930.

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THE VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY Vol. 8, Part

TOTAL

18,610 2 11

TOTAL

18,610 2 11

VISVA-BHARATI.

PRINTING PRESS.

Profit and Loss Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930.

	Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.
To Opening Stock (Paper) ...	533	4	0	By Printing	5,147	13	0
„ Establishment	3,159	6	9	„ Binding	96	14	0
„ Electric Power and Light ...	272	0	0	Loss transferred to Balance Sheet	194	8	0
„ Contingencies	496	12	0				
„ Paper	35	13	0				
„ Interest on Loan	360	0	0				
„ Depreciation (on Machinery @ 5%)	517	5	3				
„ Contribution to Provident Fund	14	10	0				
TOTAL	5,439	3	0	TOTAL	5,439	3	0

VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY

Profit and Loss Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930.

	Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.
To Printing	947	10	0	By Subscription	1,808	13	6
Paper	450	0	0	Contribution from General Fund	1,167	1	0
Binding	139	2		Cash Sale	17	2	3
Establishment	392	14		Net Loss transferred to Total Revenue Account	51	12	3
Postage	436	9					
Contingencies	172	15					
Stationery	35	9					
Advertisement	30	0					
TOTAL	2,544	13	0	TOTAL	2,544	13	0

VISVA-BHARATI. PERMANENT FUNDS.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1930

A-1/14, Nobel Prize Fund.

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.	Rs.	A.	P.	PROPERTY AND ASSETS.	Rs.	A.	P.
CAPITAL (as per last Account)	1,12,000	0	0	FIXED DEPOSIT WITH PATISAR KRISHI BANK	1,12,000	0	0

A-2/20, Prosad Night School Fund.

CAPITAL (as per last Account)	1,000	0	0	Deposit with Bengal Provincial Co-operative Bank Ltd.	1,000	0	0
Excess of Income over Expenditure as per Fund				General Office	93	4	0
Profit and Loss Account	93	4	0				
TOTAL	1,093	4	0	TOTAL	1,093	4	0

A-3/22, Indian Studies Fund.

CAPITAL (as per last Account)	10,000	0	0	Deposit with Bengal Provincial Co-operative Bank Ltd.	4,000	0	0
				Loan to Printing Press	6,000	0	0
TOTAL	10,000	0	0	TOTAL	10,000	0	0

A-4/24, Pestonji P. Pocha Fund.

CAPITAL (as per last Account)	5,005	0	0	G. P. Notes	5,000	0	0
Excess of Income over Expenditure as per Fund				General Office	204	4	0
Profit and Loss Account	199	4	0				
TOTAL	5,204	4	0	TOTAL	5,204	4	0

A-5/25, Sharman History Fund.

CAPITAL (as per last Account)	2,000	13	4	Deposit with Bengal Provincial Co-Operative Bank Ltd.	2,000	0	0
Advance from General Fund	15	4	3	" " General Office	0	13	4
				Excess of Expenditure over Income from Fund			
				Profit and Loss Account	15	4	3
TOTAL	2,016	1	7	TOTAL	2,016	1	7

VISVA-BHARATI.

PERMANENT FUNDS.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

A-6/25, Library Fund.

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.	Rs.	A.	P.	PROPERTY AND ASSETS	Rs.	A.	P.
CAPITAL (as per last Account)	2,000	0	0	Deposit with Bengal Provincial Co-Operative Bank Ltd.	2,000	0	0

A-7/27, Aruna Amila Endowment Fund.

CAPITAL (as per last Account)	10,000	0	0	G. P. Notes	10,000	0	0
Excess of Income over Expenditure as per Fund				Deposit with General Office ...	872	13	6
Profit and Loss Account	872	13	6				

TOTAL	10,872	13	6	TOTAL	10,872	13	6
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A-8/27, Nizam's Fund.

CAPITAL (as per last Account)	1,01,145	1	2	G. P. Notes	1,01,145	1	2
Advance from General Fund	3,284	15	2	Excess of Expenditure over Income as per Fund			
				Profit & Loss Account	3,284	15	2

TOTAL	1,04,430	0	4	TOTAL	1,04,430	0	4
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VISVA-BHARATI. PERMANENT FUNDS.

Income and Expenditure Accounts for the year ending 30th September, 1930.

	A-1/14, Nobel Prize Fund.			
	Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.	
To Transfer to Total Revenue Account ...	7,840 0 0 By Interest		7,840 0 0	
	A-2/20, Prosad Night School Fund.			
To Transfer to Fund Account ...	93 4 0 By Balance		30 12 0	
	„ Interest		62 8 0	
			<hr/>	
TOTAL ...	93 4 0	TOTAL	93 4 0	
	A-3/22, Indian Studies Fund.			
To Transfer to Vidyabhavana Revenue Account	637 8 0 By Interest		637 8 0	
			<hr/>	
	A-4/24, Pestonji P. Pocha Fund.			
To Transfer to Vidyabhavana Revenue Account	250 0 0 By Balance		199 4 0	
„ „ „ Fund Account ...	199 4 0 „ Interest		250 0 0	
			<hr/>	
TOTAL ...	449 4 0	TOTAL	449 4 0	
	A-5/25, Sharman History Fund.			
To Balance	15 4 3 By Interest		125 0 0	
„ Transfer to Siksha Vibhaga Revenue Account	125 0 0 „ Balance to Fund Account ...		15 4 3	
			<hr/>	
TOTAL	140 4 3	TOTAL	140 4 3	
	A-6/25, Library Fund.			
To Transfer to Fund	125 0 0 By Interest		125 0 0	

PERMANENT FUNDS.

Income and Expenditure Accounts for the year ending 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

A-7/27, Aruna Amita Endowment Fund.

To Expenditure	Rs.	A.	P.	By Balance	Rs.	A.	P.
" Excess of Income over Expenditure	475	12	6	" Interest	848	10	0
	872	13	6		500	0	0
TOTAL	1,348	10	0	TOTAL	1,348	10	0

A-8/27, Nizam's Fund.

To Balance	..	..	..	..	5,083	1 11	By Interest	..	..	7,182	8	0
" Expenditure	5,394	5 3	" Excess of Expenditure over Income	3,294	15	2

TOTAL	10,467 7 2
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TOTAL	10,467 7 2
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VISVA-BHARATI. EAR-MARKED FUNDS.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1930.

B-3/22, Kalabhavana Fund.

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.	Rs.	A.	P.	PROPERTY AND ASSETS.	Rs.	A.	P.
CAPITAL—(As per last Account) ..	...			BUILDINGS—			
ADVANCE FROM GENERAL FUND—				As per last Account ...	31,992	14	8
As per last Account ...	7,180	4	9	Since Added ...	1,025	4	0
Since Added ...	428	9	11	Deposit with Bengal Provincial			
				Co-Operative Bank Ltd. ...			33,018 2 3
			7,608 14 8	Deposit with Patisar Krishi			8,900 0 0
				Bank ...			14,310 7 8
				G. P. Notes and Port Trust			
				Debentures ...			31,200 0 0
				Loan to Publishing Department			26,000 0 0
				Deficit on Income and Expen-			
				diture Account ...			7,180 4 9
TOTAL			1,20,608 14 8	TOTAL	...		1,20,608 14 8

B-4/23, Pearson Hospital Fund.

CAPITAL—	Rs.	A.	P.	BUILDINGS—	Rs.	A.	P.
As per last Account ...	20,073	11	9	As per last Account ...	18,331	7	6
Add Balance as per Fund				Since Added ...	227	12	0
Revenue Account ...	67	7	0				18,559 3 6
				Deposit with Patisar Krishi Bank	1,291	3	4
				" " General Office ...	59	1	0
				" " Imperial Bank of			
				India ...	231	10	11
							1,581 15 3
TOTAL			20,141 2 9	TOTAL	...		20,141 2 9

B-5/23, Ratan Kuthi Fund.

CAPITAL—	Rs.	A.	P.	BUILDINGS AND FURNITURE—	Rs.	A.	P.
As per last Account ...	30,000	0	0	As per last Account ...	...		30,344 7 9
Advance from General Fund	344	7	9				
TOTAL			30,344 7 9	TOTAL	...		30,344 7 9

VISVA-BHARATI. EAR-MARKED FUNDS.

930-3

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.		B-6/23, Birla Kuthi Fund.		PROPERTY AND ASSETS.	
CAPITAL—		Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
As per last Account ...		20,000	0 0	BUILDINGS—	
Advance from General Fund ..		8,684	10 0	As per last Account ...	
				Since Added ...	
TOTAL ...		28,684	10 0	TOTAL	

CAPITAL—		B-7/24, Limbdi Sanatorium Fund.			
		Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
As per last Account ...		10,000	0 0	Loan to General Fund	
Excess of Income over Expenditure ...		1,498	3 6	Deposit with General Office	
TOTAL ...		11,498	3 6	TOTAL	

CAPITAL—		B-8/24, Kadoorji Water Works Fund.			
		Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
As per last Account ...		10,747	10 0	COST OF TUBE WELL—	
Excess of Income over Expenditure, as Per Fund Revenue Account ...		894	6 9	As per last Account ...	
				Since Added ...	
Advance from General Fund ...		11,642	0 9	Deposit with Patisar Krishi Bank	
TOTAL ...		11,753	10 6	TOTAL	

CAPITAL—		B-9/25, Bai Hira Bai Fund.			
		Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
As per last Account ...		15,200	0 0	BUILDINGS—	
Excess of Income over Expenditure as per Fund Revenue Account ...		306	2 0	G. P. Notes and Port Trust Debentures ...	
				Deposit at General Office ...	
TOTAL ...		15,506	2 0	TOTAL	

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VISVA-BHARATI.

EAR-MARKED FUNDS.

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

B-10/25, Kalabhavana Fund (Music).

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.

PROPERTY AND ASSETS.

	Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.
CAPITAL (as per last Account) ..	1,000	0	0	Deposit with Bengal Provincial Co-Operative Bank Ltd.	1,000	0	0
				B-11/25, Dormitory Fund.			
CAPITAL (as per last Account) ..	...	10,000	0 0	Buildings	10,000	0	0
				B-1, Santiniketan Trust Fund.			
Advance from General Fund	3,708	6	9	Balance of Loss as per last Account	8,898	1	6
				Less Excess of Income over Expenditure as per Fund Revenue Account	184	10	9
	3,708	6	9		8,708	6	9
				B-13/30, Cheap's Kuthi Fund.			
CAPITAL	5,000	0	0	Cost of Well (at Sriniketan) ...	1,872	4	0
				Deposit with General Fund ...	8,627	12	0
	5,000	0	0		5,000	0	0
				C-8/28, Friends Service Council Fund.			
Balance from Fund Revenue Account ...	646	5	2	Deposit with General Office ...	646	5	2

VISVA-BHARATI. EAR-MARKED FUNDS.

Income and Expenditure Accounts for the year ending 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

To Transfer to Kalabhavana Revenue Account		B-3/22, Kalabhavana Fund (Art). Rs. A. P. 4,784 11 3 By Interest		Rs. A. P. 4,784 11 3	
To Bank Charge ...		B-4/23, Pearson Hospital Fund. 0 1 0 By Interest		67 8 0	
„ Transfer to Fund Account ...		67 7 0		67 8 0	
To Hill Allowance ...		B-7/24, Limbdi Sanatorium Fund. 520 0 0 By Balance		1,498 8 6	
„ Excess of Income over Expenditure		1,498 3 6 „ Interest		520 0 0	
		2,018 3 6		2,018 3 6	
To Expenditure ...		B-8/24, Kadoorji Water Works Fund. 19 3 6 By Interest		918 10 8	
„ Transfer to Fund Account ...		894 6 9		918 10 8	
		918 10 3		918 10 8	
To Establishment ...		B-9/25, Bai Hira Bai Fund. 180 0 0 By Balance		281 0 0	
„ Miscellaneous ...		120 3 0 „ Interest		825 5 0	
„ Excess of Income over Expenditure		906 2 0		606 5 0	
		606 5 0		606 5 0	
To Transfer to Kalabhavana (Music) Revenue Account ...		B-10/25, Kalabhavana Fund (Music). 62 8 0 By Interest		62 8 0	
To Expenditure ...		C-3/28, Society of Friends. 2,640 0 0 By Donation		2,182 7 10	
„ Excess of Income over Expenditure ...		646 5 2 „ Balance from Last Account		1,158 18 4	
TOTAL ...		3,286 5 2		3,286 5 2	
TOTAL		TOTAL		395	

VISVA-BHARATI.

EAR-MARKED FUNDS.

Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September, 1930—(Contd.)

B-1, Santiniketan Trust Fund.

	Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.
To Establishment	2,130	4	0	By Endowment and Trust Properties ...	4,609	15	0
" Light	810	11	6	" Local Income during Poush Utsab ...	878	11	0
" Guest Entertainment	169	4	3				
" Contingencies	83	13	0				
" Equipment	86	9	3				
" Repairs	297	2	6				
" Rent and Taxes	1	11	6				
" Poush Utsab ...	1,724	7	3				
" Excess of Income over Expenditure	184	10	9				
TOTAL	4,988	10	0	TOTAL	...	4,988	10 0

C-4/28, President Fund.

To Expenditure ...	33,552	5	3	By balance	...	1,578	15 6
" Transfer to Fund Account	2,692	13	0	" Donation	...	84,666	2 9
TOTAL	36,245	2	3	TOTAL	...	86,245	2 3

PROCEEDINGS OF THE VARSHIKA PARISHAT, 1930.



The Varshika Parishat (Annual General Meeting) of the Visva-Bharati for the year 1930 was held at Santiniketan at 8 a.m., on Wednesday the 24th December, 1930.

Agenda.

1. Address by the Acharyya or other persons authorized by the Acharyya.
2. Annual Report and Audited Accounts.
3. Election of the Artha-Sachiva.
4. Election of the Karma-Sachiva.
5. Election of Members of the Samsad (Governing Body).
6. Appointment of Auditors.
7. Scheme for granting lease of land at Santiniketan to members of the Visva-Bharati.
8. Recommendations from the Samsad.
9. Confirmation of Rules.
10. Confirmation of Byc-laws.
11. Notified Resolutions, Amendments, if any.

Bijoy Bihari Mukherjee to move:—

“Resolved that a Committee of five members be appointed with Srijut Ramananda Chatterji as President to examine if any further steps can be taken to put before the public the work that is being done in the Visva-Bharati and secure help and co-operation for continuous progress of its aims and ideals.”

12. Interpellations, if any.
13. Appointment of Committee for confirmation of Proceedings.
14. Miscellaneous.

Present.

The following members of the Visva-Bharati were present:—

SURENDRANATH TAGORE, *Vice-President (in the Chair).*

Adhikari, (Miss) Asha.	Mukherjee, Bijoy Bihari.
„ Phanibhusan.	„ Provat Kumar.
Banerjee, Mohitkumar.	Ray, Nepal Chandra.
Bhattacharya, Vidhushekhara.	„ Saradindu Narain.
Bose, Debendramohan.	Santra, Kishorimohan.
„ Nandalal.	Sanyal, Hiran Kumar.
„ Santosh Bihari.	Sarkar, Sushobhan Chandra.
Chatterjee, Ramananda.	Sen, Amiya Kumar.
Chattopadhyaya, Jnanendranath.	„ (Miss) Hembala.
Ghosh, Gourgopal.	„ Kshitimohan
„ Jyotish Chandra.	„ (Mrs.) Kiranbala.
„ Promodaranjan.	„ Tajes Chandra.
Ganguly, Nalin Chandra.	Tagore, Dinendranath and others

Prasantachandra Mahalanobis (*Karma-Sachiva*).

Affirmation of Ideals.

1. The proceedings opened with the chanting of the following Vedic hymn:—

तमीश्वराणां परमं महेश्वरं
तं देवतानां परमञ्च देवतम् ।
पतिं पतीनां परमं प्रस्तात्
विदाम देवं भुवनेशमीड्यम् ॥
न तस्य कार्यं करणञ्च विद्यते
न तत्समश्चाभ्यधिकश्च दृश्यते ।
परास्य शक्तिर्विविधेव श्रूयते
स्वाभाविकी ज्ञानबलक्रिया च ॥
न तस्य कश्चित् पतिरस्ति लोके
न वेशिता नैव च तस्य लिङ्गम् ।
सकारणं करणाधिपाधिपो
न चास्य कश्चिज्जनिता न चाधिपः ॥

एष देवो विश्वकर्मा महात्मा सदा जनानां हृदये सन्निविष्टः ।
हृदा मनीषा मनसामिहृतो य पतद्विदुरमृतास्ते भवन्ति ॥

2. Surendranath Tagore, Vice-President, then proceeded with the Samkalpa-Vachana (Affirmation of Ideals) as follows:—

READER :

ओं स्वस्ति भवन्तोऽधिष्णु वन्तु ।

RESPONSE (by members) :

ओं स्वस्ति स्वस्ति स्वस्ति ॥

READER :

ओं ऋद्धिः भवन्तोऽधिष्णु वन्तु ।

RESPONSE :

ओं ऋध्यताम् ऋध्यताम् ऋध्यताम् ॥

READER :

अथेयं विश्वभारती ।

यत्र विश्वं भवत्येकनीडम् ॥

प्रयोजनम् अस्याः समासतो व्याख्यास्यामः ॥

एष नः प्रत्ययः—सत्यं ह्येकम् ॥

पन्थाः पुनरस्य नैकः । विचित्रैरेव हि पथिभिः

पुरुषा नेकदेशवासिन एकां तीर्थमुपासन्ति—

इति हि विज्ञायते ॥

प्राची च प्रतीची चेति द्वे धारे विद्यायाः ।

द्वाभ्यामप्येताभ्याम् उपलब्धयैक्यं सत्यस्याखिल-

लोकाश्रयभूतस्य—इति नः संकल्पः ॥

एतस्यैक्यस्य उपलब्धिः परमो लाभः परमा शान्तिः

परमं च कल्याणं पुरुषस्य

—इति हि वयं विजानीमः ॥

सेयमुपासनीया नो विश्वभारती विविधदेशप्रथिताभि

र्विचित्रविद्याकुसुममालिकामिरिति हि

प्राच्याश्च प्रतीच्याश्चेति सर्वेऽप्युपासकाः सादरमाह्वयन्ते ॥

तदिदमनुहायताम्, तदिदमनुमन्यताम्,

तदिदमनुष्ठीयताम् ॥

RESPONSE :

इदमस्माभिरनुज्ञायते, इदमस्माभिरनुमन्यते,
इदं च वयमनुतिष्ठाम यावच्छक्यं यथाज्ञानं च ॥
तदिदं ऋध्यताम्, तदिदं समृध्यताम् ॥

Greetings to the Pratisthata-Acharyya.

3. Resolved that the members of the Visva-Bharati in Varshika Parishat assembled wish with all reverence Godspeed to the Pratisthata-Acharyya (Founder-President) during his present tour in the West and send him their respectful greetings.

(Proposed from the Chair and carried unanimously).

Annual Report.

4. Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Karma-Sachiva, placed before the Parishat the Annual Report for 1930, and the Audited Accounts for 1929-30 (printed copies of which were circulated among members present).

Resolved that the Annual Report for 1930 be adopted and published with such additions and alterations as may be considered necessary by a Committee consisting of Surendranath Tagore, Debendramohan Bose with Prasantachandra Mahalanobis as its Secretary.

Proposed by—JYOTISH CHANDRA GHOSH.

Seconded by—BIJOY BIHARI MUKHERJI. *(Carried nem. con.).*

Audited Accounts.

5. The Audited Accounts for 1929-30 were than taken into consideration.

Resolved that the Audited Accounts and the Balance Sheet for 1929-30 be adopted and published.

Proposed by—JYOTISH CHANDRA GHOSH.

Seconded by—BIJOY BIHARI MUKHERJI. *(Carried nem. con.).*

Election of the Artha-Sachiva (Treasurer).

6. The Chairman announced that Indu Bhushan Sen of Calcutta had been elected Artha-Sachiva (Treasurer) of the Visva-Bharati for a term of three years—1931-1933.

Election of the Karma-Sachiva (General Secretary).

7. The Chairman announced that Rathindranath Tagore of Santiniketan had been elected Karma-Sachiva (General Secretary) of the Visva-Bharati for a term of three years—1931-1933.

Temporary Arrangements.

8. In view of the fact that Rathindranath Tagore is out of India at present resolved further that Prasantachandra Mahalanobis do continue to act as Karma-Sachiva until he is relieved by Rathindranath Tagore.

Proposed by—NEPAL CHANDRA RAY.

Seconded by—JYOTISH CHANDRA GHOSH. (*Carried nem. Con.*).

Election of the Members of the Samsad.

9. The Chairman announced that the following persons had been elected members of the Samsad:—

- (a) Elected from among members resident in Benggal for 1931-32.
Debendramohan Bose, Amal Home, Surendranath Mallik, Jyotish Chandra Ghosh, Kishorimohan Santra, Amiya Kumar Sen, Sushobhan Chandra Sarkar.
- (b) Elected from among members resident outside Bengal for 1931.
Atul Prosad Sen, Ambalal Sarabhai, M. R. Jaykar, Martin Bodmer.
- (c) Representatives from Santiniketan for 1931-32.
Surendranath Kar, Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya, Promodaranjan Ghosh, Nepal Chandra Ray.
- (d) Representative from Sriniketan for 1931-32.
Santosh Bihari Bose.

Appointment of Auditors.

10. Resolved that the best thanks of the Parishat be conveyed to Messrs. Ray & Ray, Chartered Accountants, for auditing the Visva-Bharati Accounts for 1929-30, and that Messrs. Ray & Ray be reappointed Auditors for the year 1930-31.

Proposed by—JYOTISH CHANDRA GHOSH.

Seconded by—PHANIBHUSAN ADHIKARI. (*Carried nem. con.*).

Land Settlement Scheme.

11. Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Karma-Sachiva, placed before the Parishat the draft scheme for granting lease of land at Santiniketan to life-members of the Visva-Bharati forwarded by the Samsad.

Resolved that the scheme for granting lease of land at Santiniketan to life-members of the Visva-Bharati be approved generally and the Samsad be authorized to take necessary action in the matter.

Proposed by—RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE.

Seconded by—PHANIBHUSAN ADHIKARI. (*Carried nem. con.*).

Rules and Byelaws.

12. Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Karma-Sachiva, placed before the

Parishat departmental Rules and Bye-laws as framed by the local Samitis and approved by the Samsad.

(Recorded).

Publicity Committee.

13. Bijoy Bihari Mukherji moved the resolution of which he had given notice under Regulation 8 (v). Prasantachandra Mahalanobis, Karma-Schiva, stated that he had placed the resolution before the Samsad, which had fully approved of the above proposal, and had suggested that Bijoy Bihari Mukherji be requested to act as Secretary to the proposed Committee.

The resolution was seconded by Jyotish Chandra Ghosh.

Resolved that a Committee consisting of Ramananda Chatterjee (Chairman), Asha Adhikari, Nalin Chandra Ganguly, Amiya Chakravarti, Rathindranath Tagore, Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis with Bijoy Bihari Mukherji as its Secretary and with powers to co-opt members be appointed to examine if any further steps can be taken to put before the public the works that is being done in the Visva-Bharati and secure help and co-operation for continuous progress of its aims and ideals, and be requested to submit an early report to the Samsad.

Committee for Confirmation.

14. Resolved that in accordance with Regulation 8 (viii) a Committee consisting of Surendranath Tagore (Chairman), Debendramohan Bose, Hirankumar Sanyal, Amiya Kumar Sen, and Prasantachandra Mahalanobis (Karma-Sachiva) be appointed to draw up and authenticate the proceedings of the Varshika Parishat, 1930 for confirmation.

Proposed by—KISHORIMOHAN SANTRA.

Seconded by—JYOTISH CHANDRA GHOSH. (Carried nem. con.).

15. The proceedings terminated with the chanting of the Shanti-Vachana.

(Sd.) SURENDRANATH TAGORE (Chairman).

„ DEBENDRAMOHAN BOSE.

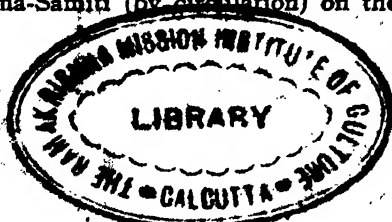
„ HIRAN KUMAR SANYAL.

„ AMIYA KUMAR SEN.

(Members, Confirmation Committee).

(Sd.) P. C. MAHALANOBIS,
Karma-Sachiva.

Confirmed in accordance with Regulation 8 Clause (viii) at a meeting of the Karma-Samiti (by circulation) on the 5th June, 1931.



(Sd.) P. C. MAHALANOBIS,
Karma-Sachiva



